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# THE MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW

## VOLUME VI

## 1911

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*A QUARTERLY JOURNAL DEVOTED TO THE STUDY OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN LITERATURE AND PHILOLOGY*

EDITED BY

J. G. ROBERTSON

G. C. MACAULAY

AND

H. OELSNER

VOLUME VI

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VOLUME VI JANUARY, 1911 NUMBER 1

# ALEXANDER MONTGOMERIE[1].

THE significance of Montgomerie in Scottish literature arises not entirely from the intrinsic merits of his poetry. Historically, he occupies a position of considerable importance, not only as the 'last of the makaris,' in the familiar phrase, but also as one of the first and the only conspicuous Scottish poet of the sixteenth century to adopt the lyric and sonneteering fashions of the Continent, and as a rival of Spenser for priority in the use of the *Amoretti* rhyme-scheme of the sonnet. It may be shown also—and here at the same time may be partly indicated the specific biographical contributions of the following study—that he was in the Low Countries in the seventies along with Gascoigne and other literary soldiers of fortune; that he was a follower of James's French favourite d'Aubigny and an intimate friend of the English poet Henry Constable; that he was the King's instructor in the art of poetry; and that he was considerably older than has hitherto been supposed.

The date of his birth has usually been placed vaguely in the decade 1540–50[2]. His elder brother John, however, who was head of the Hesilhead Montgomeries from his father's death in 1556 to his own two years later, was old enough in 1546 to be appointed tutor[3] to his cousin Hugh, Earl of Eglinton, and he had a son who sat at the assizes in 1562[4]. The elder brother, therefore, could hardly have been born

[1] The writer's interest in Montgomerie is the result of his researches for a still unfinished thesis on James I in his relations with literature. It is intended that this study, when completed, shall contain a fuller account of Montgomerie's position and influence in the Scottish court.

[2] Our information regarding Montgomerie's life has remained in much the same state in which it was left by the careful researches of Irving and Laing, contained in the 1821 edition of Montgomerie's poems. Cranstoun, in his edition of the poems for the Scottish Text Society and in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, has followed closely the notes and introduction of the earlier volume. Brotanek, *Wiener Beiträge*, Vol. III, 1896, has subjected the biography to careful and profitable scrutiny, though he has given more attention to questions of text and style. The information given here is supplementary to that afforded by these accounts.

[3] *A Genealogical History of the Family of Montgomery*, by T. H. Montgomery, Phila., 1863, p. 135.

[4] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, Bannatyne Club, 1833, Vol. I, p. 420.



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later than 1525. The poet's younger brother Robert—the notorious Bishop of Glasgow—was thought fit to preach in 1560[1], accepted a charge at Cupar two years afterward[2], and had a son of age before 1580. His birth therefore must surely have been earlier than 1540. And from this tangled chain of evidence we are led to place the poet's birth early in the third decade of the century, ten years or more prior to the date commonly assigned. The appearance of five of his poems in the Bannatyne Manuscript of 1568 would indicate that he was already a poet of some standing.

In the ten years following 1568, it may be shown with fair certainty that Montgomerie was in military service, engaged under the Regent Morton in the campaign against the Marian nobles (1570–73), and later against the Spanish in Flanders. In the tutor Peter Young's list of the books in James's library, compiled chiefly in the years 1573–78, there are records of two gifts[3], one an 'Institution des Princes, Gottin fra Capten Montgomery,' and the other a 'Mappemonde Papistique, Donnée par le Capitaine Robert Montgommery.' That the poet was a captain we know from later documents, and Brotanek surmises therefore that he was the donor of the first book, and that the addition of the given name in recording the second book was Young's device to distinguish between the two officers. This point need not be decided, but it is possible to explain the occasion of the gifts and to show that the poet served under his kinsman Robert. The latter had had military experience in France and was a leader of Morton's forces in Scotland. On the cessation of internal disturbances in the spring of 1573, he was sent abroad with about three thousand horse and foot to fight against the Spanish in Flanders[4]. That the poet accompanied him is shown by the fact that Polwart in the *Flyting* with Montgomerie, line 591, refers to such a journey—'Syne forward to Flanders fast fled or hee ceast.' This statement has hitherto been considered of no significance. It gains weight, however, in view of Captain Robert's expedition, the poet's title of captain, and the evidence that Robert was on terms of close intimacy with the Hesilhead Montgomeries. In 1572 he appears, with his title to identify him, as prolocutor for Hugh of Hesilhead in a lawsuit[5]. As travellers returning from abroad, the two captains would be very likely to bring books for the King; Robert Hackett came back

[1] *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Kirk*, Bannatyne Club, p. 4.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 46.
[3] *The Library of James VI*, ed. G. F. Warner, Edinburgh, 1893, pp. l, lix.
[4] *Calendar Foreign State Papers*, 1572–74, Nos. 460, 1114, 1163.
[5] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, Vol. i, p. 62.

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from Flanders with at least a dozen[1]. Each, if we accept Brotanek's suggestion, returned with an offering.

Unfortunately, this identity of title is a source of some confusion. The reference in *Melvill's Diary*, p. 44, to a 'Capten Mongummerie, a guid honest man, the Regent's domestic,' may point to either officer, though the term 'domestic' and the joke in the context would suggest that Melvill was thinking of the poet. T. H. Montgomery[2] makes Robert a brother of Hugh and nephew of the poet, but apparently only on the evidence of the lawsuit, and without reason when we consider his probable age and military standing in 1572. Both Irving and Warner[3], without giving authorities, state that he was appointed one of the twenty-five gentlemen pensioners, under command of Lennox as high chamberlain, who attended the King 'at all times of his ryding and passing to the feildis'; but these were sons of nobles and barons, and his name is not given in the list quoted in the *Correspondence of Bowes*[4]. If the statement is based on the fact that a Captain Montgomery was messenger of the King to the General Assembly of the Kirk, April 24, 1583, forbidding them to remove the principal of the University of Glasgow[5], it is probably mistaken, for the messenger was doubtless the poet himself, whose brother, the Bishop of Glasgow, was quarrelling with the Kirk at that time. Altogether, we may conclude at least that the poet was abroad in 1573, was about the Court as one of Morton's officers before and afterward, was perhaps instrumental in the appointment of his brother as minister at Stirling in 1572[6], and passed into the service of the King and d'Aubigny on their accession to power in 1579. In that year Montgomerie made his first appearance as court poet in *The Navigatioun* and *The Cartell of the Thre Ventrous Knichts*, tedious sets of verses to be recited apparently at the King's entry into Holyrood House on his first coming to Edinburgh[7].

The chief clues to the poet's later career are contained in a document[8] in the *Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland*, dated March 21, 1588–89. This refers to a pension of five hundred marks granted by James for service 'done and to be done be his gude servitour Alex[r]

[1] *Library of James VI*, p. xxxix.
[2] *History of the Family of Montgomery*, p. 135.
[3] *Library of James VI*, p. l, note.
[4] Woodrow Society Edition, p. 58, from Cottonian MSS., date October 24, 1580.
[5] Calderwood's *History of the Kirk*, Woodrow Society, 1843, Vol. III, p. 708.
[6] *Acts of the General Assembly*, p. 135. The appointment was at Morton's request.
[7] Cf. *The Navigatioun*, ll. 270—74, Scottish Text Society Edition, p. 212.
[8] Printed in full in *Notes and Queries*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, p. 4, and also in Brotanek, p. 159.



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Montgomerie,' the first payment of which was made from the 'crop' or income of the year 1582. According to the document, the pension was paid regularly until 1586, when the poet was given leave to travel in 'the pairtis of France, Flanderis, Spaine, and otheris beyond sey.' There he had remained 'continewallie sensyne, deteynit and halden in prison.' His pension had been stopped, 'quhairas his guid service merited rather augmentatioun nor diminisching,' and it was therefore restored by the order, the next payment to be made in the autumn of 1589, and to be taken as before from the revenues of the Bishop of Glasgow, notwithstanding the restoration of Bishop Beaton to those revenues. The first payment of this pension is recorded in the *Register of Presentations to Benefices*, September 27, 1583.

Here clearly Montgomerie appears as a pensioner in the King's service during the years 1582–89, and between the autumn of 1586 and the winter of 1588 abroad and in prison. With this information should be compared the biographical material in the poems and the facts regarding his brother Robert's relations with d'Aubigny. The latter, on March 5, 1580, was made Earl of Lennox, and about the same time acquired the extensive revenues of the Bishopric of Glasgow. Robert was appointed 'tulchan' archbishop in 1581, as the means by which the money might reach Lennox. We know also that the Montgomeries of Eglinton were Catholics and of the same court faction. These facts, joined with the statements in the second and tenth lines of one of Montgomerie's sonnets on the trouble over his pension, afford conclusive proof that the poet also was in the service of Lennox before the latter's expulsion from Scotland in 1582, and was thus a member of the royal household. For later reference in connection with Constable the sonnet is given in full. The 'suete Duke' is Ludovic, the son of Lennox, and the 'umquhyle Maister' is not Morton, as has been supposed, but Lennox himself. Constable and Keir could not have had Morton for master; Constable was a Papish spy and Keir was the right-hand man of Lennox throughout his stay in Scotland.

Adeu, my King, court, cuntrey, and my kin;
Adeu, suete Duke, whose father held me deir;
Adeu, companiones, Constable and Keir[1]:
Thrie treuar hairts, I trou, sall never tuin.

[1] The quality of this companion is indicated by a letter from Sir Edward Stafford in Paris, August, 1585: 'John [doubtless Henry] Kever, a Scot, sometime secretary to the Duke of Lennox, has been with the Queen of Scots in disguise' (Thorpe, *Cal. Scot.*, Vol. I, p. 440). Sir James Melvill calls him a 'great practiser' against the Kirk (*Memoirs*, p. 240).

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If byganes to revolve I suld begin,
My tragedie wald cost you mony a teir
To heir hou hardly I am handlit heir,
Considring once the honour I wes in.

Shirs, ye haif sene me griter with his Grace,
And with your umquhyle Maister, to, and myne;
Quha thoght the Poet somtyme worth his place,
Suppose ye sie they shot him out sensyne.
Sen wryt, nor wax, nor word is not a word;
I must perforce ga seik my father's suord[1].

By the Raid of Ruthven, August 22, 1582, the opponents of Lennox secured possession of the King's person and forced the Duke to leave for France, where he died in May of the year following. It was probably on the occasion of his death that the King, who freed himself from the control of the Raiders in June of 1583, granted Montgomerie his pension (the first payment of which was made in September of the same year) as a means of rewarding a follower of his favourite and continuing his service. In November, the King brought a significant package of books from Stirling to Holyrood[2], and in the winter following he seems to have settled down to the study and composition of poetry. The King's verse and the *Reulis and Cautelis*, published the next year, were thus written under the guidance of Montgomerie and not of Buchanan, who died September 29, 1582, and had ceased to act as a tutor some time before. Both verse and criticism show abundant internal evidence of Montgomerie's influence.

The motives for the departure from Scotland in 1586 have not been discovered. Possibly the journey was made desirable by the feud between the Montgomeries and the Cunninghams, which reached its climax in the murder of Hugh, Earl of Eglinton, April 1, 1586, and the swift revenge of his clan[3]. That he was entrusted with political errands may be gathered from the reference in the document of 1589 to 'his guid service,' and from repeated statements in his sonnets to the effect that his unlucky activities abroad were sanctioned by the King. The choice of him would have been in line with James's policy of selecting his personal and literary associates for such duties. The tutor Peter Young made three journeys to Denmark at this time in the affair of the King's marriage; William Fowler and the Hudsons were courtiers who mingled the arts of spy and sonneteer. It is not unlikely that the errand was to Bishop Beaton, Mary's representative in Paris, who after her death

[1] Scottish Text Society Edition, Sonnet xvii.
[2] *Library of James VI*, p. xxxv.
[3] Keith's *History of Scotland*, 1711 edition, p. 495.

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was restored to his revenues, and acted for a time as the agent of James in the French court. Montgomerie's lines in Sonnet XVI:

> Wes Bishop Beatoun bot restored agane,
> To my ruin reserving all the rest,
> To recompense my prisoning and pain!
> The worst is ill if this be bot the best.

indicate that he was interested in the restoration, and considered it a partial though sorry reward for his hardships. The allusion in Sonnet XIX to a 'feud' with the Bishop is merely an answer to his enemies among the Lords of the Session who during his suit for the recovery of his pension have suggested that the Bishop might resent its payment from his funds.

His friendship with Keir and Constable of course bears out this theory of his mission. The former has already been spoken of. That Constable was the English poet and Catholic emissary of the same name is confirmed by other evidence that he was in Scotland during the autumn and winter of 1589. Among his sonnets are four addressed to the King of Scots[1], one speaking of the storm, in September, 1589, which delayed the Princess Anne's arrival from Denmark. But if we take line ten of Montgomerie's sonnet literally, and interpret 'umquhyle Maister' as the Duke of Lennox, we must conclude that Constable was in Scotland or at least in the employ of Lennox before the latter's death in 1583; and this is borne out by the fact that the poet's father was captain of the border town of Berwick, 1576–78[2], while Constable was an undergraduate at Cambridge. As a Catholic, the young St John's College man might well have joined the messengers of Mary and Lennox who were going back and forth at the time between England and Scotland. While it is impossible to speak here of Constable's later visits to Scotland or the literary aspects of his friendship with the Scottish poet, it may be pointed out that the intimacy accounts for the appearance in the works of both[3] of the sonnet beginning,

> Thine eye the glasse where I behold my heart.

The authorship of the sonnet must be ascribed to Constable, since it is an integral part of the series of nine 'arguments' of seven sonnets each into which the Diana sequence is divided. Montgomerie's version is a re-working of Constable's in Scottish dialect, with the object perhaps,

[1] *Sonnets and other Poems*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, London, 1859, pp. 33—35.
[2] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, under *Henry Constable*.
[3] Constable, *Sonnets and other Poems*, p. 4; Montgomerie, Scottish Text Soc. Edition, Sonnet XXXIII.

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as Brotanek suggests, of removing the rhyme-in-terms (come-become), which the *Reulis and Cautelis* condemn, and which occurs but once in Montgomerie's poems. The only marked alterations are in the rhyme-scheme and phrasing of the last six lines.

In view of the recovery of his pension, Montgomerie's biographers have inferred that the sonnets, XIV—XXX inclusive, dealing with the loss of his income and his fall from court favour, were not all written at one time, and that a portion of them, with the *Invective against Fortune* among the miscellaneous poems, refer to some subsequent misfortune. But it is more reasonable to suppose that the poems in question were all written in the winter and spring of 1589[1], and that in spite of the order for a renewal of the pension he never recovered from his first disgrace. The King was now definitely committed to the Protestant party and to friendship with England. Whatever his indebtedness or secret goodwill, he could not openly befriend a man whose alliances were such as we have seen, and whose intrigues must have been discovered by his imprisonment and the suit for the recovery of his pension. Montgomerie was at this time over fifty years of age. His former pupil had become ingrossed in other affairs, and in September of that year sailed for Denmark, and did not return until May of the year following. That Montgomerie did not contribute to the 1591 edition of James's poems in itself indicates that he was no longer in open favour. It may be added that if these sonnets were all written at one time and for a special purpose, it is scarcely possible to draw from them a general conclusion regarding the poet's petulant melancholy of temperament and undignified servility.

The supposition that Montgomerie was married and had children is based on an account of a witch trial in March, 1622[2], in which a certain Margaret Montgomerie and Alexander her brother are spoken of as 'brother bairns of the hous of Hessilhead.' But these in all probability were children, not of the poet, but of either Hugh[3] or Alexander his nephews, who were during his lifetime the main

[1] Since the poets Alexander Scott and Robert Semple are spoken of in Sonnet XXV, they must have been alive in this year. But Scott, the references to whom as a burgess of Edinburgh in 1581–2 are pointed out by Mr. T. F. Henderson (*Scottish Vernacular Literature*, p. 241), was probably also the burgess of that name mentioned in Thorpe's *Calendar of Scotland*, July 20, 1591. He had sent to England complaints, possibly in some legal capacity, against an English envoy who had contracted debts among Edinburgh merchants.

[2] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, Vol. II, p. 594. Cited by Paterson in *Notes and Queries*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, p. 4.

[3] The mother of Sir William Mure of Rowallan was not, as has been stated, the sister of Montgomerie, but the daughter of this nephew (see *Works*, Scottish Text Society, Vol. II, p. 256).

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representatives of the Hesilhead branch of the family. According to James Paterson, who brings forward the evidence, Margaret's first child, the victim of the witchcraft, was baptized May 5, 1614, and the mother's birth should therefore be placed not much earlier than 1590, when the poet was already well over fifty years of age[1]. Paterson was misled by the assumption that the poet was born in 1556; and the same error must have led Irving and later Cranstoun to speak of his real and sincere passion for Margaret Montgomerie, daughter of the third Earl of Eglinton, to whom he addressed verses at the time of her marriage about 1583, and who was at least thirty years his junior and of a much higher station in society.

Indeed the interpretation not only of his sonnets and personal poems but of his later religious verse is considerably affected by our additional knowledge of his age, friends, and political relations. It would be interesting if we could show that Gascoigne, who sailed for the Low Countries a year earlier than Montgomerie, was familiar with the Scottish officer, or gave him a copy of the *Notes of Instruction* from which the King and his instructor later pruned so freely for the *Reulis and Cautelis*. It would be interesting also to know how Montgomerie came by the sonnet-form, *abab, bcbc, cdcd, ee*, which first appeared in the *Essayes of a Prentise*, and which King James and Edmund Spenser each in his own way distinguished by adopting it to the exclusion of all other forms.

ALLAN F. WESTCOTT.

NEW YORK.

[1] Since the preparation of this article, the writer has found evidence which strengthens his theory of Montgomerie's age and places his death clearly in the last decade of the century. Among the unpublished poems of King James in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 24,195) is a sonnet entitled *An Epitaphe on Montgomerie*, addressed to the brethren of 'the prince of Poets of our land,' and written evidently before the King's departure for England. The closing lines—

> Though to his buriall was refused the bell,
> The bell of fame shall aye his praises knell—

indicate that even after his death the poet was not honoured by his opponents in the Kirk. The sonnet is to be printed in an edition, now in preparation, of the King's unpublished poems. Further evidence regarding Montgomerie's death and the cause of it is furnished by the *Sonnet to Bacchus*, among James's poems in *Lusus Regius*, ed. R. S. Rait, 1901.

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# SCHRÖDERS AUSSCHREIBEN UND DIE DREI BRUDERMORDDRAMEN, 1775.

'JEDOCH wird es nöthig sein, dass die Herrn Übersetzer uns erst die Stücke anzeigen, welche sie übersetzen wollen, *damit nicht mehrere zugleich ein und dasselbe Stück einsenden* und derjenige, welchem wir *seine Übersetzung zurückschicken müssten*, glauben möchte (*welcher Irrthum bei Originalstücken nicht entstehen kann*), wenn er abwesend erführe, das Stück wäre aufgeführt, man habe seine Übersetzung widerrechtlich abgeschrieben.' Dieser übel stilisierte Satz—man sieht ihm an, dass er von einem Theatermenschen herrührt, der auch beim Schreiben mit Geste und Betonung arbeiten muss, da er sich zur Überlegung keine Zeit nimmt—ist dem *zweiten* Teil des Hamburger Ausschreibens entnommen, der sich mit den Übersetzungen befasst und darum bei den Erörterungen der ganzen Frage, soviel ich sehe, bisher ausser Acht gelassen worden ist. Aber ist es nicht merkwürdig, dass, was man mit Recht allenfalls bei Übersetzungen für möglich gehalten hatte: verschiedene Autoren könnten sich dasselbe Stück dazu aussuchen—dass dies, der Voraussage des Ausschreibens zum Trotz, *mutatis mutandis* nun gerade bei den Originalstücken eintrat, wo kein Mensch darauf gefasst sein konnte? Denn die Parenthese 'welcher Irrthum bei Originalstücken nicht entstehen kann' ist nur dann kein Unsinn, wenn man sie nicht auf die Worte 'glauben möchte' bezieht, zu denen sie grammatisch gehören, sondern sie freier interpretiert, als einen Seitenblick—nach Schauspielerart mitunter an der falschen Stelle angebracht—gegen den ersten Teil des Ausschreibens hin: dort brauchte ein solcher Fall nicht vorgesehen zu werden. Wenn also bei den Originalstücken der Umstand eintrat, den man nur bei den Übersetzungen für möglich gehalten hatte, so brauchte man sich nicht mehr darüber zu wundern, dass dann auch die nur für den einen Fall vorgesehene Massnahme in dem andern tatsächlich eingetreten ist, und zwei von den drei denselben Stoff verwendenden Originaldramen

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zurückgeschickt wurden; denn dass zugunsten besonders hervorragend ausgefallener Werke Ausnahmen gemacht werden sollten, war nirgends stipuliert. Aber die eingangs angedeutete Frage bleibt bestehen: Ist nicht irgend ein innerer Zusammenhang zwischen jenen äussern Gegensätzen vorhanden?

Im *Anzeiger für deutsches Alterthum*, 3, 197 ff hat es E. Schmidt wahrscheinlich gemacht, dass Miller Ende Juli 1775 in Giessen mit Klinger von Leisewitzs Drama und seiner Absicht, es nach Hamburg zu schicken, gesprochen, ihn dadurch angeregt habe, denselben Stoff zu bearbeiten und sich ebenfalls in Hamburg zu bewerben. Ich denke aber, man kann ruhig noch zwei Schritte weiter gehn: Klinger ist von Miller direkt dazu aufgefordert worden! Der dritte Mann hat ebenfalls von Leisewitzens Stück gewusst! Die an sich treffenden Bemerkungen von Gervinus und Schmidt, die eine Erklärung für das eigentümliche Zusammentreffen zu geben suchen, vermögen mich hier nicht zu befriedigen: Leisewitz war durch seine historischen Studien an den Stoff gekommen; Klinger, der doch wie Einer die Ideen der Zeit in sich gesogen hatte, musste erst durch Miller darauf gebracht werden; bei dem dritten, gewiss unbedeutendsten von ihnen, werden darum auch am wenigsten die Bedingungen vorhanden gewesen sein, die Schmidt der Epoche entnimmt. Sie erklären nur, warum man den Stoff so gern aufnahm, wenn er einem präsentiert war. Denn stellt man sich einmal alle die Stoffe zusammen, für die der Sturm und Drang grosse Vorliebe hatte, und berechnet dann die Wahrscheinlichkeit für den Fall, dass von einer gewissen Anzahl drei oder auch nur zwei Dramatiker sich denselben aussuchten, so ergibt sich, dass sie äusserst gering gewesen ist.

Ostern 1775 war Miller, von einem einsemestrigen Studium aus Leipzig kommend, wieder in Göttingen gelandet, traf dort gerade noch den Bundesheiligen an, der von Karlsruhe zurückkam, und fuhr mit ihm nach Hamburg. Wir wissen, dass er hier Claudius nahegetreten ist; aber auch mit den andern literarischen Grössen, deren Hamburg und Umgegend eine stattliche Zahl aufwies, wird er in Berührung gekommen sein. Es hat keinen Wert, solche zu nennen; die Hauptsache bleibt, dass Miller über Absichten und Einzelheiten des Ausschreibens genauer informiert wurde als Leute, die mit Hamburg in keiner Verbindung standen, und weiter: dass noch andere von Leisewitz's Absicht erfuhren und von dem Stoff, den sein Drama verarbeitete! Allerdings konnte Miller, sieht man scharf hin, eigentlich nicht mehr erfahren als in dem Ausschreiben selbst gesagt oder angedeutet war. Aber die Tatsache, dass noch die meisten der spätern Literarhistoriker

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sich über das Wesen des Unternehmens getäuscht und dass, trotzdem es Wolff, *Zeitschrift f. deutsche Phil.*, 20, 39 und nach ihm Werner *Deutsche Literaturdenkmale*, 32, XXVI erkannt haben, sich diese Erkenntnis auch heute noch nicht völlig durchgesetzt hat, zeigt doch, wie leicht das Vorgehen der Hamburger Theaterleute, das völlig neu war, damals erst recht in dieser Neuheit unerkannt bleiben und einfach für ein Preisausschreiben genommen werden konnte. Bereits am 15. April war nun eins der eingereichten Theaterstücke, des jüngern Lessing Lustspiel *Die reiche Frau*, für das Repertoire angenommen. Hier wurde gewiss auch Millern zum ersten Mal klar, dass ja kein fester Termin gesetzt war, bis zu dem die Autoren ihre Stücke eingereicht haben mussten; hier kam sofort auch die Erkenntnis: werden mehrere Originalstücke eingereicht, die denselben Stoff oder Gegenstand bearbeiten, und entspricht das erste davon den Anforderungen, die Schröder und Konsorten gestellt haben, so gilt unfehlbar der Grundsatz 'Wer zuerst kommt mahlt zuerst' in der Anwendung: sein Stück wird alsbald angenommen und bezahlt, und die andern werden gerade so sicher zurückgeschickt, als wenn es sich um Übersetzungen gehandelt hätte. Dasselbe sagten sich natürlich auch andere, als sie von dem trefflichen, auf der Bühne voraussichtlich überaus wirksamen Stoff hörten, den Leisewitz in Arbeit haben sollte. Es ergab sich für diese, wofern sie sich bewerben wollten, die Notwendigkeit, alle ihre dramatischen Kräfte zusammenzunehmen, um ein im Sinne der Ausschreibenden gutes Werk zu schaffen, und mit diesem so bald als möglich auf der Bildfläche zu erscheinen! Je früher desto besser: vier Wochen waren ja doch als Frist gesetzt, innerhalb welcher die Theaterleitung ein Stück 'annehmen' oder zurückgeben wollte. Den Mann, der sich das zu Herzen nahm, darf man wohl in Hamburg oder nicht weit davon suchen.

Nun hatte es unter No. 2 der Bedingungen im Ausschreiben geheissen: 'Wir müssen bitten, dass man uns nicht so verstehen möge, als machten wir uns verbindlich, jedes Stück, das uns der Verfasser zuschickte, mit 100 Thlr. bezahlen zu wollen. Wir wünschen durch diesen Weg mehr'—soll das sein 'vielmehr,' oder 'mehr als wir bisher bekamen'?—'gute Originalstücke auf unser Theater zu bringen. Und daher lässt sich freilich schon schliessen, dass wenn wir uns auch dramaturgische Kritiken anmassen dürften, wir dennoch unter den jetzigen Umständen'—der Ausdruck spricht für die zweite Erklärung von 'mehr'—'nicht so gar strenge seyn würden. Allein wenn ein Verfasser uns ein Stück zuschickt, das wir aus uns auch nur bekannten Gründen nicht aufführbar fänden, müsste sich der Verfasser nicht für

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beleidigt halten, wenn wir ihm, spätestens innerhalb vier Wochen, sein Stück an die uns bekannt gemachte Adresse wieder zurückliefern.' Bringen wir wenigstens die Hauptsache aus diesem hölzern gebauten Satz in eine annehmbare Form: 'selbst wenn wir die Gründe für uns behalten müssten'! Diese Klausel ist ins Auge zu fassen. Denn sie verrät die gewiegten Geschäftsleute, die sich für alle Fälle eine Tür offen lassen, um sich durch sie schlechterdings jeder Verpflichtung entziehen zu können—ohne sich schon über die Art eines solchen Falls weitere Gedanken zu machen. Man wollte mehrere für die Bühne geeignete Theaterstücke erwerben; wurden nun z. B. mehrere eingeschickt, die denselben Inhalt hatten, dann trat damit ein Fall ein, für den der Theaterleitung die Nottür winkte: nur eins davon konnte man dem Publikum vorsetzen! Und unterlagen sie gar zur selben Zeit der Begutachtung, so durfte man sagen, oder für sich behalten, dass dasjenige genommen sei, von dem man sich den grössten Erfolg—auf der Bühne und in der Kasse—versprochen habe! Dennoch musste es ein Schlag ins Kontor werden, wenn ein Stück angenommen und honoriert war, und dann ein weiteres mit demselben Inhalt auf dem Plan erschien, *das noch besser war*. Ich kann die Vermutung nicht bergen, dass ein derartiger Streich etwa von dem Schalk Asmus oder irgend einem andern Zunftgenossen angesichts der 'kühnen' Voraussage des Ausschreibens: dieser Fall sei unmöglich, mit Hochgenuss begrüsst worden wäre, und dass durch sie vielleicht auch Miller erst darauf gebracht worden ist. Es stehen mir hier die Hülfsmittel nicht zur Verfügung, um das Verhältnis zwischen den einzelnen Hamburger Persönlichkeiten intimer kennen zu lernen.

Nicht nur die Ehre, auf Schröders Bühne zu kommen, galt es: hundert Taler, eine in damaliger Zeit schon an und für sich hohe Summe, waren relativ, d.h. für einen Studenten, sehr hoch. Hatte sie der Sohn des reichen Celler Weinhändlers nötig? Waren sie diesem Burschen, der dennoch seine Universitätsjahre besser genutzt hatte als die befreundeten Pauvriers, der für historische Studien Reisen zu unternehmen in der Lage war, der trotz der innern Abneigung gegen die Juristerei sich diese als Brotstudium gewählt, der sein Examen früh gemacht, schon einen sichern bürgerlichen Beruf hatte, ihn nun aber nicht einmal ausübte, sondern gemächlich in der Residenz seinen Neigungen lebte, während die Kommilitonen noch mit leeren Taschen in der Welt herumsausten—waren ihm die hundert Taler zu gönnen? Da war nun hier ein anderer, ein Frankfurter Konstablerssohn, der Vater war seit fünfzehn Jahren tot, die Mutter hatte mit Waschen und

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Flicken drei Kinder grossgezogen, jetzt mussten alle vier hart ringen, um im Daseinskampfe oben zu bleiben; und dabei brachte es der arme junge Student doch nicht fertig, mit klugem Bedacht sein Streben auf ein festes Ziel, einen soliden Beruf einzustellen, der ihn nach ein paar Jahren aller Entbehrungen enthoben haben würde!

Das Resultat solcher Überlegungen war: Klinger muss sich mit allen Kräften auf die Arbeit werfen und sie in kürzester Zeit bewältigen! Wenn Leisewitz nicht aufgehalten wird, kann Klingers Stück nicht angenommen werden! Leisewitz darf also mit dem seinen erst *nach* Klinger, frühestens vier Wochen, vor die Hamburger Bühnenleute treten! Und so geschah es denn auch. Es braucht einen nicht zu irren, dass in Millers Briefen an Dritte, wie E. Schmidt a.a.O., 199 bemerkt, zunächst mit keinem Wort von Klingers Werk die Rede ist, und erst am 24. September, wo es fertig gewesen sein soll, davon gesprochen wird. Es war ja doch notwendig, da das Resultat des Ausschreibens durch ganz Deutschland bekannt werden musste—und wer wusste, mit was für Bemerkungen über das merkwürdige Vorkommnis begleitet!—dass Miller jede Äusserung vermied, die hinterher zu irgendwelchen Kombinationen Anlass geben konnte. Hierzu halte man den Text des zuletzt erwähnten Briefes. Nachdem des 'genialen' Klinger mit folgenden Worten gedacht ist: 'Er hat mir wieder eine ausserordentliche Scene aus seinem Pyrrhus geschickt. Das wird ein Werk!' heisst es weiter: '*Auch schreibt er*, dass er ein gantz regelmässiges Stück fürs Theater geschrieben hat: Die Zwillinge. *Vermuthlich* schickt ers an Ackermanns nach Hamburg' und dann über den bescheidenern von den beiden: 'Leissewitz, ein Freund von uns, hat *auch ein sehr braves Stück* hingeliefert'! Klingers Drama wird, durch seinen Wohltäter Goethe geschickt, Anfang October bei Schröder angekommen sein, zu einer Zeit, wo Leisewitz's schon zwei Monate in Hamburg war—aber nicht bei Schröder. Fast die ganze Zeit, seit Klinger jene 'Anregung' erhalten hatte: während der beschleunigten Ausarbeitung und Übersendung der *Zwillinge*, und eines vierwöchigen Wartens bis sie angenommen und die Nachricht an Klinger's Vertrauensmann abgegangen war: im ganzen etwa drei Monate lang, hat auch Voss das ihm zur ordnungsmässigen Beförderung anvertraute Werk zurückgehalten!

Was also Guelfo den Eltern vorwirft: dass sie ihm das Recht der Erstgeburt gestohlen und Ferdinando zugewendet hätten, das hatten hier Miller und Voss zu Klingers Gunsten an Leisewitz gesündigt—obzwar dieser Vergleich nur zum Teil passt; denn hier ward benach-

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teiligt der mit äussern Glücksgütern reich bedachte, gesetzte junge Schriftsteller von begrenzten Gaben, der geniale und arme dagegen begünstigt. Nun wird auch der Zweifel Guelphos, 'Wer *beweist* mir, dass ich nicht der Erstgeborene bin?' bedeutungsvoll: dem Publikum ist die Kenntnis des wahren Sachverhalts verborgen geblieben, und später entfloss der Zweifel: 'Sind die *Zwillinge* eher angekommen als *Julius*, oder umgekehrt?' der merkwürdigen Tatsache, dass gerade dies Motiv, Klingers *eigene Zutat* zu dem erhaltenen Stoff, auch von den Preisrichtern beim Schopfe gefasst und vorgezeigt worden war, um den 'Sieg' zu begründen, während ihn in Wirklichkeit nur ein Plus an Beschleunigung auf der einen, an Verzögerung auf der andern Seite möglich gemacht hatte. Es ist schon zu glauben, dass wenigstens der Keim zu dem Motiv aus Klingers eignem Bewusstsein von der moralischen Qualität des ganzen Handels und aus der Voraussicht seiner Folgen heraus entstanden ist. Es konnte wohl auch nur von aussen herzugebracht werden. Denn die fixe Idee, dass der Vater 'noch ehe des Kindes Sinne geöffnet waren, es mit Betrug umsponnen' habe, ergreift nicht etwa in der Paranoia der letzten Akte von dem Grübler Besitz, sondern er legt sie sich mit der Behutsamkeit zurecht, die solche Phantasieblüten immer für sich verlangen, und hat auf den Einwand, den er von jedem Vernünftigen erwarten musste: 'wie konnte denn der Vater schon bei der Geburt der Kinder für das eine wegen seiner spätern Gefügigkeit Zuneigung, gegen das andere wegen seiner Unfügsamkeit Abneigung haben, noch dazu wo diese Eigenschaft Guelfo's ja erst durch des Vaters Parteilichkeit die bedenklichen Dimensionen annimmt?'—auf diesen Einwand hat er sich die jämmerliche Erklärung bereitgelegt: 'Man wusste nicht, welcher der Erstgeborene sey, weil man es nicht wissen wollte, *weil seine heuchlerische, sanfte Miene schon damals der Eltern Herz verführte*[1]. So kann die Idee denn auch nicht festwachsen, sondern muss herunterfallen wie ein Apfel, der lose auf einem Zweig gelegen hat, oder—um ein hier sehr 'naheliegendes' Wort Goethes zu gebrauchen, sie ist 'wie ein Splitter im Fleisch, der schwürt und sich

[1] Die Stelle erinnert allerdings an eine im *Julius* (Neudruck, 27, 1 ff.): '*Ertzbischoff*: In der That ein unruhiger gefärlicher Charakter. *Fürst*. Noch gefährlicher, weil er neben Julius steht.—Ehe der als ein Kind wusste was Liebe ist, hatte er schon einen schmachtenden Blick.' Hierzu lassen sich noch viele andere Parallelen stellen, die man auf der Stelle notiert, sobald man beide Stücke auch nur oberflächlich durchliest. Ich müsste aber erst eine Untersuchung der Quellen anstellen, ehe ich behaupten könnte: Miller hatte sogar eine Abschrift des *Julius* mit nach Giessen gebracht. Zeit, eine solche sich zu verschaffen, war mehr als hinreichend vorhanden gewesen. Mich dünkt überhaupt eine erneute Untersuchung der Geschichte der Texte notwendig. Wir hören von Abschriften, die in Hannover *und* Hamburg besorgt wurden, ebenso vom Original-manuskript in *beiden* Plätzen; wir wissen, dass der Druck im *Hamburger Theater* ohne Wissen Leisewitzens erfolgt ist; woraus wurde der Text genommen? u.s.w.

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herausschwürt,' sie ist überflüssig. Es geschieht, indem der 'Beweis' geliefert wird, den Guelfo verlangt hatte: 'Guelfo, Du musst der Zweytgeborene seyn, ich litt mehr, und liebe Dich stärker.' Darauf antwortet Guelfo: 'Dein Beweis floss aus dem Mutterherzen[1].' Ohne Einbusse an Konsequenz in der Entwicklung könnte man das ganze Motiv, über dem nach den Redensarten der Hamburger beide Brüder fallen, von vornherein wegschneiden. Es hinterliesse kaum ein paar Narben. Die ungebändigte Leidenschaft der ganzen Natur des einen Sohnes reisst die Familie ins Verderben, nicht eine Missgeburt seiner klügelnden Phantasie.

[1] Ich fasse also dies Wort auf als Drangabe nunmehr auch des Verdachts des Betrugs in der Geburtstunde, nachdem Ende der vorhergehenden Scene der Entschluss gefasst ist, die Erstgeburtsrechte dem Bruder zu überlassen und nur die Braut zu verlangen: eine Kompensation, die dem erwarteten beiderseitigen Verzicht auf Blanca im *Julius* entspricht, da hier nur *ein* Streitobjekt vorhanden ist. Man könnte annehmen, dass der Ton auf 'dein' zu legen, und Guelfo damit zeige, dass die Worte der Mutter ihn mächtig bewegen, aber seine Ansicht selbst unerschüttert geblieben sei. Dann würde zu den nun folgenden Worten: 'Du bist unschuldig' zu ergänzen sein: 'der Vater ist der allein Schuldige.' Aber ich meine, sie dienen allein als ein ganz äusserlicher Gegensatz zu den nächsten: 'Und Dein Guelfo ist umso unglücklicher.' Denn warum ist er das? Natürlich nicht, weil die Mutter sich als unschuldig statt, wie er einen Augenblick gefürchtet, als Teilnehmerin des Betrugs erwiesen hat, sondern weil jetzt in Luft zerronnen ist die Idee, die sich seine Phantasie zurechtgemacht hatte, um nicht zugeben zu müssen, dass die Schuld an der Abneigung des Vaters allein der Wildheit seiner Natur zuzuschreiben ist, und weil nun die Grossmut—hier macht sich wieder der Einfluss des *Julius* geltend—die er mit dem Verzicht auf die Erstgeburtsrechte auszuüben geglaubt hatte, nichtig wird: er *gibt* nun *nichts* mehr, sondern *nimmt* nur, wenn er dem Bruder diese Rechte lässt und die Braut für sich fordert. Im folgenden Monolog Guelfos setzt sich die scheinbare Unklarheit fort. 'Mutter—wenn er nicht?—wenn er nicht—?' Der verschiedenen Stellung der Fragezeichen, dort vor, hier nach dem, einen ausgelassenen Gedanken andeutenden, Gedankenstrich, entspricht doch wohl kaum auch eine unterschiedliche Ergänzung. Denn das folgende 'Ha, so bin ich Guelfo (vgl. *Julius* 74, 3), und weiss nicht, was aus uns wird' passt meinem Gefühl nach nur, falls Einheitliches zu ergänzen ist: 'wenn er mir *nicht* die Braut herausgibt? Er ist in seiner Hoffnung unsicher geworden, weil er nichts mehr zu geben hat. So entsteht blitzschnell der Entschluss, auch auf sie zu verzichten. Der aber steht im Widerspruch zu Grimaldis, unter dem überwältigenden Eindruck seiner Leidenschaft gegebenen, Rat und dem eigenen wütenden Schwur, um jeden Preis die Herausgabe der Geliebten zu erzwingen (III, 1, Ende): 'Du verlässt mich—alles verlässt mich—Wenn Du mich wiedersiehst und ich habe sie nicht' (der letzte Satz gehört natürlich zu dem zweitvorhergehenden). Und nun bricht es, im Gedanken an das Mädchen, und beim Ausruf des verhassten Namens Ferdinando, nur auf einen Augenblick wieder hervor: 'Die Erstgeburt *und* Kamilla—und wenn du sie nicht giebst—.' Ich glaube, dass sich dies 'sie' auf beide bezieht, sonst müssten die ersten Worte aufzufassen sein nicht als Forderung, sondern einfacher Ausruf: 'der sollte nun beide haben?' Dann aber wiederum Umschwung: eben noch *Alles*, jetzt *Nichts*. 'Ich will fliehen, um der Mutter willen—will Schutz bey den Ungläubigen suchen' (vgl. *Julius* 107, 10). Auf der Flucht hört er die verhasste Stimme Ferdinandos, da brechen alle Vorsätze zusammen, er fordert wieder Braut und Erstgeburt, *ersticht den Bruder aber erst, als er aus seinem Munde den Namen der Geliebten hört:* nur *ihr* Verlust bringt ihn zur Raserei! Noch einmal kehrt dann die lang gehegte Vorstellung von dem Betruge wieder: als *Ausrede* vor der ohnmächtig am Boden liegenden Braut, der in Schmerz und Mutterliebe sich zerringenden Mutter, dem als Richter und Rächer erhoben dastehenden Vater, der mit schwerem Ernst darauf erwidert: 'Ich will dein Gewissen nicht foltern mit Aufdeckung deiner *Verblendung*.' So hat, genau wie bei Leisewitz, einzig und allein die Weigerung des Schwächern, auf das Mädchen zu verzichten, die Katastrophe herbeigeführt, nicht die fixe Idee von der Erstgeburt. Übrigens benutze ich den Text in den *Werken*, I, 1—90, Königsberg, 1815.

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Lassen sich die Berichte, die wir über das Ergebnis des Hamburger Ausschreibens haben, mit solchen Ergebnissen in einen vollen Einklang bringen? *So* leicht, wie es sich der Verfasser eines Aufsatzes im *Euphorion*, XVI, 58 macht, ist es jedenfalls nicht, obwohl man seinem Standpunkt Litzmann, *Schröder*, ii, 154, gegenüber beitreten muss. Zunächst ist festzustellen, dass er gerade den Satz weglässt, der dem abgedruckten Passus aus dem Hamburger Theater unmittelbar voraufgeht, und der gewiss auch Litzmann zum Ausgangspunkt seiner abweichenden Meinung dienen konnte. Es folge darum die ganze Stelle noch einmal. 'Sonderbar wars, dass kurze Zeit aufeinander drei Trauerspiele eingesandt wurden, die alle drey den Brudermord zum Gegenstand hatten. Das erste: Die unglücklichen Brüder, war zu leer an Handlung, nicht überdacht und reif genug, obschon einige Scenen vortheilhaft und Erwartung erregend angelegt, die aber unbefriedigt blieb. Das zweite hiess: Julius von Tarent, handlungsvoll, schön dialogirt, voll Verve und Geist; alles entdeckt den Kenner der Leidenschaft, den denkenden Kopf, den Sprecher des Herzens, und kurz—den Dichter von Talenten; es war des Preises entschieden werth, bis ihm das dritte, die Zwillinge, denselben dadurch abgewann, dass es die mächtige, gewaltige Triebfeder der unentschieden gebliebenen Erstgeburt voraus hatte....' Also hart auf die Wendung 'kurze Zeit aufeinander' folgt der Satz 'das erste....' Dazu halte man nun, was oben über das 'erste Stück' gesagt worden ist: es muss wirklich das erste gewesen sein. Sein absoluter Wert war zu gering gewesen, es war alsbald zurückgegeben, ist also *a priori* abgetan. Dies ist der *eine* Anlass, warum im folgenden die, vom Standpunkt der entscheidenden Autoritäten aus gesehen, mit dem ersten Stück gar nicht zu vergleichende Gruppe von zweien nach dem Princip *ab inferiore ad superius* geordnet wird, also äusserlich angesehn mit jenem zusammen eine graduell ansteigende Linie bildet. Der andere Grund liegt oben schon angedeutet: das 'Plus' der *Zwillinge* gegenüber dem andern Stück. Der Indikativ 'es war'—wiederum sei daran erinnert, dass Schauspieler reden—hebt das Verdienst dieses letztern kräftiger hervor, als es der andere Modus vermocht hätte: ein Anerkenntnis der absoluten Bühnenfähigkeit; und konsequent nach diesem logisch anomalen, aber stilistisch bedeutsamen Indikativ ist die Konjunktion 'bis' in der Emphase nicht temporal, sondern negativ-kausal, also prohibitiv aufzunehmen, so viel als 'wenn nicht.' Indem so auf dem Raum von wenigen Zeilen *ein* Bericht *drei* für sich stehende, zeitlich auseinanderliegende, Vorgänge zusammendrängt: 1. Rückgabe des ersten Stücks, 2. Annahme der *Zwillinge* als eines

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bsolut bühnenfähigen (und Mitteilung dieser Entscheidung an den Übersender), womit nach Bedingung No. 3 seine Aufführung gewährleistet war! 3. Feststellung des dritten als eines absolut genommen ebenfalls bühnenfähigen Stücks, aber Rückgabe aus Rücksicht aufs Theaterpublikum und auf finanziellen Ertrag—und indem die beiden letzten von diesen Vorgängen nach dem ordinären stilistischen Princip angeordnet werden, stellt sich ganz von selbst die Vorstellung ein, als ob es sich um eine Auswahl gehandelt habe, und damit substituiert sich für den Begriff Honorar der engere von 'Preis,' der in den drei andern Berichten, mitgeteilt u.a. *Euphorion*, XVI, 59 f., bezeichnenderweise nicht vorkommt. Man hatte eben für das ganz neue Unternehmen nicht auch schon die betreffenden technischen Ausdrücke, wie 'das Aufführungsrecht erwerben,' gefunden.

In solchem Sinne, ohne Hintergedanken, würde man die Bemerkungen im *Hamburger Theater* interpretieren, wenn man annehmen könnte oder müsste, dass sie von dem ehrlichen Schröder selbst stammten. Aber offenbar sind sie etwas ganz anderes: ein raffinierter Schriftsatz, und von Schröders Kollegen in dieser Form hergestellt, damit er den verschiedenartigsten Zwecken diene. Wie musste denn ein Unbefangener, der keine Veranlassung sah, Interpretationskünste zu üben, den Bericht aufnehmen? Doch einfach so: die drei Stücke waren kurze Zeit hintereinander angekommen; das erste wurde alsbald abgetan; das zweite war schon so gut wie angenommen: da kam das dritte und gewann den Preis; wir hatten mit der Entscheidung gewartet, und es sind beide Stücke ernsthaft und sorgfältig gegeneinander abgewogen worden. Dieser Sinn ist nun in einer Form, mit einer Geste, in einem solchen Tonfall ausgedrückt, wie sie sich immer einstellen, wenn peinliche Dinge verdeckt werden und schwache Haften die Decken halten müssen. Denn man mag über die poetischen Qualitäten der beiden Werke denken, wie man will: im Sinne des Ausschreibens, als Bühnenstück, war ohne Zweifel dasjenige, an dem sein Verfasser mehr als zwei Jahre sorgsam gearbeitet hatte, besser als das in weniger denn zwei Monaten aufs Papier geworfene, und der Ausdruck 'die *mächtige, gewaltige* Trieb*feder* der unentschieden gebliebenen Erstgeburt' charakterisiert sich schon äusserlich—von der Verschrobenheit der ganzen Wendung abgesehn—als ein Kunstgriff, der aus der Mücke einen Elephanten macht. Man fragt alsbald: Warum wurde denn nicht einfach der Tatbestand zugegeben? Nun, der war doch einigermassen blamabel. Man darf vor allem nicht vergessen, dass hier kein Mensch mehr, wie es recht gewesen wäre, *a priori*, sondern dass alle, die peinlich überraschte



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Theaterleitung gewiss miteinbegriffen, *a posteriori* dachten; von diesem Standpunkt nahm sich jene Vornussage, der Fall *könne* gar nicht eintreten, merkwürdig aus, stellte sich ferner die Unterlassung der Angabe eines festen Termins, bis zu dem die Arbeiten hätten eingereicht werden müssen, als ein arger Fehler dar. Weiter scheute man sich einzugestehen, dass man auf die Art das geringere von zwei hervorragenden Bühnenwerken erworben hatte, das bessere nicht, obgleich man nur auf bessere Mittelware gerechnet hatte. Schliesslich ist auch der Gedanke an Rücksichten auf Voss nicht abzuweisen. In dieser Meinung wird man bestärkt, wenn man sich noch einmal des Ausdrucks 'kurze Zeit aufeinander' erinnert. Je nach dem Massstab, den man daranlegt, können hier Intervalle von Tagen, Wochen oder Monaten gemeint sein; aus der Distanz gesehen, wie hier, rücken die einzelnen Momente leicht enger aneinander, ziehen sich die Intervalle enger zusammen. Eine einfache Angabe der Daten, wie sie hier das Gegebene war, hätte das Manöver der trefflichen 'Freunde' unseres Dichters auch für das argloseste Auge blossgelegt.

Unter Zugabe eines freundlichen Grusses war ihm von Voss der abschlägige Bescheid des Komitees in folgender Form weitergegeben worden: das Trauerspiel sei dem Einsender wieder zuzustellen, 'weil Klingers Zwillinge, die schon vorher angenommen waren, eben den Inhalt haben[1].'" Dem widerspricht die öffentliche Bekanntmachung nur dann nicht, wenn sie wie oben interpretiert wird. Sie fügt dann aber auch noch etwas wichtiges hinzu: auch wenn sein Stück rechtzeitig angekommen wäre, hätte das an dem Resultat nichts zu ändern vermocht. Mit dieser Feststellung musste Leisewitz in jedem Fall genug haben, also auch in dem, dass er die öffentliche Berichterstattung mit der privaten nicht in Einklang zu bringen vermochte. Endlich aber hatte auch in Rücksicht auf Schröder eine befriedigende Form gefunden werden müssen. Die Meinungsverschiedenheit, die zwischen ihm und seinen Kollegen entstanden war—wir werden noch sehen, welcher Art sie gewesen—durfte in dem Bericht natürlich keine Stelle finden: hier trat die Körperschaft ja doch als solche, also geschlossen auf, der Wille der Mehrheit war Wille der Gesamtheit. Aber wenn hier einiges verschwiegen werden musste, so durfte man nicht noch weiter gehn und etwas schlechthin Unwahres in die Welt schicken. Mochten auch die meisten, wie es beabsichtigt war, den Bericht in seinem

[1] Hier hätte es doch heissen müssen: 'weil sein Stück denselben Inhalt hat wie die *Zwillinge*': es liegt also ein *lapsus linguae* vor, der die Wahrheit verrät. Der ganze Satz entspricht geradezu auffällig dem Tatbestand: trotzdem die *Zwillinge* früher da sind, haben sie doch dem *Julius* ihren Stoff entnommen.

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nächstliegenden Sinn aufnehmen: einem Manne, der an pointierte, auf den Effekt bedachte Sprache gewöhnt ist, liegt im gegebenen Falle der zunächstliegende Sinn ferner und der fernere näher, vor allem wenn, wie hier, kleine Mittel die Richtung andeuten. Aber es muss auch *die* Möglichkeit ins Auge gefasst werden, dass Schröder von dem *Grunde* des Zuspätkommens damals noch gar nichts wusste, also gar nicht darauf kommen konnte, dass es hier ausser der kleinen Meinungsverschiedenheit im Schosse der entscheidenden Körperschaft und jenen Unterlassungssünden noch etwas anderes zu verbergen gab. In diesem Fall war überhaupt kein Anlass vorhanden, den Bericht zu prüfen. Alles in allem ist er ein Meisterstück der Vorsicht gewesen, weit mehr noch als das Ausschreiben. Er passte für jeden Leser, Unbefangene und Schärfersinnige, Beteiligte und Unbeteiligte, Freunde und Gegner.

Aber in dem Punkte, der für die Öffentlichkeit am wichtigsten war, liessen sich weder Publikum noch Kritiker und andere Theaterleiter belehren; sie traten mit Nachdruck für Leisewitz ein und sprachen ihre Zweifel an der Urteilsfähigkeit der Hamburger Theaterleute unverhohlen aus. Da fühlte sich denn Schröder, nachdem er schon längst durch die Aufführung des *Julius von Tarent*—allerdings erst nach dem Vorgange andrer Bühnen—einen Teil der unangenehmen moralischen Bürde abgetragen, die sich die Theaterleitung aufgeladen hatte, später veranlasst, nun für sich ein Übriges zu tun, in Bezug auf seine Person jene Zweifel nicht auf die Nachwelt kommen zu lassen; er machte andern Leuten von dem Tatbestand Mitteilung. Die beiden Berichte, die, nach Leisewitzens Tode, diese Mitteilungen bringen, ergänzen einander. Der eine, 1810 bekannt geworden, erzählt von Vossens 'Bummelei': 'Es ist dem litterarischen Publikum unerklärlich geblieben, warum Klingers Zwillinge neben Julius von Tarent den Preis erhielten. Die Beurteiler waren dabei ausser Schuld. Leisewitz hatte sein Manuskript an einen hiesigen berühmten Gelehrten geschickt, der die Abschrift mehrere Monate unter seinen hiesigen Freunden zirkuliren liess; unterdessen wurden die Zwillinge durch Goethe eingesandt und angenommen.' Hier ist allerdings noch von 'Preis' die Rede, aber im Sinne des Publikums; gleich darauf folgt der richtigere Ausdruck 'angenommen.' Der andere Bericht, 1821 gedruckt, spricht von den Vorgängen im Schosse des Theaterkomitees: 'die Stimmung bei den Richtern sei gleich von vornherein für Klingers Stück gewesen. Nur Schröder sei anderer Meinung gewesen. Er habe den vermittelnden Vorschlag gemacht, beide Stücke zu honorieren, sei aber mit seinem Gutdünken nicht durchgedrungen, und so seien die Zwillinge angenommen, weil



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man sich grösseren Bühnenerfolg von ihnen versprochen habe.' Hier werden wieder ohne Rücksicht auf die zeitlichen Zwischenräume die beiden Vorgänge neben- und ineinander gerückt. 'Von vornherein' muss also bedeuten 'sobald man Klingers Stück gelesen hatte, ohne weiteres Abwarten.' Die Meinungsverschiedenheit entstand erst als das andere Stück kam. Schröder ist von seiner Trefflichkeit derartig durchdrungen, dass er ohne Rücksicht auf den vorher unbestrittenen Grundsatz, dass nur ein Stück gespielt, also auch nur eins honoriert werden könne, auch ihm wenigstens das Geld zubilligen, also nicht durch jene Bureauhintertür schlüpfen will. Die Mehrheit widerspricht und beruft sich ohne Zweifel auf die Bedingungen des Ausschreibens, nach denen die Aufführung der angenommenen und honorierten Stücke verbürgt war. Gewiss wollte man auch die hundert Taler nicht nochmal ausgeben. Der Satz 'weil man sich grösseren Bühnenerfolg von ihnen versprochen hätte' deutet wohl an, dass Schröder sofort die Möglichkeit ins Auge gefasst hatte, im Falle die Zwillinge nicht anschlügen, den Julius aufzuführen: sonst gehörte er mit dem Positiv 'grossen' statt des Komparativs 'grössern' an den Anfang des Passus, nach 'gewesen.'

Der Standpunkt Schröders war vornehmer, der seiner Kollegen formell völlig korrekt, da ein paar Fehler, die bei dem Ausschreiben vorgekommen waren, durch jene Klausel in irgendwelchen Folgen paralysiert wurden. Die Angabe, Voss habe das Leisewitz'sche Werk unter Freunden zirkulieren lassen, wird Vossischer Schwindel sein: würde sich keiner darunter gefunden haben, der zur sofortigen Übergabe des Manuskripts trieb, da in Hamburg doch sicherlich die ganze literarische Welt von den Bedingungen Kenntnis hatte? Wie hat sich schliesslich Leisewitz selbst mit dem Misserfolg abgefunden? Wenn Werners Vermutung a. a. O. IX richtig ist: dass er durch einen 'unerfreulichen Umschwung in seinen Vermögensverhältnissen, vielleicht veranlasst durch den Tod seines Vaters' getrieben worden sei, 'wie die andern Poeten, sein Boot nach der Küste des Gewinnes zu steuern,' dann muss die Nachricht, die er zusammen mit Vossens freundlichem Gruss erhielt, doppelt hart gewesen sein. Miller und Voss hatten von dem Vermögensverfall sicher nichts gewusst, im Gegenteil: der Tod von Leisewitz's Vater wird sie in ihren Überlegungen noch bestärkt gehabt haben. Was den Misserfolg an sich belangt, so ist es nicht ganz sicher, ob ihn der Betroffene mit einem oder zwei nassen Augen ansehen lernte; ob er den ihm durch Voss gewordenen Bescheid so auffasste, dass lediglich äussere Umstände dem Erfolg im Wege gestanden hätten, oder ob er sich

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dazu noch die Meinung hat suggerieren lassen, sein Stück sei wirklich dem andern unterlegen gewesen. Denn der Satz, den er unterm 14. Februar 1787 in sein Tagebuch schrieb, als er die Frage hin und her überlegte, ob er sich, mit dem *Sylvesterabend*, noch einmal um einen Preis bewerben solle: 'wenn nur mein Genie gegen den Unstern aufkommen kann, der mich um den Hamburger Preis brachte,' dieser Satz kann entweder heissen: 'wenn mich nur mein guter Genius vor einem ähnlichen Zufall bewahrt' oder: 'wenn nur meine dichterische Kraft so viel fertig bringt, dass ein Konkurrenzstück nicht wieder um eine "Idee" besser ausfallen kann.' Wie dem auch sei: von der Niederträchtigkeit, die an ihm begangen war, hatte der ruhige, gerade denkende Mann keine Ahnung. Er würde sich sonst wenigstens in dem Tagebuch, das nur für sich selbst und seine Sophie angelegt war, etwas anders ausgedrückt haben. Und Schröder, der sehr bald nach dem Vorfall Leisewitzens Bekanntschaft gemacht hatte, wird ihm—wofern er selbst überhaupt schon von Vossens Vergehen Kenntnis hatte—gewiss nichts davon erzählt und umso eifriger mit ihm die Anstalten besprochen haben, die dann trotz allem zur Aufführung des *Julius* auf der Hamburger Bühne und damit, wie schon oben gesagt, zu einer gewissen Entschädigung des schmählich betrogenen Mannes führten. Was man sonst von Vossens und Millers Charakter weiss, steht mit der neuen Erkenntnis, wenn es eine solche ist, nicht im Widerspruch. Aber ich sehe zuguterletzt noch, dass zwischen Voss und Leisewitz seit des letztern Weggang von Göttingen eine Entfremdung eingetreten war (*Euphorion*, XVI, 61 oben).

Es bleiben verschiedene Fragen offen, denen ich aus Mangel an der nötigen Literatur jetzt nicht nähertreten kann. Eine davon: 'Wer ist der dritte Brudermorddramatiker gewesen?' wird sich wohl nie beantworten lassen. Wolff, dessen Aufsatz überhaupt am meisten zur Klärung der Angelegenheit beigetragen hat, bringt gewiss alle Gründe zusammen, die für Berger und seine *Galora von Venedig* sprechen; aber überzeugen können sie mich nicht. Wie der heutige Literarhistoriker bei Goedeke Umschau hält—vgl. z. B. Werner, a. a. O., XXVII, mit Goedeke², V, § 264—so musterten gewiss schon damals Dramaturgen und Theaterhistoriker die zeitgenössische Dramatik auf Stücke mit dem Namen 'die unglücklichen Brüder' hin. Wer aber mag die Möglichkeit abweisen, dass erst die Nachrichten von Hamburg das Entstehen solcher Stücke hervorgerufen hatten! Ich glaube, dass unser drittes total verschwunden ist. Hätten wirs wenigstens ohne Namen, so würde ein Stilvergleich *vielleicht* eine Neuigkeit bringen, die nach den Ergeb-

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nissen dieses Aufsatzes nicht weiter zu überraschen brauchte. Man denke in der oben aufgefundenen Richtung zu Ende: in der Zeit von mehrern Wochen konnte mit dem nötigen Selbstvertraun auch ein Nichtdramatiker ein im Sinne der Ausschreibebedingungen annehmbares Bühnenstück zu machen hoffen, wenn er einen guten Stoff in Händen hatte und wo möglich schon geformt. Denn dass die 'Preisrichter' nicht gar so strenge sein würden, hatten sie selbst versprochen. Über gewisse Konsequenzen hätten, falls man auch den *Ruhm* einheimsen und seinen Namen nennen wollte, die hundert Taler hinweggetröstet. Blieb man aber anonym, dann hätte einem selbst ein reines Plagiat nicht gefährlich werden können: man hatte ja doch eine Abschrift herstellen und diese wiederum 'zirkuliren' lassen, wer wusste unter wie vielen Menschen! Vossens weitere Worte in jenem Brief an Hölty: 'Ich hab das Stück im Wirtshause, wo es mir gebracht ward, liegen lassen, weil ichs in der Eile nicht finden konnte, und vermuthete, dass es mein Stubenfreund, Prof. Fabricius, unversehens in den Koffer gekriegt hätte. Heute fahr ich nach Hamb. und erkundige mich darnach, und schicke es dann mit dem Hemde, das Hahn hier vergessen hat, an Leisewitz'—diese Worte wird man in keinem Fall für das hinnehmen als was sie sich geben, als Ausdruck seiner Nachlässigkeit, sondern als etwas sehr verschiedenes: als *gewolltes* Zeichen der Nachlässigkeit. Und in dieser Verkleidung *musste* der Voss auftreten, so wenig sie ihm stand[1].

G. Schaaffs.

St Andrews.

[1] Die Fassung der *Zwillinge* in den *Werken* differiert, wie ich nachträglich bemerke, ziemlich stark von der im *Hamburgischen Theater*,—doch nicht so, dass ich wesentliche Änderungen in den oben S. 14 f. beigegebenen Anmerkungen vorzunehmen hätte. Vielleicht steht sogar die Fassung der *Werke* derjenigen, die nach Hamburg geschickt war, näher als die erstmalig veröffentlichte. Es müsste ferner mit der Möglichkeit gerechnet werden, dass die Ähnlichkeiten mit *Julius von Tarent* erst nachtraglich in das Stück hineingebracht sind. Aber der Kern meiner Ausführungen würde in keinem Fall berührt werden. Sehr merkwürdig ist in Klingers *Theater*, Bd. 1, Riga, 1786, die Angabe: 'Die Zwillinge.....*von* 1774,' was in den *Werken*, 1815, 1, 1, in noch präciserer Form wiederholt ist: 'Nach der *ersten Ausgabe von* 1774.....' Der Abdruck im *Hamburgischen Theater* hätte wohl eher den Namen 'erster Druck' verdient, die im Katalog der Deneke'schen Sammlung, 643, verzeichnete Ausgabe ist ein Nachdruck. Bedenkt man dass Klinger, *Werke*, 1, 1, behauptet, dass ihm die erste Ausgabe von 1774 bei der Redaktion neben dem *Theater* (Riga) vorgelegen habe, dass ferner nur bei diesem Stücke solche 'genauen' Angaben gemacht werden, obwohl sie bei den andern ebenso nötig gewesen wären, so wird man mit einem weitern Argument für die Wahrscheinlichkeit des oben Seite 14, Zeile 8 bis 15 gesagten rechnen müssen: Klinger hätte dann die Fiktion von der Erstgeburt seines Stückes noch vierzig Jahre später aufrecht erhalten! Jedenfalls bedarf auch dies Stück dringend eingehenderer Untersuchung.

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# AN ITALIAN VERSION OF THE LEGEND OF ST MARGARET.

## From a Brera Manuscript.

The legend of the virgin saint of Antioch can be traced back to the ninth and tenth centuries, and from this date onwards it spread to all Christian countries[1]. I shall not attempt here to give a list of the MSS. containing the legend, as many of them, and the most important ones, although by no means all, have already received attention: moreover, the articles by Spencer[2] and the little book by Wiese[3] supply material enough to make one realise the enormous diffusion of this legend during the later Middle Ages.

In Italy the legend appeared in five principal versions: (*a*) a prose translation of a Latin text, which has been published from slightly varying MSS. by Manni[4], Ferrato[5] and Ceruti[6]; this version exists in an almost infinite number of MSS.[7]: (*b*) a Lombard version which has

[1] A sketch of the development of the legend was given by Frederic Spencer, *The Legend of St Margaret* (*Modern Language Notes*, IV (1889), pp. 197—201).

[2] In addition to the introductory article just referred to, Spencer has published two Franco-Norman texts in *Modern Language Notes*, V (1890), pp. 71—75; 107—111.

[3] *Eine altlombardische Margarethenlegende*, herausgegeben von Berthold Wiese. Halle, 1890.

[4] A. M. Manni, *Vite di Santi e Sante in aggiunta al volgarizzamento delle Vite de' Santi Padri*. Florence, 1734, III, pp. 127—141.

[5] Pietro Ferrato, *Leggenda di S. Margherita Vergine Martire*, Testo inedito del buon secolo, Venice, 1867.

[6] Ab. Antonio Ceruti, *Leggenda di S. Margherita Vergine Martire* (from an Ambrosian MS.) in *Propugnatore*, III, ii (1870), pp. 178—191.

[7] Percopo, in his introduction to the texts referred to below, has drawn attention to a number of MSS. containing the Italian prose text (pp. lvi f.), but this list could easily be augmented; thus in the *Riccardiana* library there are no less than fifteen MSS. of this legend (see Salomone Morpurgo, *I Manoscritti della Reale Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze*, *Manoscritti italiani*, Rome, 1900, Nos. 1258, 1286, 1288, 1290, 1294 and 2760, 1841, 1355, 1386, 1406, 1408, 1498, 1658, 1661, 1700; No. 1472 contains the metrical version published by Manni, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 142 ff.); and almost every important library contains several MSS. Spencer, *l.c.*, V, pp. 198—200, and Wiese, *l.c.*, pp. IV—V, mention versions of this legend in languages other than Italian. In addition to these, a Provençal version was found in an Ashburnham (Laurenziana) MS. by P. Meyer (*Romania*, XIV, p. 485); it was discussed by G. Bertoni, *Noterelle Provenzali*, in *Revue des langues romanes*, XLVI

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been edited by Wiese[1]; (*c*) a South Italian version in strophes of four lines, edited by Percopo[2]; (*d*) a mediaeval 'mistero' edited by D'Ancona[3]; (*e*) a 'cantare' edited by Zambrini[4]. The version which I am printing here belongs by its form to the fifth class, but it is quite independent of the poem edited by Zambrini. Wiese himself, after publishing his book, investigated two other MSS. of the Lombard text, which belong respectively to the Trivulzio library[5] and to the British Museum[6]. The latter, a Harley MS., is mainly interesting on account of its numerous illuminations. It is not, however, the only MS. adorned with contemporary illustrations: codex A of Wiese[7] has also a number of miniatures; so also had a MS. in the Ducal Library of Pavia, which, as far as may be judged from the first line, belonged to the class of codd. CEH of Wiese. It is described as follows: 'Num. 926. Liber passionis sancte Malgarite parve forme, historiatus, copertus veluto rubeo cum duabus clavetis argenti, sine clavis[8].' This MS., which is probably lost, must have been a beautifully written copy, destined presumably for some fair Duchess of Milan, who in certain circumstances, was fain

(1903), pp. 249 ff. and published in the same journal, xlvi (1903), pp. 545 ff. by Chicknarev (as *Vie provençale de Sainte Marguerite*), who gives some useful references. While I was revising the proofs, Professor Novati called my attention to the book by K. Zwierzina, *Die Legende der heil. Margareta*, 1 Band, *Die älteste Überlieferung*, but I could not avail myself of this work. He has also pointed out to me an article by P. Meyer, *Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibl. Nationale*, xxxiii, 1e partie, pp. 19—22, in which the French savant describes yet another French version of the 13th or 14th century, by Fouque.

[1] Wiese, *l.c.*, pp. 1—66.

[2] *Quattro Poemetti sacri dei secoli XIV e XV*, publicati per la prima volta e illustrati da Erasmo Percopo (*Scelta di curiosità letterarie*, disp. ccxi, pp. 147—180), Bologna, 1885.

[3] A. D'Ancona, *Sacre Rappresentazioni dei secoli XIV, XV e XVI*, Florence, ii, pp. 123 ff. Dr Levi has drawn my attention to another early 'rappresentazione' in the *Riccardiana* library, Edizioni rare, No. 269, Miscell. No. 42 (Rappresentazioni sacre e profane) under the heading 'Leggenda et oratione | de Sancta Margherita Ver|gine et martyre hy|storiata et no|vamente | stampata et ricorrecta.' In Perotia p. Hieronymo d. Francesco cartolaio (s. a.).

[4] Francesco Zambrini, *Leggenda di Santa Margherita Vergine e Martire in ottava rima*, in *Propugnatore*, iii, ii (1870), pp. 413—433. This poem, however, as Wiese has pointed out (p. xl), had already been printed during the fifteenth century, a copy of it being in the Ambrosian Library (*S. Q. Q.* iii, 53) and another—as I am able to add by the courtesy of Dr Ezio Levi—in the *Riccardiana* (Edizioni rare, *E.* iii, 270). The latter copy was in Lami's days bound up in a miscellany of MSS. and prints marked O. IV. XXXV (Lami, *Catal. codd. Ricc.*, p. 234), hence Wiese (p. xl) took it to be a MS. The MSS. contained in the miscellany now form cod. 1709. Finally, another old edition with some variations and containing 63 stanzas, is in the Casanatense Library (O. II. 106), and has been described by Molteni in *Giornale di filologia romanza*, ii, pp. 90—91.

[5] B. Wiese, *Die Trivulzianische Handschrift der Margarethenlegende*, in *Zeitschrift für Roman. Phil.*, xvi, pp. 230 ff.

[6] B. Wiese, *Zur Margarethenlegende, ein Bruchstück aus dem Cod. Harley 5347*, in *Abhandlungen A. Tobler gewidmet*, Halle, 1895, pp. 124 ff. Another MS. is in the Columbina Library of Seville (see *Studi di Filologia Romanza*, ii, pp. 271 ff.), and yet another is mentioned by Prof. Crescini, *Ignoto Manoscritto di uno dei poemi italiani sopra S. Margherita*, Padua, 1898. I have not, however, been able to see this work.

[7] *L.c.*, pp. li ff.

[8] D'Adda, *Indagini sulla Libreria Visconteo-Sforzesca*, p. 84.

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to seek the protection of the virgin saint, as we know various princesses of the royal family of France have done most devoutly[1].

The present 'cantare' exists only in a single MS. (Br.), which belongs to the Brera Library of Milan[2], and dates from the fifteenth century. There might be little excuse for publishing it were it similar to the texts in stanzas of eight lines already published; but the text published by Zambrini contains 69 stanzas and the print in the Ambrosian Library 61, whereas our 'cantare' consists of as many as 92 stanzas. This fact clearly points to its independence of either of the previously known versions of this class. A mere glance at Zambrini's poem[3] shows that it is a genuine Tuscan 'cantare,' freely elaborated from the Latin prose text published by Mombritius and reprinted by Wiese[4], or from one of the Italian prose translations made from the Latin, so that it is hardly necessary to compare it with Br., which, as I shall endeavour to prove, was more likely composed by a Lombard who strove to write in the literary language. At the end of the legend there is a somewhat singular statement: 'Explicit oratio virginis Margarite in modum tuschum,' words which obviously refer to the metre of the poem, not to the language in which it was written. Lombard metrical forms down to the first twenty-five or thirty years of the fifteenth century were closely akin to French forms; consequently the stanza of eight lines was considered in Lombardy a foreign form, and we may well understand that any scribe and especially such a scribe as Sachelli (who followed the profession of wandering minstrel and pretended to be a poet himself), would call attention to the peculiarity of the work he was penning. It is superfluous to add that the 'ottava' was occasionally employed by Lombard poets, but in doing so, they were conscious of introducing into their province a metre that was to some extent foreign. The fittingness of the phrase 'in modum tuschum' will be better appreciated if we bear in mind that the author of our legend was undoubtedly acquainted with the old Lombard poem dealing with the passion of St Margaret. We shall in fact see that there are a number of passages which testify to much more than an accidental connection between Br. and W.

[1] F[elix] S[oleil], *La vierge Marguerite substituée à la Lucine antique*, Paris, 1885, pp. 30, 33 *et passim*.

[2] Biblioteca Nazionale di Brera, cod. AD, XVI, 20, 'Sachelli Bartolomeo, Zibaldone autografo di più e diverse materie,' sec. XV in., 290 ff. The legend occupies ff. $3^{A}$—$5^{A}$, each in two columns. My attention was called to this MS. years ago by Professor Novati; to whom I gladly acknowledge my indebtedness for a number of suggestions as well as for a recent collation of my copy with the MS.

[3] See also Wiese, *l.c.*, pp. xxxix—xli.

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. vi—xviii.

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Concerning the scribe of the MS. I am unable to say much; I regret that I did not examine with greater care and patience all the contents of the bulky miscellany, as they might have offered some clue to the identity of Sachelli. However, the worthy Bartolomeo Sachelli, who styled himself 'frotulista mediolanensis' and dabbled in poetry, would no doubt have vaunted his authorship of our legend, had he had the slightest claim to do so. And since Sachelli did not ascribe the poem to anyone, we may safely assume his ignorance concerning this point. It is not quite so certain that Sachelli is not responsible for the inscription at the end of the legend. It is, of course, just as likely that he found these words in the copy which lay before his eyes, as that he added them. But we ought to remember that this MS. was written by Sachelli, as he informs us in the first page, for his own use: 'Sum Bartolomei de Sachellis frotuliste mediolanensis.' The wide diffusion of the legend renders it quite possible for Sachelli to have been acquainted with the usual Lombard versions of it, but it is still more probable that the author, who certainly knew one of the MSS., W., should have emphasized the peculiar characteristic of his work as much as to say, 'a legend of St Margaret, but in a new metre, in Tuscan metre.' However this may be, we are indebted for the preservation of the work to Sachelli who deemed it worthy to be included in the anthology of a fifteenth century *jongleur*.

Sachelli is not a faultless scribe, but he is no worse than most of his contemporaries; he does not, at least, seem to have been addicted to making additions to the works he was copying, so that I should, on the whole, be inclined to say that the inscription was transcribed with the rest of the legend[1]. For the same reason we may *a priori* set aside the theory that Sachelli himself gave a Tuscan text a Lombard colouring, since whenever his text is indisputably Tuscan we fail to trace any appreciable dialectical difference. Besides being probably a Lombard himself, the author of Br. made extensive use of the widely distributed Lombard text W. The subject matter and a very considerable number of verbal expressions in Br. are drawn from W., while others were taken from a prose text, probably that printed by Mombritius (M.). A closer examination of the poem will make this point quite clear.

[1] There are of course no indications of autography in this part of the MS.; on the contrary, the corrections at ll. 20—24; the addition in the marginal space of ll. 60 and 123; the corrections of a few words like *linagio*, l. 164; *ela*, l. 166; *segno*, l. 350; *quela*, l. 414; *perdonati*, l. 679; and finally the substitution of *humiltate* for *verginitate* in l. 308, and the subsequent correction, all show, together with other indirect indications, that Sachelli was copying from another MS.

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It begins with an introductory stanza (1—8) which is independent of either of the above mentioned sources. The sole interest lies in the mention of St Ursula, which, if we knew more of the author, might help us to some extent to locate his birth-place, since it is possible that St Ursula was the patron saint of his town. Yet too much stress should not be laid on this point, both by reason of the great fame enjoyed by this saint in the Middle Ages, and because it may be reasonably supposed that the minstrels who recited the poem took care, after the manner of their class, to introduce in this verse the name of the patron saint of the city in which they happened to exercise their profession. M. has quite a different introduction and so has W., but three of the MSS. collated by Wiese, which in his edition are designated by the letters C, E and H[1] and which form a special group, begin with the words:

Ognomo jntenda e staga jn paxe
Chi uolle vdir d'un sermon ueraxe.

These are almost exactly reproduced in Br. ll. 9—10:

Pertanto ogni hom intenda e stia in pace,
Chi vuol aldir[e] d'un sancto sermone,

so that from the very beginning we realise that the author of Br. probably availed himself of a MS. belonging to the group CEH. Line 11 recalls W., 41:

D'una legenda molto bella.

Lines 12—16 do not give us any special information and are merely an anticipation of what is to follow. We learn, however, the name of the saint, as in W., 46. M. p. vii, l. 9 tells us also that Margaret was specially graced from her birth, 'Illa autem spiritu sancto repleta mox ut nata est,' Br., 17—18 says:

A Dio multo fuo fidele e francha
E fuo del Spirto Sancto illuminata;

like W. 43—44,

Che molto fo feela a De'
E Spirto Sancto fo en le'.

Lines 18—20 form a eulogy of the maiden's religion, in amplification of W.; l. 21, however, could hardly be understood did not W. afford us the key to its meaning:

E si lege, si la lege non mancha.

[1] Cp. Wiese, *op. cit.*, pp. lviii—lxviii. The MSS. forming group CEH are C, cod. Marc., class ital., ix, 142 (15th cent.); E, Vindob., 2661 (15th cent.); H, Ambros., S. 95, sup. (anno 1429).

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It indicates that we may read, if we know Latin, as W. 48—49:

E la scritura lo manefesta
Al dir de qui' che leçer sa.

M., vii, 8—9 acquaints us with the country and family of Margaret: 'erat Theodosii filia qui gentilium erat patriarcha & idola adorabat,' but the source of Br., 22—23:

Che d' un gentil pagano la fuo nata,
D' un Patriarca nobile e possente

is again W., 50—51:

Ela fo fiia d' un pagan
D' un gentilisimo patriarcha.

W. is thus responsible for the rather peculiar interpretation of the Latin text. Again the idolatry of this patriarch (Br. 24—26) is drawn from W., 57—58 or 64—66. Like Margaret's father the Emperor Olibero was also a heathen. Now the name of this Roman magistrate is generally Olibero in our version, Oliberus in M., and usually Olinbrio in the various MSS. of W. Yet the first time that this name appears in Br. (l. 40) we find it as 'il libero Imperatore,' this corresponds with H of W. which, instead of l. 68, has the following:

E lo libero Imperadore;

it occasionally repeats the name in this form, which however occurs only once in Br.

After enlarging on the blind faith which the Emperor shows for 'Macometto' (ll. 32—40), our poem tells us that Margaret was entrusted to a nurse living fifteen days' distance from Antioch. In M. we are told much the same, but the child is given to a nurse because her mother is dead, while this fact is omitted both by W. and by Br. Wiese has rightly pointed out some verbal likeness between M., vii, 10—12 and W., 75—82, but the following comparison between these passages and Br., 41 and 47—48, will show that Br. depends on W.:

M., vii, 10. Lata est in quandam ciuitatem stadiis quindecim ab Antiochia distantem. Susceperat eam nutrix, ut nutriretur. Mortua autem matre beatae Margaritae ampliori desyderio nutricis tenebatur....

W., 75—82. Or digem dela fantina,
Denfin k' el' era picinina,
Como la mare la tramiso
A una soa norigariso,
Ke lla deueua norigar
E amonir e castigar.
Ma si staua quindex çornae
Fora louçi da la citae.

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Br., 41. Or cominciamo dela sancta dona.
47—48. Lontano fuor[i] da quella citate
Conme si trova quindeci giornate.

M. has only later a passing reference to the persecution of the Christians, but Br., 49—56, explains that the nurse lived so far from the town in order to escape this danger, exactly as W., 85—88:

Vnd' ella auea gran paor
De Olinbrio l' enperaor,
Ke perseguia li Cristian
Per li monti e per li plan.

Br., 49. Per gran paura del Imperatore
50. Che persequiva li buon Christiani...
54. Non potean(o) habitar(e) monti nen plani.

Margaret is represented by Br. (57—64) as watching the sheep in words clearly recalling those of W.,

Br., 60. Ad un bel prato conin' el' iera usata
W., 95. Or staua quella en un bel pra'.
Br., 61—62. Ad guardar caprete e pegorsella
Di sua nutrice, una matutinata.
W., 91—94. E Margarita era usata
Andar ognuncha maitinata
A guardar pegore e berbis
De questa soa norigaris.

(The MS. B of W. has *matutinata* instead of *maitinata*.) The horsemen accompanying Olibero are not described in M., but if we set the lines of W. in the order of the MS. H[1], there is a clear parallelism between W. and Br.

Br., 65—72. In mezo di quella cavalaria
Veniva lo malvaxio senza fede;
Conti, marchexi e altra cavalaria
In sua (gran) conpagna la poncella vede,
Che dila magistra ci(vi)tà venia
Per far oratione senza mercede
E per destruere tuta quella gente,
Che adoravan[o] Christo omnipotente.

W., 100—108. E una grand chaualaria, 100
Et en meço logo de lor 103
Era Olimbrio enperator, 104
Sì trauersaua da radent 101
Conti e marchixi e altra çent, 102
Che uegnia da la cità,
Per adorar la uanità
E per destruer l' altra çent,
Che no fasea lo somegent.

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. lix and 6.

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In M., viii, 7—8, the admiration of Oliberus for the maiden is very briefly described; W., 109—118, dramatises the scene in the same way as Br., 73—80, though Br., 81—88, adds a speech of the messengers.

The message of the Emperor is somewhat curtailed in Br., 89—96. The servants are merely ordered to go with the greatest speed to Margaret and tell her that Olibero finds her so charming that he wishes to make her his Empress. Now this message in M., viii, 9—13, is two-fold, as Oliberus is only ready to marry her provided she is born free; were she a slave she would have to follow him as a slave. W., 119—130, explains this alteration, because there the Emperor says that, were she a slave, he would have power enough to free her and marry her.

The next scene brings us to the first notable difference between W. and Br. In M., where we pass at once to Margaret's prayer (Br. 120—136), this episode is not to be found; W., 137—174, introduces in its place a charming scene. Margaret is spinning; her friends resist the offensive pretensions of the Emperor's messengers. Br., 97—105, is thus in agreement with M., in so far as it does not mention the quarrel, but it introduces a short speech of the messengers (103—104), which does not stand in relation to anything in W.

Nevertheless in the next lines (Br., 105—112) describing Margaret's fear, we find expressions which are clearly an echo of some in W.:

Br., 105—108. Quando la donna fuo di lor accorta,
Ella fuo sì fortemente stermitta,
Che nella facia quasi parsi morta,
Così lieve fuo(la) dil sangue smarrita.

W., 141—144. Quand' ella de llor fo acorta,
De, com' ella deuene smorta! (BEH: morta)
E sì aue sì gran tremor
Ch' el no gẹ romas de sangue adosso. (H)

The long prayer in M., viii, 15—26, is considerably abridged in W.; Br., 113—128, gives the prayer in a different form from either, though retaining some verbal expressions. The concluding words of the distressed maiden, amplified from the Latin 'Ecce facta sum sicut passer in raetibus comprehensa & sicut piscis in hamo' are very similar in Br., 129—132, and in W., 191—193.

W., 191—193. E se per ti no sun defessa,
Vete, Meser, cum eo sun presa
Sì cum lo pexo a l' aıneçol.

Br., 129—132. Ch' io son[o] conme passer alla rete,
E conme pesso all' amo sou prexa,
Cossì son io, se non me socurrete,
E si per vui, Signor, non son diffexa.

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It is however noteworthy that there is no mention in W. of the sparrow caught in the net, while Br. as well as M. refer to it. This comparison, which occurs at the end of the prayer in Br. and in M., appears in the middle of it in W. The last line of the prayer is identical in both poetical versions:

Br., 136. Dixi: 'Signor, ad vuy m' aricomendo.'
W., 210. 'A ti me rendo e me comando.'

The effect of this prayer on the messengers is similarly described in Br., 137—144, and in W., 213—216:

Br., 137—139. Quando li messagi[eri] dil mal fare
Hebeno intexo la sancta oratione,
Non se volsero lì (già) più dimorare,
Br., 141. Ma subito la curseno (ad) accusare....
W., 213—216. Li mesaçer ke era lì,
Quand i lla uit orar così,
No stete plu nè demorà,
Ma çe al re e sì l' acusà.

The return of the messengers to Olibero and their words (145—152) are put in direct form in Br., as well as in M., viii, 26—29, while W., 217—220, prefaces the speech of the messengers by an angry outburst of Olinbrio; the reply of the messengers to him appears at first in indirect speech (221—227) and only later is directly spoken (228—236). The comparison of the following passages will give a clear idea of the mutual relationship between Br., W., and M.:

M., viii, 27. Domine, puella illa non est serviens diis nostris, sed Christum precat quem iudei crucifixerunt.
Br., 149. Ançi se volse verso oriente.
W., 177. Leua le man uers oriente.
Br., 151—152. Cominciando adorar quel crucifixo
Qual fuo per li Iudei auciso.
W., 245—246. Quel crucifiso ke un dis
Ke 'l pouol di Çuei ancis.

The feelings of the Emperor and his orders which are briefly summed up in a sentence by M., viii, 29—30, are in Br., 153—160, developed strictly on the model of W., 257—261, e.g.:

Br., 153—154. Quando lo iniquo chane Imperatore
Have quella responsïone intexa.
W., 257—258. Quand Olinbrio l' auo entes,
De iniquità el fo sì pres.
Br., 160. Quel chane che no se potia alegrare.
W., 259. K' el no se poeua alegrar.

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The questions put by the Emperor to the maiden and her replies are separated from one another in M., viii, 30—40, while in W., 263—292, they are grouped together round three direct questions, and in Br., 161—168, they are together but narrated indirectly; verbal similarities are frequent, e.g.:

Br., 164. Dil suo linagio e dov' era nata.

W., 264—265. O' tu nasisi o en qual terra
Che sauer uoi' lo to legnaço.

Br., 168. Humil[e]mente con benigna vose.

W., 268. Nutriamentre e en plana uos. (But CEH: Vmelmente.)

The above remarks apply also to the following lines of Br. (169—184). Some of the verbal parallels are:

Br., 174. In Antiochia nata ad ver dire.

W., 277—278. Sì fo nati de uerità
D' Antioxia la cità.

Br., 177. Dixi lo 'mperatore: 'Or me di' vero...'

W., 279. Respond lo re: 'Or me di' uer...'

Br., 183—184. Che se lasciò per noy crucificare
Ad l' uhumana generation(e) salvare.

W., 289—291. K' el se laxà marturïar
Per defender e per scanpar (But CEH: redimer e salvare.)
La generacïon humana.

Margaret is now ordered to prison (Br., 185—192). The course of events is identical with that in M., viii, 41—43, whereas W., 292—364, adds a long disputation between Margaret and Olinbrio. A goodly number of these verses are omitted in group CEH, but on the whole the author of Br. must have kept in view the succession of events as described in M. The general tone of Br., 185—192, seems an echo of W., 365—369.

Again, Br., 193—200, describing Olibero's entrance into the city and his religious observances, introduces a scene which in M., viii, 44—45, follows immediately upon the preceding one, while W. adds a few more particulars (371—378), omitted in CEH. I refrain from adducing other verbal points of contact between the various versions, such as M., viii, 44; W., 379—380; Br., 194, 196; W., 383—397, as they do not offer any help in the determination of the sources.

The next morning Oliberus summons Margaret before him; 'venit et sedit pro tribunali' says M., ix, 1, words which were expanded in W., 392—394, though CEH substitute for this passage a single line:

En so palaxio montà el re.

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This line appears in W. further on (l. 888) and is certainly much nearer to Br., 202:

Olib(e)ro fuo nel palatio montato.

But the next line, 203,

Suoi consiglieri havia lì presente,

is not based on anything in W.; it must have been suggested by 'sedit pro tribunali.'

Olinbrio's speech entreating the maiden to have pity upon herself is much developed in W., 395—426, so that, even taking into consideration that in CEH, ll. 417—426 are missing and that the speech is a little shorter, none of the MSS. of W. have such serious claims to be the source of Br., 205—208, as M.

M., ix, 2—3. miserere tuae pulchritudini et teneritati tuae, magis autem consenti mihi...

Br., 205—206. ...Or mi consente
Non voler(e) ch' el tuo corpo sia disfato...

Margaret's reply (Br., 209—216) seems independent of M. and W.; the substance of what she says is similar in all versions, but it is difficult to decide which was the source of Br. The Emperor now stands up and orders Margaret to abandon the Christian faith threatening her with a cruel death (Br., 217—224). The words of Oliberus in M., ix, 10—14, convey the same meaning, but the Emperor does not rise from his seat in pronouncing them, while in W. there is a further determination of time 'anço k' el uegna sera,' which does not exist in Br. In group CEH, W., 459, follows immediately upon W., 257, and they seem the source of:

Br., 217—218. Alor fuo lo 'mperatore iniquo
E subito fuo in pie[di] levato.

W., 258. De iniquità el fo sì pres
W., 459. E fo pur quel in pe' saiuto.

It is however noteworthy that in group CEH, ll. 455—458 containing Olinbrio's threat of death are not to be found in this place but earlier in the poems, after W., 362, at the first interview of Olinbrio with Margaret. Olibero now orders the maiden to be stripped and beaten (Br., 233—240). This order is given in an indirect form in Br. as well as in M., ix, 18—20, but M. does not say that the maiden was stripped, while this is repeated in Br., 236, from W., 467 and 475—76. Besides the direct order from Olinbrio W. adds a description of Margaret's sufferings (464—484). Br. has lost much of the vivacity of W. but there is more in it than could have been drawn from M.



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The prayer of the saint during her torture (Br., 241—248) is independent of W., 487—511, but it is clearly based on M., ix, 21—27.

Br., 243. Speranza soprana mia.
M., ix, 21. In te, domine, speraui.
Br., 247—248. Tramitteme quella duolce fontana
Che queste plaghe conforta e sana.
M., ix, 27. Sed mitte ros sanitatis ut mitigentur plagae meae.

W. having described the sufferings of the maiden at ll. 482—484, before she began to pray, does not dwell on them here, so that the order of events in Br., 249—256, is obviously drawn from M., ix, 28—30, rather than from W. The maiden's sufferings cause some of the onlookers to urge her to yield to the Emperor (Br., 257—264). In W., 515—530, the sympathy of the onlookers is not recorded and the advice to surrender is given by one of the henchmen; M., ix, 32—37, is, in both these points in agreement with Br. In fact, 'alghuni gli dicia' (l. 259) is a translation of 'dicebant quidam ex eis' (ix, 33). Margaret rebukes her advisers violently (Br., 265—272); she employs the singular in her speech, whereas the plural would have been more correct, but the same mistake occurs in some of the MSS. of W.

Br., 265. O perfido e malvaxio consigliero...
267. Assai di meglior me ne fa mistiero
Qual i' ò bene nel mio chuor pigliato

are almost identical with W., 535—538:

O soço conseier maluas,
Meior conseio mester me fas,
E pur cotal cum e' ò pres...

On the contrary Br., 271—272:

Sapi [che] se 'l mio corpo ha tormento
L' anima legreza hav(e)rà in conpimento

recall the words of M., ix, 42: 'Per ista corporum tormenta animae saluae inueniuntur.' The subsequent advice of the saint to the people (Br., 273—288) is a paraphrase of M., ix, 42—44, more particularly ll. 277—278. M., ix, 45—x, 5, is also the source of the saint's angry words to Oliberus (Br., 281—288), concerning which see Wiese's remarks[1].

Br., 281—282. O tristo chane pleno de nequitia,
L' op[e]ra di Sathan, tuo patre, servi.
M., ix, 46. Tu facis opera patris tui Sathanae, o audax canis & impudens.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. xxiv.

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Then Olibero's anger rises again and he orders a new torture for the maiden. This passage has been omitted by W.[1]; it is an elaboration from M., x, 5—6.

After a short reflection on the cruelty of human hearts (Br., 297—302) Br. inserts a long prayer by the saint (Br., 303—320), which was evidently suggested by M., x, 6—18. A few quotations will prove this:

Br., 303. ...Or son da cani circundata.
M., x, 7. Circumdederunt me canes multi.

Br., 311. Tramitteme la columba dal cielo.
M., x, 12. Transmitte mihi columbam de caelo.

Compare also Br., 306—310, with M., x, 9—11, and Br., 313—320, with the following:

(M., x, 13—17). ...ut immaculatam tibi obseruem uirginitatem meam et dimicem contra aduersarium meum faciae ad faciem et uideam deiectum inimicum meum qui mecum pugnat....Vincam eum et dem fidutiam omnibus uirginibus confidere...

Curiously enough Br., 319:

Per dar all' altre vergin(e) tal fidutia

recalls W., 413:

Per darte termen e enduxia

where 'enduxia' rhymes with 'feduxia,' while 'fidutia' rhymes here with 'indutia.'

While Margaret is engrossed in her prayer, the sight of her torture is so distressing that Olibero and all the onlookers cover their eyes, (Br., 321—328). This scene is likewise described in M., x, 19—21, and in W., 557—566, but the latter gives more particulars, and Br. is clearly derived from M., e.g.:

Br., 328. E cosl facean(o) l' altri totti quanti.
M., x, 21. Itidem caeteri faciebant.

Apart from one considerable addition (ll. 575—586) and a few minor ones after l. 594, which are not in all the MSS., W. bases the next speech of Olinbrio on M., x, 21—26, as has been pointed out by Wiese[2]; nevertheless, so far as the subject matter is concerned, Br., 329—336 follows even more faithfully than W., the Latin prose. Knowing how often the author of Br. availed himself of W., we cannot be surprised at finding Br., 336:

Ad (mala) morte te farò portar[e] stento,

[1] *Ibid.*, p. xxv. [2] *Ibid.*, p. xxv.



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modelled on W. (C.), 634:

E chon gran stenti la farò penare.

Margaret's reply (Br., 337—344) is an almost literal reproduction of M., x, 26—30, but the author of Br. also did not forget W., 604—614, e.g.:

Br., 340. Non mi caglia s' io son martirizata.
W., 607—608. ...nè no me i cal
S' eo faço mort corporal.

The second imprisonment of the maiden (Br., 345—352) is much amplified in W., 615—645, but Br. keeps to M., x, 30—33; e.g.:

Br., 349—350. Et intrando in quel luoco smarrito
Dil segno dila croce se fuo armata.

M., x, 32—33. Ipsa uero introiens consignauit corpus suum signaculo Christi...

The first of Margaret's prayers in her prison (Br., 353—368) is shortly recorded in W., 657—660, but Br. is taken almost word for word from M., x, 34—xi, 3; e.g.:

Br., 353—354. 'Signor Dio, chi la scientia ordinasti,
Per la qual tuto 'l mondo è in timore...'

M., x, 34—35. 'Deus, qui iudicium sapientiae decreuisti, quem contremiscunt omnia saecula...'

Br., 366. Non esser contra me corrutiato.
M., x, 43. Noli mihi irasci...

Ticino and the nurse keep watch by the imprisoned maiden (Br., 369—376). This passage is again entirely derived from M., xi, 3—6, since in W. there is no mention of Ticino, and the nurse appears in this version in a more emotional light (W., 361—378). Also the description of the dragon (Br., 377—384) depends entirely on M., xi, 7—11; W. mentions the dragon twice, once before it appears (ll. 651—656) and again in ll. 679—700.

Br., 384. E per sua spada una serpa tenia,

must have been due to an omission in the MS. of M. used by the author of Br. or to an oversight, since M., xi, 11—12, reads: 'Super collum eius erat serpens. Gladius candens in manu eius uidebatur....' The attack of the dragon and Margaret's terror (Br., 385—400) are chiefly drawn from M., xi, 12—16. M., however, says no more of the maiden's pallor than 'facta est ut haerba pallida,' while

Br., 399—400. E (cos)sì palida par ch' ela venisse
Comme herba [verde] quando la marcisse,

shows some recollection of W., 723 (see note to text, v. 400).

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At this juncture the poet blunders badly in his translation,

Br., 398. Quasi per morta se lasciò cadere

being based on 'formido mortis cecidit super eam.' The words of l. 397,

...secondo di lei [io] so trovare

might serve as extenuation, were such an expression not a commonplace among the minstrels of the time. Also the lines Br., 393—394, recall W., 722.

The process of 'materialisation' of which Maury speaks[1] is clearly exemplified in the following passage (Br., 401—408). W. does not mention the forgetfulness of the maiden, but both W. and Br. miss or overlook the cause of the dragon's appearance, which is clearly shown in M., xi, 16—17: 'Oblita enim erat a pauore quia dominus exaudisset orationem eius. Propter quod dixerat: "Demonstra mihi, deus, qui mecum pugnat."' The source is plainly indicated by the latinism 'oblita' in l. 406. The prayer of the maiden which is omitted in W., is briefly recorded in Br., 407—408, whereas it is given at length in M., xi, 19—28; the description of the swallowing up of the saint (Br., 409—416) is taken literally from M., xi, 28—31; W., 725—732 is freer.

Br., 416. Sì la transgluttì quasi sospirando

M., xi, 31. ...et suspirans deglutiuit eam.

M., xi, 31—34, is the source of the following passage dealing with the deliverance of the maiden, both in W., 735—748, and in Br., 417—424; but the two poetical versions are independent of each other; Br. carefully follows M., e.g.:

Br., 417—420. Ma la cruoce de Dio, quel sancto signo
Che la sancta donzela havia fatto,
Fuo cresciuta nel corpo dil maligno
Dracone....

M., xi, 31—32. Sed crux Christi quam sibi fecerat beata Margarita creuit in ore draconis...

The maiden now discovers a demon in the corner of her prison who has his hands tied to his knees and once again she turns her mind to prayer. Br., 425—432, carefully follows M., xi, 35—37. The position 'habensque manus ad genua colligata' (Br. 429) is overlooked in W., which also abridges the prayer (ll. 753—760), while Br., 433—456, draws

[1] Alfred Maury, *Croyances et légendes du moyen-âge*, 2me éd. Paris, 1876, pp. 134—136, 234—238 and *passim*.

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continuously from M., xi, 37—xii, 9. Almost every line of Br. may be traced back to some expression in M.; e.g.:

Br., 439. ...io vedo florida la mia fede.
M., xi, 41. Nunc fidem meam florentem uidi...
Br., 441. Vedo Rufone in terra abatuto...
M., xi, 42. Uidi Rufonem daemonem in terra prostratum...
Br., 449. La mia columba col disio aspetto...
M., xii, 2. ...expecto columbam meam hilarem ad me uenientem.

The scene where the demon is shown entreating Margaret's mercy, is rearranged in W., 759—769, (for instance, the demon does not hold her hand), while M., xii, 9—11 contains exactly the same elements that were utilised at greater length in Br., 457—464. Also the confession of the demon is much closer to M., xii, 11—16, in Br., 465—480, than in W., 770—790. Margaret has no patience with her tempter; she throws him down and puts her foot on his throat (Br., 481—496). W., 759—768, has entirely recast this episode, which, as Wiese remarks (p. LXIV), is altogether missing from the MSS. of group CEH; the author of Br. was consequently driven to keep more closely than ever to his source M., xii, 17—24. The miraculous apparition in the prison and the heavenly message to Margaret that follow are also dependent on M., xii, 24—29. The independence of Br., 497—512, from W. need not be demonstrated, especially if we consider that CEH completely rearrange this scene. After having thanked God for the apparition, Margaret sharply questions her tempter (Br., 513—528). Again W., 823—830, does not contribute any substantial or formal elements to Br., which paraphrases M., xii, 30—34, e.g.:

Br., 526—527. Adciò possa alquanto requiare;
E dopoi ti contarò l' opra mia.
M., xii, 33. ...ut quiescam modicum, et enarrabo tibi omnia opera mea.

The reply of the demon (Br., 529—560) is also worked out in strict adherence to M., xii, 35—xiii, 25, but the poet has omitted many of the emphatic Latin expressions, as did also the monk of Piacenza (W., 835—870). Both the poetical versions are comparatively faithful to their text; both omit certain passages, as that relating to the religion of Margaret's parents who are said to have been under the demon's sway, or the other containing the demon's question concerning Margaret's family, and her reply; yet, verbally, Br. and W. are independent of each other.

Br., 531—533. .....Io sono appellato
Belzib, pox' el nome del mio signore,
Qual Belziabub è per nome chiamato.

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M., xii, 35—36. Beelzes cognomen est mihi post Belzebub.

Br., 545—546. Nançe che Christo te acompagnasse
Eri conme cinere assai brusata.

M., xii, 40. Antequam Christus in te maneret, terra eras et cinis...

Margaret's command to the demon to depart (Br., 563—570) is drawn with a certain freedom from M., xiv, 11—15, but stands in no verbal agreement with W., 871—885. The beginning of the second interview with Olibero (Br., 569—576) is also dependent upon M., xiv, 16—17. The Emperor does not in M., xiv, 18—20, express his surprise at seeing the maiden look so well after her sufferings of the previous day, though the question of Br., 583—584, is based upon that passage in M. The source of Br., 580:

Anchuo d' ogni mal sanata

is W., 904, either in its own form:

D' ognunca mal ben guaria

or more probably in the form given by CEH, which introduces here:

W., 734. Che de mal no auea miga.

In fact Br., 579:

E ello guarda e vidi 'l suo bel colore

is more nearly akin to W., 905, as given by CE:

E per lo colore k' era en le' (H: e 'l bello colore)

than to the usual form of W., 905:

Per le beleçe k' era en le'.

In M., xiv, 20—22, Margaret's reply is recorded in a few words which are amplified in W., 909—934, in a new dialogue, consisting of two questions by Olinbrio and two replies by the saint. The lines Br., 585—600, although curtailing some passages, adhere to the Lombard text; Br., 590—592, are clearly based on W., 918—926, and

Br., 593—594. ....'Ben ti confirmo
Che sopra 'l mio corpo ha' [tu] possanza'

are drawn from W., 927—928:

....'Ben è uer
Che tu me poi sto corpo ancir';

while Br., 599—600:

Ma sapi certo che l' anima mia
Non puo' tu haver in tua bailia,

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seem to recall W., 357—358, which H introduces here in the form:

Se tu ài lo corpo en bailia
Tu no aurai l' anema mia.

Again, the actual martyrdom of Margaret rests on W. rather than on M. The trial by fire (M., xiv, 22—24) is briefly described in M., while W., 935—948, adds many particulars some of which are faithfully repeated in Br., 601—608.

Br., 601—602, seem to echo W., 615—616, which CEH introduce here and the lines:

Br., 607—608. In tal modo ardia la tenerella
Conme faria una secha facella,

are based on W., 947—948:

E le soe carne è tenerele
Sì ardea como faxelle. (CEH: *Tenerella* and *una faxella.*)

Margaret's prayer (Br. 609—616) is independent of M., xiv, 25—26, and of W., 950—954, but it undoubtedly recalls the lines introduced after l. 950 by CEH, e.g.:

Br., 611. Tuto 'l mondo per te fuo illuminato...
W., p. 54 n. Veraxe dio ke 'l lume aduxisti...
Br., 613. Per te fuo il mare e la terra creato...
W., p. 54 n. Lo celo, la terra e 'l mare tu facisti.

In M., xiv, 26—28, and in W., 955—963, a short dialogue between the Emperor and the maiden follows, but CE(H) omit ll. 955—962 (64). Br., 617—624, follows this group, passing on at once to describe the torture by boiling water (W., 963), e.g.:

Br., 620. Che un(o) gran(de) vasello fuosse apparechiato...
W., 965. Un grand uasselo fes uegnir...

Curiously enough CEH have 'tina' instead of 'uassello.'

Br., 623. Poi deutro [quello] la fece ghietare...
W., 968. Entro l' acqua la fes çetar...

Br. does not record that Margaret was bound, as do M., xiv, 31 and W., 967; this verse is omitted in CEH.

The subsequent prayer of the saint is much longer in M., xiv, 33—xv, 2. Br., 625—632, retains only those sentences that are not omitted by group CEH, in which the whole passage is rearranged:

Br., 628—629. Signa questa acqua colla tua oratione
Che di tal[e] baptismo me contento.
W., 981—982. Segname st' acqua cun lo to segno
Che questo sïe me' batesmo.

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Br., 631—632, are almost identical with W., 977—978.

The arrival of the dove with the crown for Margaret (Br., 633—640) is drawn once more from a MS. akin to CEH, and especially to H, which introduces here W., 807:

Br., 633. Ver il ciel la sancta have guardato...
W., 807. Ella guardà en cel là drito...

Br., 639—640, recall W., 987.

The general conversion of the people is barely mentioned in M., xv, 14. Br. amplifies W., which does not record the actual words of the people (W., 991—998) which are to be found in Br., 644—648; but Br., 641—642, rest on the two verses substituted by CEH for W., 991—994, and Br., 643, 648, respectively recall W., 997 and 998; e.g.:

Br., 641. Quando [e]l populo dela contrata.
W., p. 57, n. 991. E la zente de quella contrada.

The martyrdom of the 5000 converts (Br., 649—656) is entirely dependent on W., 999—1004, e.g.:

Br., 652. Cinque milia ne fece appigliare.
W., 1001. Ben. V. milia ne fe' piiar (in EH *Ben* is omitted).
Br., 655. Al campo d' Arminía deputato.
W., 1003 (as in CEH). En lo campo de Arminio fo.

The sentence on Margaret (Br., 657—672) is drawn from W., 1005—1012; Marco's reply to the maiden is introduced by a verse:

Br., 665. E Marco gli rispuoxe voluntiera,

which recalls W., 1013, as in C:

El ge respoxe volentera,

although Marco's speech is somewhat more fully developed than in W., 1014—1016. It may be mentioned that CEH all spell the name of the executioner 'Marco,' not 'Malco' as M. and W.

The last prayer of the saint begins in Br., 673—696, with expressions which the monk of Piacenza had chosen for his Lombard poem (W. 1020—1022) from those in M., xvi, 9—10; indeed the lines Br., 673—674, are modelled on:

W., 1020—1021. O Jesù Christo, dolçe Pare,
Che mesuras la terra e 'l celo...

The rest of the prayer follows W. (CEH), e.g.:

Br., 679—680. Glie siano totti quanti perdonati
Offensione, ingiurie e peccati.
W., Nt., 3—4. Che li sia tuti perdouadi
Li ofenssioni e li pecadi...

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Br., 684, is modelled on W. (Nt., 8) and Br., 678—688, also depend on W., (Nt., 11—12). Br. however adds (689—692) a few more requests of the saint. Finally the concluding lines down to Br., 724, are drawn from W., (Nt.), that is to say from the end of the poem as it appears in the MSS. of group CEH. I shall give a few out of many instances:

Br., 697. Una sancta voce dal cïel viene...
W., Nt., 13. Una voxe alor dal cielo viene...
Br., 706. Quando ti piace fa ciò ch' ài ad fare...
W., Nt., 19. Tosto fa çiò che tu di' fare...
Br., 711—712. .....Se ciò non farai
Sapi mechuo parte non haverai.
W., Nt., 25—26. Se tu questo non faray
Chon mego jnsema tu non vegniray.
Br., 718. .....e luy fuo in terra strangossato...
W., Nt., 30. El chade jn tera strangossado.

Br., 724—736 are a rather free adaptation from W., Nt., 40—50.

The preceding analysis, which may appear too minute, but which could easily be amplified, proves beyond doubt that the author of Br. availed himself of two different sources: the prose text which we have called M(ombritius) whence the poet drew a considerable portion of his work, mainly between l. 225 and l. 584, while the remaining portion was taken by him from a Lombard text belonging to the group which, according to Wiese's denomination, we have called CEH. The evidence in favour of this theory is almost overwhelming. The prologue is missing as in CEH[1]; Br. has no likeness to W., 1024—1090, but follows fairly closely the characteristic end of the legend given in Wiese's *Nachtrag* (Nt.); two verses which Wiese singles out as characteristic of group CEH[2] (ll. 27—28 of Nt.), are reproduced in Br., 718; finally, many more verses have been pointed out in the preceding pages certainly derived from verses in W. which are peculiar to CEH.

One might also assume that the author of Br. knew a Lombard version differing considerably from those which have been traced. Wiese has shown that, notwithstanding some discrepancies, all the MSS. he has examined agree in the main lines, and no single one, we may add, has such features as to allow us to believe that Br. depends solely on it. Besides, if such a version had really existed, why should it not be preserved in any MS., while so many, well nigh a dozen, repeat the familiar lines of W.? This absolute lack of manuscript tradition seems to weaken the hypothesis of the existence of an intermediate version.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. li. [2] *Ibid.*, p. lviii.

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The question stands practically thus: either the author of Br. knew W. as well as M., or someone else before him translated M. in a form different from W., but which was known to the author of W. as well as to the author of Br. Seeing that Br. cannot be ascribed to a period earlier than the end of the fourteenth century, on account of its style and general character, and that during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries W. enjoyed great popularity in the North of Italy, as we can gather from the date of the various MSS., and that an even greater popularity fell to the share of the Latin version and to its literal Italian translations, the balance of judgment seems decidedly in favour of the first supposition.

There are perhaps some indications in Br. of this twofold source. In l. 24 express reference is made to a *cantare* ('In Antiochía s' el cantar non mente'), so that the author seems to acknowledge his indebtedness to a *cantare*; in the next line there is a reference to a *scriptura*, which means of course as a rule 'a Latin text.' The weight carried by this word is considerably lessened by its position in rhyme (our poet shared with most of his colleagues a certain difficulty in finding rhyme words) and by the fact that he may have drawn this line from W., 662:

Sì como la scritura dis,

or even better from W., 48:

E la scritura lo manefesta.

Wiese points out further[1] that these lines are 'formelhaft,' being traceable to preceding Lombard poems. Yet in spite of all these objections we cannot absolutely disregard the possibility of their having in the present case a foundation in reality, especially as we have seen that such was most probably the truth.

Literary productions of this kind seldom attain a high degree of artistic perfection, and Br. is far from forming an exception to the rule. Indeed, the Lombard text constantly shows a more sincere feeling; its author seems more thoroughly convinced of the reality of the martyrdom he describes, besides being more effective, if more brutal, in the picture he gives of the sufferings of the saint. Our poet was gifted with far less dramatic power than the monk of Piacenza who is supposed to have composed W. His style is halting, his poetry little better than prose; his rhymes are often imperfect, either in the matter of consonants as in ll. 730, 732, 734: donna, buona, perdona; ll. 151, 152: crucifixo, auciso; or vowels, e.g., ll. 153, 155, 157: imperatore, fuore, anchuora etc.

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 102 and 104.

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The measure of the verses is also frequently faulty (as a glance at the text will easily show) owing to the irregularly distributed accents, e.g., l. 715:

Staxendo la virgine in oratione;

or on account of omitted elisions as is very often the case, e.g., l. 464:

Nela forma che potreti udire.

Or again on account of letters or syllables which were not pronounced, especially in the case of words having the stress on the antepenultimate syllable, e.g., anima in ll. 214 and 272. But even making allowance for all these possible causes of imperfection, which are by no means peculiar to the author of Br., there remain in his legend a goodly number of hopelessly irregular verses, the irregularities of which cannot be attributed to the scribe.

We know that the poem was in our MS. copied by a Milanese, and we may perhaps also assume that it was composed by a Lombard. The only alternative hypothesis would be to attribute all the dialectical forms partly to the Lombard scribe, and partly to the Lombard source, admitting that we have in our legend an unsuccessful attempt to paint over the Lombard canvas with a Tuscan coating. Such an attempt could only be described as hopelessly unsuccessful, since we meet with Lombardisms at almost every line, and not only in the portion that is clearly drawn from W., but also in that which is dependent upon M.

As for the responsibility of the amanuensis, we ought to begin by exonerating Sachelli, since other poems contained in this same miscellany are very different and almost free from Lombardisms. Besides how could one ascribe to an amanuensis rhymes such as the following: stermitta (l. 106), smarrita; staxiva (l. 321), vidiva and potia; staxia (l. 377), venia and havia; stermita (l. 401), fita and oblita; nasce (nasse) (l. 549), brusasse; vinto (vento) (l. 553), dolento and spavento; rasato (l. 622), giovato and apparechiato; redeghato (l. 644), fatto. These and many other Lombard forms must be traced back to the author, who, although not a Tuscan, endeavoured to write the literary language and was thwarted in his effort by his imperfect preparation as well as by the dominating influence of one of his sources.

Other Lombard texts of approximately the same period bear more or less kindred features. I may perhaps mention here a resemblance, in general tone rather than in any particular point, which at times I seem to recognize between our legend and the *Lamento di Bernabò*

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*Visconti* in its first and second versions[1]. I confess that this resemblance is of a somewhat evanescent character: but one might compare the following passages:

| | |
|---|---|
| Br., 265. | O perfido e malvaxio consigliero. |
| Lam. I, st. lxxix. | O falsi consiglier male avixati. |
| Br., 475—476. | Troppo m' agrava il divoto cantare<br>Nel qual sie stata in gienuchione. |
| Lam. II, st. vi. | Devotamente stava in zinochione. |
| Lam. II, st. xviii. | Più e più volte ò abuto in vixione<br>Che tuta smarita son de pagura,<br>Che de [sot]tera insiva un dragone<br>Che facia tremar ogni creatura,<br>La boca apria sença remissione<br>Sol per desfare la vostra figura ;<br>Uno splendor dal ciel li ferì 'n vixo,<br>Che quel dragon subito fo conquixo. |

This stanza challenges comparison with Br., 377—424, as it seems to summarize the whole scene of the dragon's appearance in our poem.

A comparative study of the phonology of this text with that of the other items contained in the same MS., might enable us, or at least help us, to distinguish the forms which are to be ascribed to the habits of Sachelli from those which may presumably be attributed to the author. We find in Br. a peculiar graphical idiosyncracy. Sachelli writes: d' uhora (l. 100); l' uhora (l. 102); ogni uhor (l. 135); l' uhumana (l. 184); l' ohora (l. 229); l' ohobedivan (l. 292); d' uhuom (l. 428); la ihistoria (l. 570). These forms may lead us to believe that the writer considered *h* as a real aspiration, since he deemed it necessary to repeat before it the vowel that followed. Altogether, taking the text in itself it shows great uncertainty both in its phonological and its morphological forms; thus, we find these forms for tutto: tutta (ll. 20, 240), tuta (ll. 71, 354, 445, 611), toti (l. 656), totti (ll. 36, 85, 121, 236 etc.), tuotta (l. 109). Further, cruoce (ll. 417, 447 etc.), croce (ll. 471, 554 etc.); fide (l. 260), fede (l. 439); devotione (l. 480), divotione (l. 626); chi (ll. 288, 298, 299 etc.), che (ll. 376, 397 etc.); ambassiatori (l. 97), ambaxiata (l. 148); raxone (l. 339), rasone (l. 470), ragione (l. 646); plurals like: mane (ll. 404, 429, 458); genochie (l. 429); offensione (l. 680); verbal forms like siei (ll. 503, 550, 614 etc.), sie (ll. 178, 476 etc.), ei (l. 509); ho (l. 537), agio (l. 538); porei (l. 590), poria

[1] *Lamenti storici dei secoli XIV, XV e XVI raccolti e ordinati*, a cura di A. Medin e L. Frati, I, Bologna, 1887. 'Scelta di curiosità letterarie,' disp. 236, pp. 81 ff., 157 ff. Both the 'Lamenti di Bernabò' (nos. I and II), were composed before 1385. See *l.c.*, p. 155.

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(l. 386); facea (l. 28), facia (l. 385); staxiva (l. 321), staxia (l. 377); steva (l. 242).

But a closer study of the phonology of our legend could only give fruitful results, as I have said, after a comparison of the forms that we meet in this legend with those that appear in the other works copied by Sachelli. In view of this uncertainty concerning the forms preferred by the author I have printed the legend without any alteration, simply separating the words, writing out the abbreviations and adding the necessary punctuation. Words or syllables between [ ] have been added by me; words or letters between ( ) ought to be omitted or were probably not pronounced. Special corrections are explained in the foot-notes to the text.

C. Foligno.

Oxford.

## AN ITALIAN VERSION OF THE LEGEND OF ST MARGARET.

Al nome del nostro Signor Dio Patre
E del Filioul col Spirito Sancto
Anchuo della sua gloriosa matre,
Virgine Maria, et ogni sancto
E sancta Ursa con le sue et altre
Virgine et sancte col divoto canto,
Vogliovi nuntïare l' aspra vita
D' una virgine che sequì qua d(i)rita.

Pertanto ogni hom intenda e stia in pace,
Chi vuol aldir[e] d' un sancto sermone,
D' una legenda, che d' ogni hora piace
Ad ciasch[ed]una donna per staxone,
D' [un]a virgine che prieghera face
A Dio e per lor fa sempre oratïone.
Al suo baptismo fuo per nome ditta
La glorïosa sancta Margarita.

2 MS. sp̃u. 13 MS. da.

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A Dio multo fuo fidele e francha
E fuo del Spirto Sancto illuminata;
Dil adorar quel giamai nen fuo stancha;
Con grande amor a Dio s' è tuta data;
E si lege, si la lege non mancha,
Che d' un gentil pagano la fuo nata,
D' un Patriarca nobile e possente,
In Antiochía s' el cantar non mente.

Qual cred' io, al dir[e] dela scriptura,
Sia ad gran[de] tormento condennato,
Però non credea nen facea cura
Di quel Signiore, che lo havia creato,
Ançi, ello adorava una figura
Di ligno e d' argento sopraurato,
Che non havia bailia nen possanza
Più conme de sì fatta consa è usanza.

Per il simil(e) l' Oliber Imperatore
Una ydola per suo dio adorava,
Ciò era Machometo plen d' errore,
Ad qual totti suoi pensieri contava,
E lo teni(v)a per suo sopran signiore,
Dicendo (che) troppo bene il consigliava,
E per ingano di quel mal fattore
Era cecato (il) Olib(e)ro Imperatore.

fol. 1[A], col. 2 Or cominciamo dela sancta dona
E contaremo (de)la sua sancta vita:
Quando fuo nata la virgine buona,
Per voler ch' ela fuosse ben nutrita,
Ad una assai valente persona
Fuo data la virgine Margarita,
Lontano fuor[i] da quella citate,
Conme si trova, quindeci giornate,

Per gran paura del Imperatore,
Che persequiva li buon Christïani

18 MS. sp̃u. 20—24 are written in a smaller hand by the same scribe over others that have been carefully scratched out. 33 MS. lolcher. Probably Olíber ought to be considered as a word of two syllables; the name is constantly Olinbrio iu W., showing that the stress, possibly owing to a false analogy with *líbero*, fell on the i; indeed in l. 345 the name is spelled Olibro. 40 MS. illibero.

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E li teniva in gran[de] tremore,
Facendoli destruere comme cani;
Per sua gran crudeltate et furore
Non potean(o) habitar(e) monti nen plani.
Or aldireti in pace buona gente
Dila sancta donna lo conveniente.

Era quella sanctissima poncella
Fuor dila terra una volta andata
Con altre virginete sì commo ella
Ad un bel prato conm' el' iera usata,
Ad guardar caprete e pegorsella
Di sua nutrice, una matutinata;
Così stagando hebbe l' ochio alla strata,
Vidi venir una grande armata.

In mezo di quella cavalaria
Veniva lo malvaxio senza fede;
Conti, marchexi e altra cavalaria
In sua (gran) conpagna la poncella vede,
Che dila magistra ci(vi)tà venia,
Per far oratione senza mercede
E per destruere tuta quella gente,
Che adoravan[o] Christo omnipotente.

Così venendo quel chan renegato,
Have scusito la sincera roxa;
Subitamente ne fuo 'namorato,
Tanto li piacque sopra ogni altra consa;
E duo di suoi famigli hebe chiamato,
Irrabiato tal ch' el suo chuor non possa,
(Et) feceli subito (tal) comandamento,
Che dovesseno far il suo talento.

fol. 1[B], col. 1 Apparechiati fuoron di presente
Li duoi meschini per lui ubedire,
Dicendo: 'comandate arditamente,
Che presto siamo ad vuy servire
E di complere totto intieramente
Il vostro piacere fin al morire.'
Alor[a] incominciò quel felone
Ad dicerli la sua intentïone:

60 Written by the same hand on the margin.

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'Videte vuy quella gentil donzella,
Chi è nel mezo dil prato locata?
Andate senza far dimora ad ella,
E glie fariti una mia ambassiata,
Che la m' è semigliata tanto bella
E di virtute sì bene acconstumata,
Ch' io la voglio per mia sponsa e donna,
E serà del mio regno la colunna.'

L' ambassiatori di quel meschino
Da lui se parteno senza dimora,
Ver la donna priseno il camino,
Fueron gionti a llei in puocho d' uhora,
Puo' gli fecero multo grande inchino,
Dicendoli, quando gli apparse l' uhora:
'Da parte Olib(e)ro, chi è nostro signore,
Siamo ad vuy mandati ambassiatore.'

Quando la donna fuo di lor accorta,
Ella fuo sì fortemente stermitta,
Che nella facia quasi parsi morta,
Così lieve fuo(la) dil sangue smarrita,
Ma tuotta volta se senti(v)a tal scorta
Unde ella se teniva ben guarnita,
Ciò era l' alto Dio de vita eterna,
Che suoi veraci amici ben governa.

Allor incominciò ella ad pregar Dio:
'Alto signor di gloria eternale!
Misericordia, o duolce signor mio!
Defendetime da cotanto male!'
Così lo pregava con gran disio,
Conme bixogna ha il suo caxo tale,
Dicendo la virgine totta fiata:
'O Signor mio, ad vuy son totta data!

f. 1[B], col. 2 Non sia la mia mente totta turbata,
Nen mi facia stravolgere il mio chuore,
Nen sïa la tua fede spregïata,
Nen la mia scïencia, nè 'l tuo amore,
Nen la virtute qual [tu] m' ài donata
Sia infangata da nïun disnore.

124 Added by the same hand on the margin.



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Tramittime l' angïoul benedetto
Che pugna per mi contra Macometto.

Ch' io son[o] conme passer alla rete,
E conme pesso all' amo son prexa,
Cossì son io, se non me socurrete,
E si per vui, Signor, non son diffexa.
O duolce Patre, com' io ò gran sette
Dil vostro amore ch' i' son forte accexa.'
La suoa preghiera d' ogni huor facendo
Dixi: 'Signor, ad vuy m' aricomendo.'

Quando li messagi[eri] dil mal fare
Hebeno intexo la sancta oratione,
Non se volsero lì (già) più dimorare,
Videndo che non gli era più chagione,
Ma subito la curseno (ad) accusare
Al suo signore di puocha ragione,
Avisando luy che la sua fede (*sic*)
Di la donzella hav(e)ria puoca mercede.

'Sapi, signore Imperator possente,
Che la donzella non è di tua gesta;
Non ha voluto intender de nïente
Nostra ambaxiata, fatta ad tua richiesta;
Ançi se volse verso orïente,
Ad alta voce, alievà sua testa
Cominciando adorar quel crucifixo,
Qual fuo per li Iudei auciso.' (*sic*)

Quando lo iniquo chane Imperatore
Have quella responsïone intexa,
Subito comandò con gran furore
Che la fuose da lui menata prexa,
Adciò possa da lei saper anchuora
Qual' è quel Dio per cui l' è diffexa.
Per tal ira se prixi ad curuciare
Quel chane, che non se potia alegrare.

f. 2[A], col. 1 Menata fuo da lui senza tardare
Quella virgine da Christo sponsata
E poi la incominciò ad dimandare

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Dil suo linagio e dov' era nata,
S' el' iera libera e di qual affare
E per qual Dio ela era guidata.
Or oldreti conme la glie rispuose
Humil[e]mente con benigna vose.

'Sapi, o Perfeto, ch' io son christïana,
Libera e francha, non voglio mentire,
Io adoro Christo, d' ogni ben(e) fontana
Di salvatione ad cui se vuol pentire;
Per generatïone io fui pagana,
In Antiochía nata, ad ver dire;
Figlia fui d' un patriarca gentile,
Che signoregiò terre più de mille.'

Dixi lo 'mperatore: 'or me di' vero,
Conme sie tu da la gente chiamata?'
Quella [gli] rispuose: '[o] bel misero,
Io fuo per Margarita baptizata
Ad nome dil prefetto consiliero
Per il qual son[o] al mondo creata,
Che se lasciò per noy crucificare
Ad l' uhumana generation(e) salvare.'

Quando lo 'mperator(e) di ciò fuo accorto
Et ebbe intexo [tutto] il suo volere,
Rimasi de (gran) nequitia quaxi morto,
Videndo che di lei non podia havere
Parola che gli facessi conforto,
Nen che gli fuosse gratta al suo piacere;
Però comandò alla sua brigata
Che la virgine fuosse incarcerata.

Lo prefetto, comme chane irrabiato,
Intra subitamente en la citate,
Dinanzi ad Machometo è genuchiato,
Pleno de nequissima crudeltate;

164 a of linagio inserted above the line. 166 e of ela inserted above the line. 179 Sachelli inserts, almost without exception, a small o above the line, where there is a vocative case; but these o's are, I think, to be regarded in most cases as marks of punctuation, not as pronounced vowels. I have here inserted an o before bel for metrical reasons. 194 MS. nella citate, which gives a syllable too many. My correction is based on the analogy of l. 686, in li suoi martiri, and of the source of this verse, W., 380, Ke el entrà en la cità.



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Così fece, comm' egli era usato,
Adorar quel dio senza libertate
E qual era ciecho, surdo e mutto,
Che 'l buon chonsentimento havia destrutto.

fol. 2[A], col. 2 Poi lo mane, al giorno apparisente,
Olib(e)ro fuo nel palatio montato;
Suoi consiglieri havia lì presente
E fuo per quella poncella mandato;
Dissigli quel chane: 'Or mi consente,
Non voler(e) ch' el tuo corpo sia disfato;
Se 'l mio disïo contento farai,
Sopra ogni altra contenta sarai.'

Ad qual rispuoxe santa Margarita:
'Nulla mi cura di tua bubanza,
Ch' io son d' un altro thexauro fornita,
Nel qua' assai ho magïor speranza;
Me poi bene il corpo privar di vita,
Ma sopra l' anima non hav(e)rai possanza,
Ançi la hav(e)rà Christo, filioul de Dio,
Ad qual ho dato [tutto] il chuor[e] mio.'

Alor fuo lo 'mperatore iniquo
E subito fuo in pie[di] levato,
Dicendo: 'Perchè non fai ciò te dico,
Voglio Macometo te sia a ggrato,
Ello ti serà troppo buon amico
E dil tuo amor io sarò firmato.
Se non faï contento il mio volere,
Ad cruda morte te farò giacere.'

Rispuoxe sancta Margarita allora:
'Fa quel che ti piace, o imperatore;
Io t' ò ditto e tel dico anchuora
Ch' i' ò dato il mio chuor ad quel signore,
Qual mi darà, quando serà l' ohora,
Corona laureata dil suo amore,
Poi [ad]conpagnerà l' anima mia
Colla gloriosa virgine Maria.'

214 Anima ought to be regarded here and in ll. 272 and 360 as disyllabic.

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Alor[a] non bixognò più tardare,
Comandò la fuosse leghata, (*sic*)
Sopre le folche la fece empicare,
De (totti) suoi drapi totta quanta spoliata;
Dopoi la fece assai martirizare
Nequamente da süoa macinata;
Ella fuo sì crudelmente battuta
Che la carne glie sanguinava tutta.

f. 2[B], col. 1 La virgine, che gran tormento havia,
Divotamente steva in oratione,
Dicendo: 'O speranza soprana mia,
Adiutame da[l] (questo) perfido felone,
Adciò (la) mia mente turbata non sia!
Misericordia dil cïel campione!
Tramitteme quella duolce fontana,
Che queste plaghe conforta e sana.'

Così pregando la virgine pura
Jesu Christo patre omnipotente,
[La] fuo totta tagliata senza cura
Da verganti di ferro nequamente,
Unde dal suo corpo senza mensura
Fonte di sangue pluvia dritamente,
Dicendo quelli: 'O Margarita crede,
E serva il ditto dila nostra fede!'

Gran pïetate la gente n' avia,
Videndola sì forte sanguinare,
Et a la fiata alghuni gli dicia:
'Perchè vuo' tu tal morte fare?
Questo mi par gran fallo in fide mia
Che al nostro dio non vo(gl)i sacrificare!
O Margarita muta il tuo chuore
E fa quel che piace a lo 'mperatore!'

'O perfido e malvaxio consigliero,
Sapi che 'l tuo consiglio non m' è grato,
Assai di megliòr me ne fa mistiero;
Qual i' ò bene nel mio chuor pigliato,

266 MS. non me buono; grato is an obvious correction.

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Ma non lo sai a dir il vero (*sic*)
Per Macometto che t' à sì cecato;
Sapi [che] se 'l mio corpo ha tormento,
L' anima legreza hav(e)rà in conpimento.

O dolorosi vui quanti güai,
Vi sono nel profundo apparechiati!
Perchè non credete vuy or[a]mai
Nel alto Dio qual v' à 'l mondo creati?
Colui non vi refutarà giamai,
Si de buon chuor a lluy v' aretornati.'
Ver lo 'mperator(e) dopoi (la) se volgia,
Gridando ad alta voce a lluy dicia:

f. 2[B], col. 2 'O tristo chane pleno de nequitia,
L' op[e]ra di Sathan, tuo patre, servi!
Io dotto puocho la tüa malizia;
Benchè mi strazi la carne et [i] nervi,
L' alto signore di buona iusticia
Me [ad]compagnerà co' l' altri servi
Nella gloria dela eterna vita,
Chi è in secula seculorum infinita.'

Alor fuo il prefetto più irato
E smemorato che di prumieri;
Subitamente ello have comandato
Ad que(ll)i che l' ohobedivan voluntieri;
'Duo graphi di ferro ben approbato
Toleti voi de' più aspri e fieri,
Che gli tagliano la carne e l' ossa
Per tal modo che ripayrar se possa.'

Ma, Dio, quanto po' esser indurato
Quel chuor chi non se move ad compassione,
Quel sancto corpo chi è sì implagato
E non se stancha di far oratione!
Verso il cïel la sancta ha[ve] guardato,
Pregando Dio con gran divotione,
Dicendo: 'Or son da cani circundata,
Socurrime, Signior, ad questa fiata!

276 MS. alluy tornareti. 279 l of volgia inserted above the line.
290 MS. chd.

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O duolce patre mio, misericordia!
L' anima mia fa non sia maculata,
E non m' abandoni la tua concordia,
La mia verginitate sia salvata
Da questi cani plen(i) d' ogni discordia!
Me conforti tua speranza beata,
Tramitteme la columba dal cielo,
Che mi porti di humiltate il velo!
Ch' io ti possa virginità(te) servare
E combatter per ti sì franchamente,
Che questo chane (contra me) non possa durare,
Qual me persegue così iniquamente,
Che ad facia ad facia lo possa acquistare
E farlo di sua malitia dolente,
Per dar all' altre vergin(e) tal fidutia,
Che di far tuoi servitii non indutia.'

f. 3A, col. 1 Come in questa oratione la staxiva
Soff(e)rendo lei anguoscioxo tormento,
E quel iniquo perfetto vidiva
Quel sancto corpo così sanguinento,
Che in ver [di] lei guardar[e] non potia,
Ma se copri(v)a 'l viso di smarrimento,
Ch' elo havia videndo i dolor tanti,
E così facean(o) l' altri totti quanti.

Dixi lo 'mperatore: 'O Margarita,
Perchè non fa' tu ormai la mia voglia?
Habii remissione dilla tua vita
E non voler sofferir cottanta doglia!
Nun vide tu conme la carn' è afflicta?
Or me consente e più mal non ricoglia!
S' il mio voler[e] non farai contento,
Ad (mala) morte te farò portar[e] stento!'

Quella beat(issim)a constante creatura
A lluy rispuoxe, da Dio inspirata:
'O can(e) senza raxone nen mensura,
Non mi caglia s' io son martirizata,

308 MS. mia humiltate, but Sachelli wrote in the margin: alias: verginitate; humiltate was evidently a slip caused by the word recurring shortly afterwards in l. 312. 325 di suggested by ll. 411 and 612.

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S' io dela mia carne facesse chura,
L' anima mïa saria condennata,
Ma la mia carne ho data alli tormenti,
A ciò che l' anima (dopo) corona senti.'

Alor Olibro fuo dil seno usito;
Dissi ch' ella fuosse incarcerata.
Già era tempo di septe hore ghitto,
Che 'n l' obscura pregïon fuo menata,
Et intrando in quel luoco smarrito
Dil segno dila croce se fuo armata,
E comintiò ad far questa oratione,
Qual io ve diroi con divotione.

'Signor Dio, chi la scientia ordinasti,
Per la qual tuto 'l mondo è in timore,
Ad desperati speranza donasti;
Dele vidüe iusto defensore,
Patre de[li] orfani ti chiamasti,
Luce chi sopra ogni altra dai splendore,
Adiutame, suola da patre unita (*sic*),
E chome ti piace l' anima mia guida!
f. 3[A], col. 2 Concedime ch[e] io possa videre
Lo nemico mïo vinto e legato;
Chè senza fine è il tuo sapere,
Monstrame quel chi m' è sì ostinato,
Ben ch' io mi sento la carne dolere,
Non esser contra me corrutiato!
O Jesu Christo, [mia] firma speranza,
Socorrime con (la) tua plena possanza!'

Un(o) huomo che Ticino s' appellava
Con la süa nutrice sconsolata,
Sovenzo totti duoi la visitava
Alla pregion(e), dove l' iera serrata,
Dil pane et acqua gli administrava
Ad quella sancta virgine beata;

344 MS. sente. 350 g of segno written above the line. 359 The verse does not give any satisfactory meaning; unita is required by the rhyme, but in view of the fact that M., x, 37—38, the source of this passage, has: 'quia sola sum unica patris,' I am inclined to think that l. 359 is a blundering imitation of the Latin. 367 mia suggested by M., xi, 2, the source of this passage, 'In te est spes mea. Christe....'

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Dala fenistra Ticino scrivia
La sancta vita, che far la vidia.

Si comme in oratione ella staxia,
Gli apparse un molto orribel[e] dracone
Che 'n ver di lei sibilando venia
E ghietava fuoco da gardilione;
La barba et [i] capelli gialli havia,
Facendo tremar(e) totta la pregione;
De diversi colori esser paria
E per sua spada una serpa tenia.

Facia sì gran paura quel smaniato
Che di magior[e] non poria parlare,
Nel mezo dila pregion(e) fuo arizato,
Cominciando più forte ad sibilare
E demonstrando fuocho sì abbrasato,
Che totta la pregion(e) fece sgiairare
Sì forte, che de legier lo vidia
La virgin(e) che in oration(e) staxia.

O quanta paora puo' tu pensare,
Che la sancta donzela podia havere
Videndo contra se quel dracon(e) stare
Dinanzi lei pleno di mal volere,
Che, secondo di lei [io] so trovare,
Quasi per morta se lasciò cadere,
E (cos)sì palida par ch' ela venisse
Comme herba [verde] quando la marcisse.

f. 3[B], col. 1 Quando la virgin(e) fuo in sè ritornata
Di l' angoscia par che l' iera stermita,
Subito ad terra fuo genuchiata
E fuo con le mane al cïel[o] fita.
Quella oratïone have cominciata
Qual [ell'] havia per paora oblita,
Dicendo: 'O Christo patre omnipotente
Adiutame dal malvaxio serpente.'

399 Compare W. (E), 723, Sì palida pare che divenisse; W. (F), 723, Sì palida parì ch' ela divenisse. 400 W. (EH), 724, Chomo erba verde che marcisse, by which verde was suggested to me.

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Facendo ella sua divota oratione,
La gloriosa virgine Margarita,
[In] ver di liei venia quel dracone
Con buoca aperta e lingua ardita,
[De] puoi gli mixe senz' altra raxone
La buocha sopra (que)la testa florita,
La lingua sotto il calcagno metando,
Sì la transgluttì quasi sospirando.

Ma la cruoce de Dio, quel sancto signo
Che la sancta donzela havia fatto,
Fuo cresciuta nel corpo dil maligno
Dracone, che quella havia mangiato,
Per qual signo il parse conme ligno,
Diviso per alghun ferro schiapato,
E fuor ensì quella virgine pura,
Dio gratia salva e senza paura.

Ad presso questo l[a] ebe guardato
Dal sinistro canto dela presone
E vidigle un demone dispregiato
In forma d' uhuom nigro come carbone
Con le mane alle genochie legato,
Orribile e di falsa conditione;
Comme la sancta donna l' ebbe visto
Subito la fuo ritornata ad Christo.

Dicendo: 'Te rengratio, o mio signore,
Laudato sia il tuo nom(e) per infinita,
O Jesu Christo, re senza tremore!
De quanta [a]legrezza m' ài fornita,
Ben son sacia dil tuo perfetto amore,
Qual ha per mi [co]sì forte schremito,
Ch[e] io vedo florida la mia fede,
E l' anima mia in triumpho sede!

f. 3$^{B}$, col. 2 Vedo Rufone in terra abatuto
E dela gran[de] puza sua cessare;

411 in suggested by l. 325. 414 que of quela is written above the line. 417 MS. Me. 428 MS. incrone, which has no sense. The metre is also defective; my hypothetical emendation was suggested by W., 751—752: El era negro cum un carbon | E si auea figura d' om. 436 MS. deh, but h deleted.

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Quel homicida morto i' ò viduto;
Vedo lo 'nferno gran rabia menare,
Di tuto 'l suo potere l' ò distrutto;
Non ha possutto contra me durare;
Io vidi la mia cruoce florire
E il mio gueriero da longe fugire.

La mia columba col disio aspeto,
Qual conduce sechuo il divin(o) splendore.
Poi ch' i' ò morto il mio guerrer sospetto
E toltoglie la forza e 'l valore,
Ringratio 'l mio Signor con gran dileto,
Eterno re, perpetuo imperatore,
Benedictus salvator peccatorum
Per infinita sec(u)la seculorum.'

Come questa oratione ella dicesse,
Il demon[e] per man(e) [l'] hebbe pigliata,
Pregandola forte che la tacesse,
Che troppo era sua forsa legata,
Comme ciò fuosse ch' elo la videsse,
Per la sancta oration(e) perseverata,
Poi cominciò di parlar[e] e dire
Nela forma che [vui] potreti udire.

'Uno mio fratello t' avia mandato
In forma de orribile dracone,
Ad fin che 'l t' avesse il chuor turbato
E tolto dilla tua dispositione,
E (di) la tua virginità(te) disorrato
E tolto ad sua valanza tua rasone,
Ma con il signo dila sancta croce
Glie toglïesti la forza e la voce.

Lo somigliante par [che tu] vuoi fare
Di me conme facesti di Ruffone,
Troppo m' agrava il divoto cantare,
Nel qual sie stata in gienuchïone,
Prïecote [che] vogli ormai cessare
E far fine alla tua oratione.'
Or oldrete conme fece la sancta
De la qual con devotion(e) qua si canta.

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f. 4[A], col. 1 Subitamente la fuo in pie' levata,
Quando have ad suo voler orato,
Contr' al demone [ella] fue andata,
Qual per capelli [el]l' ave pigliato,
Trabucandolo in terra totta fiata,
Quasi con piede l' ave strangulato,
Dicendo lei: 'Ben ti farò cessare
Con la Dio gratia che 'l può fare! (*sic*)

Or cessa tu maligno, cessa ormai,
Nun vide tu in mio socurso Jesu Christo,
Cessa colla maligna puza ch' ài,
Insidioso malfattore e tristo,
Io fui e serò sempre mai (*sic*)
Sponsa di quel signor[e] Jesu Christo,
Il nome dil quale è glorificato
E da gli aungiuli del ciel exaltato.'

Come questa oratione ella dicea,
Un miracul nela pregion apparse,
Cioè luce che tal splendor(e) rendia,
Che la pregione quaxi (a) arder aparse;
La sancta cruoce nel cïel paria
E la columba su quella appogiarse,
Qual (gli) dicia: 'Beata siei, Margarita,
Ch' ài tolto al falso serpente la vita!

O Margarita ben sie tu beata,
Che la virginità(te) desiderasti,
La sancta corona t' è apparechiata
Ad qual ti recomandasti (*sic*)
Da gli angioli in ciel ei aspettata,
Alla porta non s' è chi te contrasti,
Però che sie stata di buona forteza,
Christo t' aspetta nella eterna duolceza.'

Alora ella incominciò ad ringratiare
Christo, qual forza gli avia datta
E poi se volse senza dimora[re]
[In] ver [di] quel demone desperato

490 MS. Nuȝ. 507 MS. cörna, o is inserted above the line. 516 In and di suggested by ll. 325 and 411.

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Dicendo lei: 'Dove sie usato ad stare?
Il tuo affar vo(glio) per te mi sia narrato;
Ch' ïo saper voglio di tua natura;
Or[a] me 'l dice malvaxa figura.'

f 4ᴬ, col. 2 Quando il demone vidise constretto,
Subito incominciò ad parlare:
'O Margarita me tieni sì stretto,
Ch' io non ti posso dire il mio affare,
Ma lievami dal colo il tuo pie' d(e)rito
Adciò possa alquanto requiare;
E dopoi ti contarò l' opra mia,
Et in qual[e] contrata star solia.'

La donzela il suo piede hebbe levato
E poi gli dixi: 'Or parla malfatore!'
Ello gli rispuoxe: 'Io son appellato
Belzib, pox' el nome del mio signore,
Qual Belziabub è per nome chiamato,
Del inferno magistro e rectore,
M' à io mandato per metter(e) bataglia
Tra la gente che 'l suo ben far non vaglia.

Con molti iusti bataglia ho fatto
E totti quanti l' agio adguadagnati,
Tu, Margarita, m' ài l' ochio crepato
Et ossa, carne e nervi son fracti;
Tu hai morto Ruffone, il sagurato;
Per te siamo vincti e soperchiati,
Anchuor cognosco Christo in tuo soccurso
Qual me tien più stretto il morso (*sic*).

Nançe che Christo te acompagnasse,
Eri conme cinere assai brusata,
Processa da ligno chi brusasse (*sic*)
E or sie tu da Christo (sì) santificata,
Che 'n te più cresce la virtute e nasce
Di quel sancto propheta ad cui siei datta,
Per la qual forsa me hai demonstrato
Quel sancto signo che m' à sì liegato.

525 MS. piede rito. 532 MS. poxel = pos' el; compare M., xii, 35—36: 'Beelzes cognomen est mihi post Belzebub.'

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Co(n e)l signo dela croce tu m' ài vinto,
Tu, biancha, che sopra ogni altra risplendi,
E per quel signo tanto me spavento,
Che 'l cuor e 'l corpo mi stracie e fendi,
E per quel[lo] fuo Ruffone dolento,
Ma con quel signo pur[e] te diffendi,
La mente di iusti solea turbare
Et or[a] no 'l posso giamai più fare.'

f. 4[B], col. 1 La donzella allhuor gli ave comandato
Ch' el non dovesse piu eiular niente,
Poi il suo sancto corpo ebbe signato
Del signo de Christo omnipotente,
E poi Belzib l' ebbe sconiurato,
Che se partisse subitamentamente (*sic*)
Et andasse al fondo dila terra
Dov' el iera usato far sua (gran) guerra.

Or voglio ritornare al Prefetto
Per dir la ihistoria più conpitamente.
Il giorno sequente per gran dispetto
La fece menare da luy presente,
Per saper qual partito l' avia ellecto,
S' ela vorea esser ubediente;
La sancta a Dio fuse ricomendata
E fuo dil suo glorioso signo armata.

Or ella fue dinançi a lo 'mperatore
Dispregïatamente presentata,
E ello guarda e vidi 'l suo bel colore
Anchuo d' ogni mal sanata (*sic*)
Quasi monstro gli avesse amore;
Videndola di tal beleza ornata,
E dixi[le]: 'Perchè non mi consenti,
Nanti che sofferir tanti tormenti?'

La donzella allor gli rispondia:
'Sapi che mai non te consentirei;
Io appretio puoco [la] tua signoria
Con totta la possanza de' tuoi dei.'
Il prefetto alor[a] gli dicia:
'S' io ti volesse destruer, ti porei,

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Ma non voglio perchè anchuo spero
Che degie far[e] ciò [che] te quero.'

Dixi la donzela: 'Ben ti confirmo
Che sopra 'l mio corpo ha' [tu] possanza,
Ma il mio chuor[e] tenerò sì firmo,
Che non te gioverà [la] tua speranza;
Tu sie ben schïata di falso vermo,
Qual fa trabucar la drita balanza,
Ma sapi certo che l' anima mia
Non puo' tu haver in [tua] bailia.'

f. 4[B], col. 2 Or ebbe il Prefetto cognosciuto,
Ch' ela non gli volea consentire;
Apender la fece conm(e) latro brutto,
Poi la fece con facelle rostire.
Era quel sancto corpo sì destrutto,
Che gran peccato ne par[e] ad dire;
In tal modo ardia la tenerella,
Conme faria una secha facella.
Margarita Christo have chiamato,
Dicendo: 'Duolce (Patre o) Maiestà divina,
Tuto 'l mondo per te fuo illuminato,
Misericordia, ver di me t' inchina!
Per te fuo il mare e la terra creato,
De' peccatori siei speranza fina,
O Jesu Christo, duolce il mio signore,
Mandam(e) constantia, possanza e valore.'

Conme cane il Prefetto irrabiava,
Videndo che nulla gli è giovato
Ad suoi mischini allor comandava,
Che un(o) gran(de) vasello fuosse apparechiato,
E quelli (di) subito lo apparechiava
D' acqua bullente pleno e rasato;
Poi dentro [quello] la fece ghietare,
Per far ad magior tormento stentare.

Stando la virgene in quel tormento
Comintiò orare con gran divotione:
'O Jesu Christo, mio reficiamento,
Signa questa acqua colla tua oratione

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Che di tal[e] baptismo me contento
Per haver più conpita salvatione.'
Conme questa oratione ella dicia,
Totti quant' i lighami se rompia.

Ver il cïel la sancta have guardato,
E vidi la sancta croce beata,
Una candida columba gli era ad latto,
Chi era di Spir(i)to Sancto illuminata,
Una (radiante) corona tenia inbechato,
Qual era da Dïo glorificata,
E misila, con gran solennitate,
In testa alla donzela de pietate.

Quando [e]l populo dela contrata
(Ciò) vide(ro) che Dio gli era demonstrato,
f. 5[A], col. 1 Fra lor faceano gran murmurata,
Dicendo: 'Lo Prefetto è redeghato,
Certo questa donzela è condennata
Contra ragione, gran torto gli è fatto.'
Per quel miracol[o], ch' avian visto,
Gridando comincior(on) adorar Christo

Oldendo tal gridi lo 'mperatore
Se cominciò multo forte ad turbare
E, pleno d' ira e di gran furore,
Cinque milia ne fece appigliare;
Non gli valse possanza nen amore,
Che totti quanti gli fece menare
Al campo d' Arminía deputato,
Ad qual toti fuo il collo tagliato.

Così fuo sententiata Margarita,
Che 'l capo del busto gli fuosse mozato (*sic*);
Andogli Marco per toglier la vita
Con quella spata sanguinenta allato,
E Margarita forte fuo stermita,
Ma con duolceza Marco ebbe pregato,
Dicendoli: 'Lasciame alquanto orare,
Ch' io mi possa ad Christo ricomendare.'

636 MS. sp̃u; illuminato. 658 Possibly the author wrote co' instead of capo.

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E Marco gli rispuoxe voluntiera:
'Fati(ati), Madonna, la vostra oratione,
E sì vi prieco (che) faciati preghiera
Per me, ch' io possa andare ad salvatione,
Che quella serpa rigoglioxa e fiera
Non possa haver[e] sopra me rasone.'
Alor ella molto divotamente
Commintiò questa oration(e) sequente.

'O Jesu Christo, patre glorioso,
Che mensurasti la terra e mare,
Intendi questo priego pïetoxo,
Qual in gratia vogliovi domandare,
Che colui chi serà voluntaroxo
Di questa mia passione abscultare,
Glie siano totti quanti perdonati
Offensione, ingiurie e peccati.

Un' altra gratia voglio(vi) domandare
Qual ti prieco vogli exaldire,
Che la donna chi à nel parto penare,
E questa passione vorà aldire
O sopra sè la vorà conservare,
Che tu la soccorri in li suoi martiri,
Nen gli nasca creatura sidrata,
Nen di brutta nascenza fistulata.

Non sia malsano, nen disgratiato,
Nen possa sopra sè macule havere,
Ma sia colla tua gratia presïatio,
E possia sempre far il tuo piacere,
Prestali mai non sia condennato
Da mala lingua nen per mal volere.'
Dicendo lei questa sancta oratione,
Dirove in breve la sua passione.

Una sancta voce dal cïel viene,
Qual[e] da Jesu Christo fuo mandata,

666 MS. Fati, the other letters are written above the line. 669 Possibly we ought to read orgoglioxa, instead of rigoglioxa. 671 molto added in the margin. 679 MS. perdonato corrected by the same hand to perdonatj.



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Che dicea: 'Exaudita è multo bene
La giusta gratia ch[e] ài dimandata.'
E poi gli dixi: 'O Margarita viene
Da angioli del ciel siei aspettata.'
La virgine have ringratïato
Christo, che di exaudirla era dignato.

Dopoi ad Marco cominciò ad dire:
'Quando ti piace fa ciò ch' ài ad fare.'
Ello (gli) rispuoxe: 'Non te osso ferire,
Pero poxoti non credo più scampare,
E, perchè ho paura di morire,
Veramente non te osso tochare.'
Ella gli dixi: 'Se ciò non farai,
Sapi mechuo parte non haverai.'

Marco, senza più dimorasone,
La sanguinenta spatta have pigliato,
Staxendo la virgine in oratione,
Ebbe il spirito ad Dio ricomendato,
E Marco il capo gli fece volare
Dal busto e luy fuo in terra strangossato.
Or voglio dir con quanta legreza
Fuo adcompagnata in l' eternal duolceza.

Quella anima sancta stata sì forte
Da gli angioul dil cielo fuo levata,
Ella, condutta dal (suo) nemico ad morte,
Però la fuo presso ad Christo exaltata;
f. 5[B]. Cossì prieco vuy che per tal sorte,
(O) donne, la vostra vita sia guidata,
Che quando l' anima changiarà luoco,
Sentir non possa del eternal fuoco.

Et io prieco Dio Patre onnipotente
Ch' el sia in socorso di questa donna
E vuy lo pregha[re]ti humilmente
Per l' autor dila expositione buona,

711 MS. Margarita gli dixi.... 720 MS. nel eternal. 725 MS. Cossa.
731 The scribe seems to have confused the forms of pregare in ll. 731 and 733.

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Anchuor la preca(re)ti divotamente
Che li nostri peccati ne perdona.
Finita è questa sancta passione
736 Or vi tornati ad Dio con divotione,

Ch' è signor d' ogni iusta gratia,
Che nel paradixo pona le sue bracia.
Per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.

**Explicit oratio virginis Margarite in modum tuschum.**



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# FIFTEENTH CENTURY CAROLS BY JOHN AUDELAY[1].

[XIII] **ffac ad quod venisti**

Hit is þe best erele & late
vche mon kepe his oune state

In wat order or what degre
hole cherche haþ bownd þe to
kepe hit wele I cownsel þe
Dissire þu neuer to go þer fro
I say all gate vt supra

A hye worchip hit is to þe
To kepe þi state & þi good name
Leud or lered were here hit be
Ellis god & mon þay wol þe blame
I say al gate vt supra

ffore iiij abusions now schul ȝe here
þat god hatis hile in his syȝt
A harde prest a proud frere
An hold mon lechoure a couard knyȝt
I say al gate vt supra

A prest schuld scheu vche mon mekenes
& leue in loue & charite
þroȝ his grace & his goodnes
Set al oþer in unite
I say al gate vt supra

A frere schuld loue alle holenes
Prayers penans & pouert[e]
Relegious men crist hem ches
To fore sake pride & vayn glory
I say al gate vt supra

[1] Continued from Volume V, p. 490.

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An hold mo*n* schuld kepe hi*m* chaste
& leue þe synne of lechore
Al wedid me*n* schuld be stedfast
& fore sake þe syn of avowtre
I sai al gate vt sup*ra*

A kny3t schuld fe3t a3ayns falsnes
& schew his mo*n*hod & h*is* my3t
& mayntene trouþ & ry3twysnes
& hole cherche & wedowes ry3t
I say al gate vt sup*ra*

here be al þe foure astatis
In hole cherche god haþ ordent
he bedis 3ou kepe he*m* wel al gate
wos eu*er* he chamys he wyl be schent
I say al gate vt sup*ra*

## [XIV] Cantalena de puericia

And god wold g*r*aunt me my p*ra*yer
A child a3ene I wold I were

ffore p*r*ide i*n* herte he hatis all*e* one
worchip ne reu*er*ens kepis he non
Ne he is wroþ wi*th* no mon
In charete is all*e* h*is* chere

he wot neu*er* wat is envy
he wol vche mo*n* fard wele hi*m* by
he couetis no3t vnlaufully
ffore chere stons is his tresoure

f. 30 col. 1 (*foliated* 31) In hert he hatis lechori
To here þ*er* of he is sory
he fleþ þe syn of glotere
No*þer* etis ne drynkis bot for mystere

Slouþ he putis away al gate
& wol be bese erle & late
Al wyckidnes þus he doþ hate
þe .vij. dedle synns al i*n* fere

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A gracious lyfe for soþe he has
To god ne mon doþ no trespas
& I in syn fal alas
Euere day in þe ȝere

My ioy my myry is fro me clene
I turne to care turment & tene
Ded I wold þat I had bene
when I was borne & layd on bere

ffore better hit were to be vnboren
þen fore my synes to be forelorne
Nere grace of god þat is be forne
Al mysdede & hole prayere

Now oþer cumford se I non
Bot schryue me clene with contricion
& make here trew satisfaccion
& do my penans wyle y am here

## [xv] In die epephanis &c.

Nowel nowel nowel
þer is a babe born of a may
In saluacion of vs
þat he be heryd in þis day
vene creatore spiritus

In bedlem in þat fayre plas
þis blessid barne borne he was
him to serue god grawnt vs grace
Tu trinitatis vnitas

þe angelis to chepardis songyn & sayd
Pes in erþ be mon vnto
þer with þai were ful sore afrayd
Glorea in exelsis deo

þe chepardis hard þat angel song
þai hered on god in trenete
Moche mery was ham among
Iam lucis ortus sidere

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.iij. kyngis þai soȝt him herefore
Of dyuers lond & fere cuntre
& askidyn were þis barne was bore
hostes herodes impij

he bad ham go seche þis barne
f. 30 col. 2 Anon þis way to me he come
þat I may do hym worchip be forne
Deus creator omnium

þe stere apered here face be forne
þat gladid here hertes ful graciously
Ouer þat plase þis babe was born
Ihesu saluotor seculi

þai knelid adowne with gret reuere[n]s
Gold sens & myr þai offerd him to
he blessid ham al þat were present
Ihesu nostra redempcio

þe gold betokens he was a kyng
þe sens a prest of dyngnete
þe myr betokynþ his bereyng
Magne deus potencie

þe angel hem warnyd in here slepyng
At erod þe kyng þai schuld not cumme
þat babe ȝou bade on his blessyng
christe redemptore omnium

þai turnyd þen anoþer way
In to kyngdom ful graciously
þen þai be gonen to syng & say
Saluator mundy domine

## [XVI] de sancta Anna matre marie

The moder of mary þat merceful may
pray fore vs boþ nyȝt & day

Swete saynt tanne we þe be seche
þu pray fore vs to oure laday
þat heo wel be oure soulis leche
þat day when we schul dey
here fore we say

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þroȝ þe was gladid alle þis word
when mare of þe borne was
þat bere þat barne þat blisful lord
þat grawntis vs al merce & grace
here fore we say

Baren þu were ful long before
þen god he se to þi mekenes
þat þu schuldist delyuer þat was forelore
Mon soule þat lay in þe fyndis distres
here fore we say

fore ioachym þat hole housbond
prayyd to god ful paciently
þat he wold send his swete sond
Sum froyte be twene ȝou two to be
here fore we say

þen god hem grawntid graciously
f. 30ᵛ col. 1 Betwene ȝoue two a floure schul spryng
(31ᵛ) þe rote þer of is clepid iesse
þat ioye & blis to þe word schal beryng
here fore I say

þe blisful branche þis floure on greue
Out of iesse at my wettyng
was mare myld þat bere ihesu
Maydyn & moder to heuen kyng
here fore I say

Icallid ihesus of nazaret
God sun of hi degre
as here as mon þat sofyrd deþ
& rynyd in to dauit dygnete
here fore I say

In bedlem in þat blessid place
Mare myld þis floure haþ borne
Be twene an ox & an as
To saue his pepil þat was fore lorne
here fore I say

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Mat*er* ora filiu*m*
*þat* he wyl affte*r* *þis* outlere
nobis donet gaudiu*m*
Sine fyne fore h*is* me*r*ce
here fore I say

## [XVII] alia cantalena de s*anc*ta maria

There is a floure spr[u]ng of a tre
*þe* rote *þer* of is callid iesse
A floure of pryce
*þer* is no*n* seche i*n* paradise

*þis* flo*ur* is fayre & fresche of heue
h*it* fadis neue*r* bot eue*r* is new
*þe* blisful branche *þis* flo*ur* on grew
was mare myld *þat* bare ihū
A flo*ur* of grace
Azayns al sorow h*it* is solas

*þe* sede here of was godis sond
*þat* god hi*m* selue sew wi*th* h*is* hond
In bedle*m* i*n* *þat* hole lond
i*n* medis here herbere *þe*r he hir fond
*þis* blisful floure
Sprang neue*r* bot i*n* maris boure

whe*n* gabrael *þis* mayd met
wi*th* aue maria he here gret
Be twene he*m* two *þis* flo*ur* was set
& kept was no mo*n* schul wit
houe on a day
In bedle*m* h*it* co*n* spred & spray

whe*n* *þat* floure be ga*n* to sprede
& his his blossu*m* to bede
ryche & pore of eue*r*e lede
*þai* maruelt hou *þis* flo*ur* myzt sprede
And kyngnge .iij.
f. 30ᵛ col. 2 *þat* blesful floure come to se

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Angelis þer cam out of here toure
To loke apon þis freschele floure
houe fayre he was in his coloure
& hou sote in his sauour
& to be hold
how soche a flour myȝt spryng in golde
Of lille of rose of ryse
Of prymrol & of flourdelyse
Of al þe flours at my deuyse
ȝet floure of iesse ȝet bers þe prys
as most of hele
To slake oure sorous eueredele

I pray ȝoue flours of þis cuntre
where euere ȝe go were euer ȝe be
hold hup þe flour of good iesse
ffore ȝour freschenes & ȝoure beute
as fayrist of al
& euer was & euer schal
þer is a floure

## [XVIII] Et alia de sancta maria

Aue maria now say we so
Moder & maydon was neuer non mo
Gaude maria cristis moder
Mare moder of þyn emne
þu bare my lord þu bare my broder
þu bare a cumle child & clene
þu stodist ful stil without wene
when in þyn ere þis erand was doo
when gracious god þe lyȝt within
Gabrielis nuncio
Aue maria vt supra

Gaude maria y gret with grace
when ihū þi sun of þe was bore
ffol nyȝ þi brest þu con him brace
he secud he soukid he wept ful sore
þu fedist þat flour þat neuer schal fade
with maydns melke & sang þer to
lolay my swete I bare þe babe
cum peudoris lilleo

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Gaude maria þi myȝt was away
when crist þi son on cros con dye
fful dolfully on good fryday
þat mone a moder sone hit se
his blod vs boȝt fro care & striue
his watere wondis vs waschid fro w[o]
þe .iij. day fro deþ to liue
ffulget resureccio

Gaude maria þu burd so bryȝt
Breȝter þen þe blossum þat blomyþ on þe hill
f. 31 col. 1 fful ioyful þu were to se seche a syȝt
(*foliated* 30) & al þe postilis so swet of wil
ffore al & sum þai stod ful stil
when fayrst of chap he swond ȝoue fro
ffro erþe to heuen he stynd ful stil
Motu fertur proprio

Gaude maria þat rose on ryse
Moder & maid gentil & fre
Precious perrles princes of pes
þi boure is next þe trinete
þi sun as soueal knon of kynd
þi bode & soule he toke him to
þu restist with him þer as we fynd
In celi palacio.

## [XIX] & de sancta maria

Heyle of wymmen flour of alle
þu herst vs when we to þe calle
Blessid mot þu be þu berd so bryȝt
Moder & maidon most of myȝt
þu art þe ster of days lyȝt
& kepust vs when we schul falle

Of alle lordis þat euer was boren
Blessid mot þu be boþ euen & morn
þroȝ þe were sauyd þat were fore lorne
Mone on beþ gret & smale

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hayle to þe was swettle sayd
when ihesu in þe he was consayued
& þroȝ þe was þe fende afrayd
þu madist vs fre to make him þralle

hayle chif chosen garbunkul ston
Of þe was borne boþ god & mon
when synful mon he makis his mon
To him þu art treu as ston in wal

haile be þu quene emperes of hel
Of al pete þu arte þe wel
we prayn þe dame & damesel
þat þu bryng vs in to þi bal

[xx] **de virgin[i]tate**

ffor the loue of a maydon fre
I haue me choson to chastite

BBlessid mot he be oure heuen quene
ffore virgyn & maydyn sheo was ful cleene
Soche anoþer was neuer ȝer sene
þat so wel kept here virgynyte

in word in will in dede in thoȝt
here maydehood defowled shee noȝt
þer fore þe lorde þat here hade wroght
wolde be boron of hyr body

To fore alle maydenes to hyr he ches
f. 31 col. 2 ffore here clannes & here mekenes
ffore mon soule heo schuld reles
& ffro þe fynd & his pouste

Saynt kateryn & marget & wynfred
þat louyd ful wel here maydhed
þe sofird to smyte of here hede
ffore defouled isold þai not be

þer fore þai be in heuen blis
where murþ & melode euer þer ys
And soo shal all maydons y wys
That kepon heore wordes in here degre

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þai foloun *our* lady *with* gret reu*erens*
& don here s*er*uys *in* here p*r*esens
ffore azayns þe fynd þai mad*e* defense
*with* þe swerd of chastite

## [XXI] Cantalena de virginibus

I*I* p*ray* 3oue maydys *þat* here be
kepe 3o*ur* state & 3o*ur* degre

In werd *in* dede *in* wyl *in* þo3t
3o*ur* maydyn hede defoule 3e no3t
lest to blame *þat* 3e ben bro3t
& lese 3o*ur* state 3o*ur* honeste

An vndur marke c*r*ist co*n* 3ou lene
To marc *with* kepe hit clene
3if 3e hit tame hit wil be sene
Do 3e neu*er* soo preuely

of *þat* tresour me*n* ben ful fayne
& al here loue on 3oue þai lay[ne]
& mone a pene fore hit þai pay[ne]
Boþ selu*er* & gold lond & fe

3if *þat* tresoure 3e don hit tame
whe*n* hit is knowyn 3e wil haue chame
Of *þer* fore 3e berne gret blame
Neu*er* on be o*þer* ware wil be

Nad *þat* tresoure bene iwro3t
To blis we had not bene e bro3t
hit faylis neu*er* ne fadis no3t
Eu*er* to mo*n* hit is redy

3if 3e kepyn wele *þat* tresoure
hit schal 3ou bryng to hie honoure
þa3 3e be fayre of freche coloure
Beute is no3t wi*th*out bonte

Trewly nyer *þat* tresoure were
Of me*n* 3e schuld haue febul chere
avyse 3ou who*m* 3e loue hit here
3if 3e ben begild *þat* blame not me

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ffore oþer cownsel nedis 3oue non
f. 31ᵛ col. 1 þen doþ þer after euerechon
(30ᵛ) ffore þis tresoure has holpyn mone hone
hit marys maydis vche cuntre

## [XXII] de matrimonio mulierum

Avyse 3oue wemen wom 3e trust
& be ware of had I wyst
hit is ful heue chastite
with mone maydyns now oday
þat louyn to haue gam & gle
þat turnes to sorowe soþly to say
Alleday þu sist

Now 3if a womon mared schal be
Anon heo schal be bo3t & solde
ffore no loue of hert truly
Bot fore couetyse of lond ore gold
Al day þu seest

Bot þus godis low & his wil wolde
Even of blod of good of ache
ffore loue to geder þus com þai schuld
ffore þis makis mecle mareache
Al day þu sees[t]

& þe froyt þat coms hom betwene
hit schal haue grace to þryue & þe
þer oþer schal haue turment & tene
ffore couetyse vnlawfully
Al day þu seest

þer is no creatuere as wretyn I fynd
Saue onele mon þat outtrache
Bot þe syn hom makys of here oune kynd
& so þai makyn treu mareache
All day þu seest

Bot now a lady wil take a page
ffore no loue bot fleschele lust
& so here blod is disparage
þus lordus & lordchip alday ben lost
Al a day þu seest

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Lordis and lordchip *þus* wastyn away
In englond *in* mone a place
*þat* makis false ayrs hit is no nay
& lese worchip honowre & grace
Al day þu seest

[XXIII] **de amore dei**

I haue a loue is heuen kyng
I loue his loue fore euer more

ffore loue is loue & euer schal be
& loue has bene ore we were bore
ffore loue he askys no noþer fe
Bot loue azayn he kepis no more
I say here fore

Trew loue is tresoure trust is store
f. 31ᵛ col. 2 To a loue to godis plesyng
Bot leude loue makis men a lore
To loue here lust & here lykyng
I say here fore

In good loue þer is no syn
withot loue is heuenes
here fore to loue I nyl not bly[n]
To loue my god & his goodnes
I say here fore

ffor he me louyd or I him knew
þer fore I loue him al þer best
Ellis my loue I myȝt hit new
I loue with him to take my rest
I say here fore

Of al loueres þat euer was borne
his loue hit passid euerechon
nad he vs louy[d] we were fore lorne
with [out] is loue trew loue is non
I say herefore

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[XXIV] **Timor mortis conturbat me**

Lade helpe ihesu merce
Timor mortis conturbat me

Dred of deþ sorow of syn
Trobils my hert ful greuysly
My soule hit nyþ with my lust þen
Passio christi confarte me

ffore blyndnes is a heue þyng
& to be def þer with only
To lese my lyȝt & my heryng
Passio christi conforta me

& to lese my tast & my smellyng
& to be seke in my body
here haue I lost al my lykyng
Passio christi conforta me

þus god he ȝeues & takys away
& as he wil so mot hit be
his name be blessid beþ nyȝt & daye
passio christi conforta me

here is a cause of gret mornyng
Of my selfe no þyng I se
Saue filþ vnclennes vile stynkyng
Passio christi conforta me

In to þis word no more I broȝt
no more I gete with me trewly
Saue goodded word wil & þoȝt
Passio christi conforta me

The .v. wondis of ihesu crist
My midsyne now mot þai be
þe fyndis pouere downe to cast
f. 32 col. 1 passio christi conforta me

as I lay seke in my langure
with sorow of hert & teere of ye
þis caral I made with gret doloure
passio christi conforta me

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Oft *with* þese p*ray*ere I me blest
In man*us* tuas d*omi*ne
þu take my soule *in* to þi rest
passio ch*risti* co*n*forta me

mare mod*er* m*er*ceful may
ffore þe ioys þu hadist lady
Of þi su*n* fore me þu p*ray*
passio ch*risti* co*n*forta me

lerne þis lesson of blynd awdlay
whe*n* bale is hyest þe*n* bot may be
3if þu be nyd ny3t or day
Say passio ch*risti* co*n*forta me

## [XXV] de sancto francisco

Saynt frances to þe I say
Saue þi bred*er* boþ ny3t & day

A hole co*n*fessoure þu were hone
& leuydist *in* cont*em*placion
To þyng on c*ri*stis passioun
þ*at* sofyrd deþ on good fryday
Saynt frawnces to þe I p*ray*

h*is* passion was *in* þe so feruent
þ*at* he aperd to þi p*re*sent
vp on þi body he set his p*r*ynt
h*is* .v. wondis h*it* is no nay

vpon þi body þu he*m* bere
affte*r* þ*at* tyme ful .iij. 3e[re]
To al me*n* sy3t þai did apere
No wat*er* my3t wasche he*m* away
wed*er* þu schuldist ete ore drenke
On c*ri*stis passion þu woldist þynke
In .v. p*ar*tys wes þi p*ar*tyng
Of his sustinans soþe to say

C*ri*st he grawnt þe specialy
ffore on his passion þu hadist pete
To feche þi bred*er* out of p*ur*gatori
þ*at* lyin þ*er* *in* rewful aray



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þu þongis crist of his swete sonde
& þoztist to go to þe hole londe
ffore dred of deþ þu woldist not wond
To teche þe pepil þi cristyn fay

þen crist he knew welle þen entent
& turned þe out of þat talent
& bede þe make þi testament
& come to me fore euer & ay

f. 32 col. 2 A hole frawnces now I se
ffore my loue þat þu woldist dye
þu schalt haue ioy perpetual[ly]
þu hast dyssired mone a day

his hole reule of relegiowne
To his breder he wrote anon
& prayd ham fore cristis passiowne
To kepe hit wel boþ nyzt & day

A sad ensampil here mow ze se
On cristis passioun to haue pete
& to leue in loue & charete
þen mere in hert be ze may

his last prayer to crist þis was
ffore al þat sustens þis hole place
Gr[a]cious god grawnt ham þi grace
To fore þi iugement at domysday

pray we to frawnses þat beþ present
To saue his breder & his couent
þat þai be neuer chamyd ne chent
with wyckid man ne fyndis fray

I pray zoue seris par charyte
redis þis caral reuerently
ffore I mad hit with wepyng eye
zour broder ion þe blynd awdlay

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## NOTES

[xiii] 13. The scribe apparently wrote 'obisions,' and iiij is written above between the first and second words.
14. hile] i.e. highly.
41. wos] perhaps read 'wom' = whom.
he chamys] first written 'be chamyd' and corrected by a second hand.

[xiv] 11 ff. fol. 30 of the MS. is interchanged with fol. 31.
26. 'borne' is written by the second hand over a deletion.

[xv] 22. The line is repeated by the scribe's error at the beginning of the second column.

[xvi] 7, 12, etc. See above, xiii, 7 etc. where the scribe has inserted 'vt supra' to show the point where the burden is taken up.
34. God sun] read 'Godis sun.'
44. outlere] i.e. outlawry.

[xvii] This carol was printed (in a modified spelling) in *Early English Lyrics*, no. LVII, p. 110. There is another version in the Balliol MS. 354, printed by Flügel in *Anglia*, vol. xxvi, p. 230 and elsewhere.
3, 4. Written as one line in the MS.
20. Ball. MS. 'and kept it ys for yt was dett.'
21. The first word is doubtful.
24. This line and the next are written on one line in the MS.
30. Ball. MS. 'And kept it ys for yt was dett.'
& his his] the second word is doubtful.
to bede] Balliol MS. 'for to woyde.' Holthausen, in *Anglia*, vol. xvii, p. 442, 'brede' or 'sede.'
27. The first word is dim.
kyngnge] read 'kynges.'
34. golde] Balliol MS. 'molde.'
38. ȝet floure] Ball. MS. 'The flowr.'

[xviii] The Balliol MS. 354 contains another text of this carol (*Anglia*, vol. xxvi, p. 226 f.), of which the principal variations are here given.
4. þyn emne] written in one word; the second half may be 'enne,' the scribe's error (by confusion with a more familiar word) for 'ene,' rhyming with 'clene.' 'ene' = lamb: cf. yean, eanling, and see Murray N. E. D. s.v. 'ean' and 'ene.' The Ball. MS. reads 'Mary mylde of the I mene.'
7. wene] Ball. MS. 'blyn.'
10, 11. Transposed in the MS.
12. y gret] Ball. MS. 'yglent.'
15. Ball. MS. 'He sowked, he sighhed.'
20. myȝt] Ball. MS. 'myrth.'
29. Ball. MS. 'Bryghter than blossum *yat* blowith on hill.'
31 f. Ball. MS. 'When the apostles so set of will
All & *sum* did shry full shryll.'
33. 'fayrst of chap' = fairest of shape.
swond] i.e. disappeared. Ball. MS. 'went.'
34. stynd] perhaps for 'styud,' i.e. ascended. Ball. MS. 'styed.'
38. pes] Ball. MS. 'pris.'
40. soueal kno*n*] the *e* of 'soueal' is written above the line: 'kno*n*' is perhaps for 'know(e)n.'
41. Ball. MS. 'In body & soule the toke hym to.'
43. The Balliol MS. adds another stanza.



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[xix] 10. Mone on] i.e. many a one.
12. consayued] the *e* is superscript.
13. 'fende' is a correction of the second hand.

[xx] The title and the refrain are inserted by the second hand.
4. The MS. gives this as two lines: but after 'maydyn' the second hand comes in and writes to l. 11, the foot of the column.
5. ȝer] for 'er,' i.e. before this time.
18. defouled] corrected by the second hand. A line is left blank after this line in the MS., and two lines between 22 and 23.

[xxi] 9. tame] i.e. defile: cf. 15.
10. Corrected by the second hand.
12, 13. The last two letters of each line are deleted by a mark on the parchment.
19. 'Nad'=ne had.
27. nyer] perhaps for 'nere'=ne were, with 'were' repeated redundantly, meaning 'If that treasure were not.'

[xxii] 2. had I wyst] 'Ever beware of had-I-wist' is a very frequent line in early poetry. A large number of references, which yet might be increased, is collected by Zupitza in his note on *The Prouerbis of Wisdom*, l. 90 (*Archiv für die neueren Sprachen*, vol. xc, p. 258).
5. gam & gle] 'play' has been written and corrected to 'gle.'
14. ache] i.e. age, as 'mareache' (l. 16) marriage, and 'outtrache' (l. 24) outrage.

[xxiii] 9. The MS. gives 'with is loue.'

[xxiv] The Latin phrase is the burden of other contemporary poems: see one in *Early English Lyrics*, no. LXXXIII, p. 150, from Balliol MS. 354; and another from Bodleian MS. Engl. Poet. e. 1, printed by T. Wright, *Songs and Carols* (Percy Society, 1847), p. 57. But while these two resemble each other, Audelay's is quite different.
5. nyþ] cf. 'nyd,' l. 45: for 'noyeth,' 'noyed.'
23. word] i.e. world.
40. Between 'ioys' and 'þu' is a deleted word.

[xxv] 7. The first line of the refrain written with 'pray' for 'say' by mistake.
14. The last word, originally 'opyn,' corrected by the second hand.
40. Between the two last words is a deletion.

We are under great obligation to Mr G. C. Macaulay for his help in the editing and annotating of these texts.

E. K. CHAMBERS.
F. SIDGWICK.

LONDON.

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# MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

## The Craven Angels.

In his essay on the Demonology of Dante (*Miti e leggende del medio evo* ii, p. 82) Mr Arturo Graf has quoted authors with regard to the angels who took no side in the Great Rebellion. The places referred to are in the *Voyage of St Brandan*, in *Huon d'Auvergne*, in *Parzival*. Another passage may be added to these, taken from the *Southern English Legendary*, of which many MSS. are extant (ed. Horstmann, E.E.T.S. Laud MS.):—

Seint Mizhel was maister to driuen hom  out of heuene adoun:
Þat was þe batayle þat he made  with þe luþere dragoun,
Þe maister-dragoun lucifer  and is rizte felawes ech-on,
Þat faste heolden with is pruyte,  he drof heom to helle anon;
Ake huy þat heolden sumdel with him  and nouzt fulliche so faste,
Out of heouene he drof heom  and into þe lofte heom caste,
Al here bineþe toward þe eorþe,  þare mest tempest is,
And þare heo schullen in pine beo  to þe daye of dome iwis;
And ase hore gult þe more was,  heore pine was al-so;
Þe worse stude heom was i-take  heore penaunce for-to do;
Ake to helle huy ne schullen nouzt  are domes-day iwende,
Ak þar huy schullen afterward  bileue with-outen ende.
Oþure þare weren þat for him  sumdel in misþouzte weren,
Ake natheles huy heolden betere with god,  ak vnneþe furbere;
Þulke wenden out of heouene al-so  and aboue þe oþure beoth,
An heiz onder þe firmament  and godes will i-seoth,
And so schullen sumdel in pine beo  a-non to þe worldes ende,
Ake huy schullen at domes-day  azein to heouene wende.
In eorthþeliche parays  sum beoth zeot al-so,
And in oþure studles on eorþe  hure penaunce for-to do.
For heore defaute in heouene  þoruz ore louerdes grace,
Man was formest on eorþe i-wrouzt  to fulfille þulke place.
For ten ordres of aungles  þare weren i-makede þo,
And þe teoþe ordre ful a-doun  in-to pine and wo;
And zeot þare beot ordres nyne,  and þare-fore man is i-wrouzt,
To fulfulle þe teoþe ordre  þat was out of heouene i-brouzt.

(*Legendary*, E.E.T.S. 87, p. 305.)

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Further, this admirable poet goes on to derive the Fairies from the same source:

> And ofte in fourme of wommane, in many derne weye,
> grete compaygnie men i-seoth of heom boþe hoppie and pleiȝe,
> þat eluen beoth i-cleopede; and ofte heo cometh to toune,
> and bi daye muche in wodes heo beoth, and bi niȝte ope heiȝe dounes;
> þat beoth þe wrechche gostes þat out of heuene weren i-nome,
> and manie of heom a-domesday ȝeot schullen to reste come.

The belief is connected in various other places with the genesis of the Elves or Fairies. It is so in Iceland, in Arnason's *Tales* (I, p. 5). 'When the Devil long ago made revolt in heaven he and all who fought along with him were driven out of heaven into the uttermost darkness. But those who were neither with him nor against him and took no part in either band were driven down to the earth, and their dwelling appointed for them in knolls and hills and rocks, and they are called Elves or the Hidden People ("álfar eða huldumenn").'

The same theory is found in Ireland. 'The general belief of the peasantry is that the existing fairies are those angels who without openly joining Satan in his rebellion gave it no opposition. Their future destiny will be determined at the day of judgment[1].'

It may be due in part to the Platonic demonology, as stated by St Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, VIII, mainly after Apuleius *de Deo Socratis*, ultimately from the description of daemons in the *Symposium*. The passages were well known; they may be found in the common-place book printed in the Rolls edition of R. de Diceto, Vol. I, p. 46. Geoffrey of Monmouth quotes Apuleius, in a chapter on the birth of Merlin. It was from Apuleius that Chaucer got the 'eyrish bestes' of the *House of Fame*; these are the 'aeria animalia' of Apuleius and St Augustine—the daemons of the air—

> many a citezeyn
> Of which that speketh dan Plato.

It is well known that this phrase is suggested by the 'aerios cives' of the *Anticlaudian*, IV, c. 5; Chaucer has added his own note, naming the authority accepted in that passage by Alanus de Insulis, and by Chaucer himself independently.

The belief in the caitiff angels (who took no side for God or against him) seems to be a natural inference from the aerial spirits. Opinions may differ as to their ultimate fate at the Judgment (the Southern *Legendary* is interesting here) but their present dwelling is not in the outer darkness; they are not fiends in Hell. The present indifference

[1] Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts*, 1891, p. 128.

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and ambiguous nature of the 'aery citizens' must come from an ambiguous source; they are not fiends, they are not angels, therefore it is argued that they simply cannot have taken sides in the War in Heaven.

The Fairy Genesis can be understood as a half learned transference of this argument and belief from the aerial daemons (described by philosophers and theologians) to the race of elves as known in folk-lore—'far from heaven, and safe from hell.' The elves, with their half human nature, need explaining as well as the Platonic daemons; and the theory that explains the 'eyrish bestes' will do also for the people of the fairy-knolls.

Dryden has brought together the two ideas, of indifference, and of the Platonic spirits, in *The Hind and the Panther*:

> If, as our dreaming Platonists report,
> There could be spirits of a middle sort,
> Too black for heaven, and yet too white for hell,
> Who just dropt half-way down, nor lower fell.

The Christian Platonists of the seventeenth century seem to have drawn, independently, the conclusion which is here suggested to explain the craven angels, as known to Dante and his English contemporary.

W. P. Ker.
London.

## Latin Plays Acted at Cambridge.

Four Latin Plays were published together in 1648, *Loiola*, *Stoicus Vapulans*, *Cancer* and *Paria*. Of these we know that *Loiola* by Hacket and *Paria* by Vincent were acted at Trinity College, Cambridge in 1622/3 and 1627/8 respectively, and *Stoicus Vapulans* at St John's at Christmas 1618. We conclude that *Cancer* was also a Cambridge play, though its authorship and place of production are unknown.

I find that the source of *Cancer* is Lionardo Salviati's play *Il Granchio*, contained in the work, *Due Commedie del Cavalier Lionardo Salviati, Il Granchio, e la Spina E vn Dialogo dell' Amicizia del medesimo Autore Nouuamente ristampate, e corrette In Firenze Nella Stamperia di Cosimo Giunti* MDCVI. The Latin author keeps the characters of his original (substituting however the name Rodericus for Duti, Sempronius for Vanni, Fannius for Tofano, and Faber for Baccheri Magnano). He adds new characters, Lucilius, Ursilia, Gallus, Erminia and Albertus, and interpolates a number of scenes.

The source of *Paria* (which perhaps means 'The Pairs') is *Le due*

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*Sorelle Rivali comedia nova di Eusebio Luchetti. in Vinegia* MDCIX *Presso gli Heredi d' Altobello Salicaio.* There is great divergence in the treatment, judging from the characters who appear in the different scenes. Certain names are the same in both, Lidonia (Lidonia), Fulvius (Fulvio), Brilla (Brilla). No new characters appear.

G. C. Moore Smith.

Sheffield.

## Shakespeare, 'King Lear,' iv, vi, 70—72.

> he had a thousand Noses,
> Hornes wealk'd, and waued like the enraged Sea:
> It was some Fiend.

For 'wealk'd' the Cambridge Shakespeare records the following variants: *welk't* $Q_1$. *welkt* $Q_2$ $Q_3$. *wealk'd* $F_1$ $F_2$. *walk'd* $F_3$ $F_4$.

Pope conjectured *welk'd*, and Hanmer *whelk'd*, explaining, 'a whelk is such a rising tumour upon the skin as the lash of a switch or whip leaves behind it.' But that Malone's explanation 'twisted, convolved' is correct seems to be proved by the following passage from Golding's translation of Ovid, *Metam.*, v, 415—8:

> She saide that *Jove* the Prince of Gods was wride
> In shape of Ram: which is the cause that at this present tide
> *Joves* ymage which the Lybian folke by name of Hammon serve,
> Is made with crooked welked hornes that inward still do terve.

The original has:

> unde recuruis
> nunc quoque formatus Libys est cum cornibus Ammon.
>
> Ovid, *Met.*, v. 327.

It may be added that the 'crooked welked hornes that inward still do terve' are well represented in an old woodcut of the Devil reproduced in Hone's *Ancient Mysteries Described* (ed. 1823) p. 142, from *Der Schelmen Zunft* (1506).

W. H. Williams.

Hobart, Tasmania.

## 'The Spoyle of Antwerpe' (1576).

The authorship of this remarkable pamphlet has long hung in a balance of probabilities. It was indeed clear that the writer, who states that he left Antwerp on November 12, 1576, charged by the Governor of the English Merchants to report their distresses to the Queen and

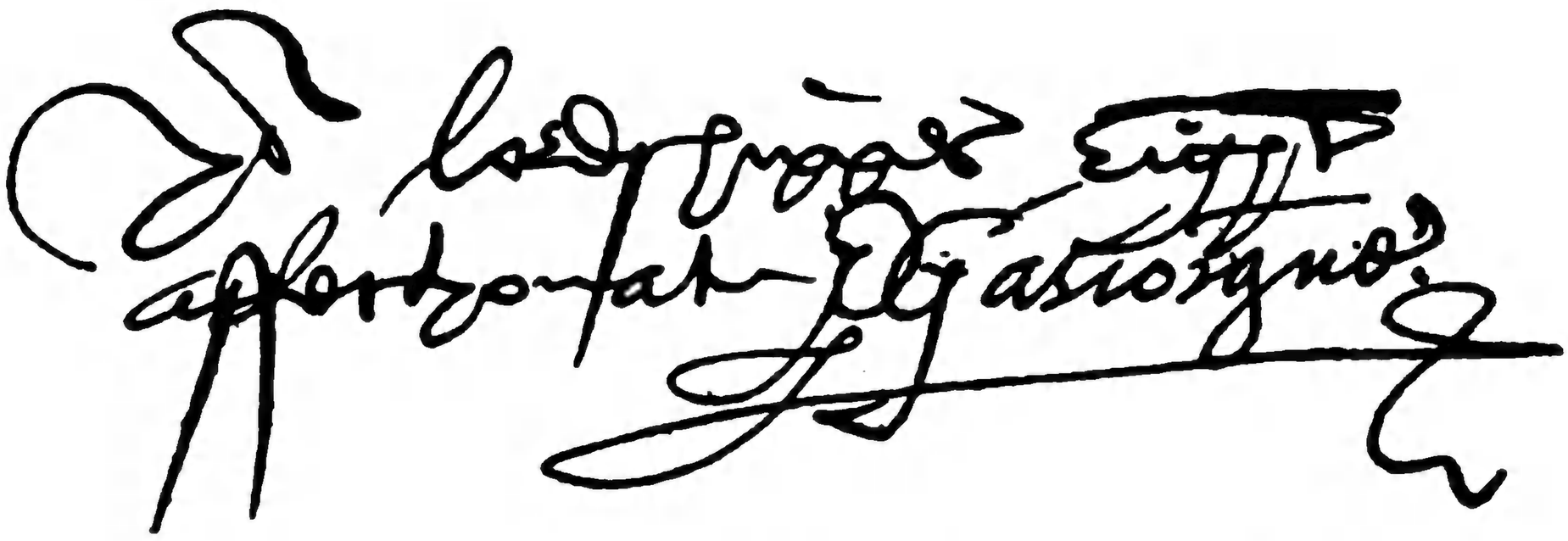
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Council , was the Master George Gascon or Gaston, whom the Governor, Thomas Heton, in his letter of November 10, commends to the Privy Council as the authorized messenger of the Fellowship[2]. But Hunter[3] held that the poet Gascoigne was not the person referred to, because (1) as the son of a knight, he was entitled to be, and was always, styled Esquire; (2) in May, 1576, when Gascoigne finished *The Droomme of Doomes day*, he described himself as 'in weake plight for health,' and he was unable to correct the proofs of this work as it was going through the press[4]; as he died in October, 1577, it seemed reasonable to suppose that he was unlikely in September, October and November of 1576 to be making the journeys and performing the exploits undertaken by the reporter of Antwerp. Moreover, in the dedicatory epistle to 'Lewes Dyve of Broomeham, in the Countie of Bedforde,' dated August 10, 1576, and prefixed to *A delicate Diet, for daintiemouthde Droonkardes*, which was published on August 22, 1576, Gascoigne says 'soone after Mighelmas (by Gods leave) I wyll see you[5],' so that at that time he evidently expected to be in England at the end of September and the beginning of October—just when the Antwerp reporter was making his way from Paris to Flanders. But there is a month's space between the middle of August, when Gascoigne thought he was going to be in England, and the middle of September, when the reporter was at Paris; and in a month much may happen. At the beginning of the year, in dedicating the versions of *The Tale of Hemetes the Heremyte* to the Queen, Gascoigne had made a very direct appeal for employment in the royal service[6]; and it appears that the petition was granted, for a year later (January 1, 1577) he sent *The Grief of Joye* to the Queen 'that I might make youre Majestie witnesse, how the *Interims* and vacant howres of those daies which I spent this soñier in your service have byn bestowed[7].' To suspect that there were two George Gascoignes in the royal service in the summer of 1576 seems carrying incredulity a long way, but even this possibility of doubt is removed by a comparison of the poet Gascoigne's admitted signature with that of the Antwerp reporter. There are two letters from the latter, dated from Paris, September 15 and October 7, respectively, 1576. There is one of George Gascoigne the poet[8], at the end of the dedication of *The Tale*

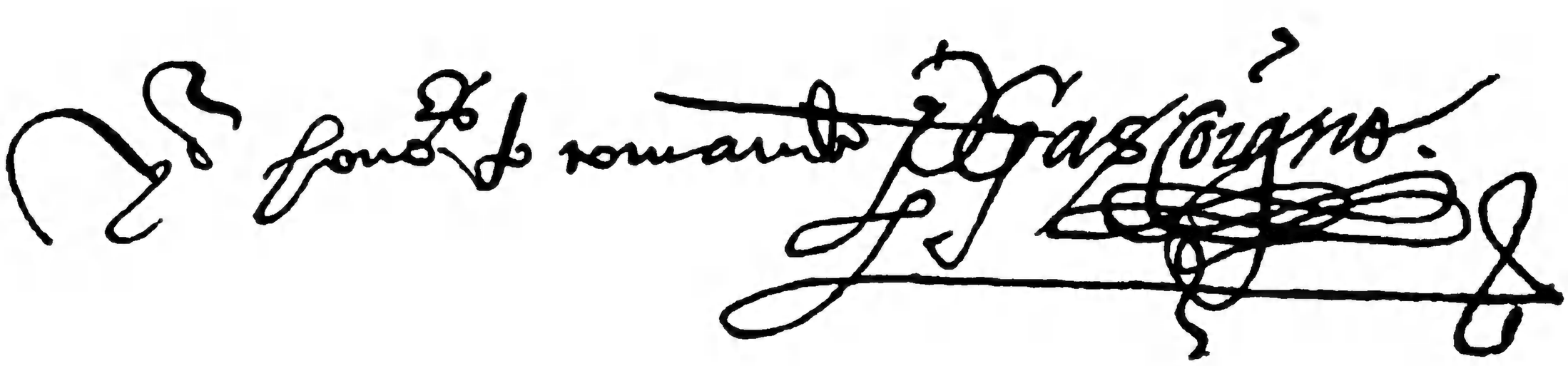
[1] Gascoigne's *Complete Works* (Cambridge University Press), Vol. II, p. 599.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. vi.
[3] *Chorus Vatum*, B. M. Additional MS. 24, 487, pp. 448–460.
[4] Gascoigne, Vol. II, pp. 214, 215.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 454.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 477.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 514.
[8] The signature given by Hazlitt from the *Jocasta* MS. is undoubtedly a transcriber's.

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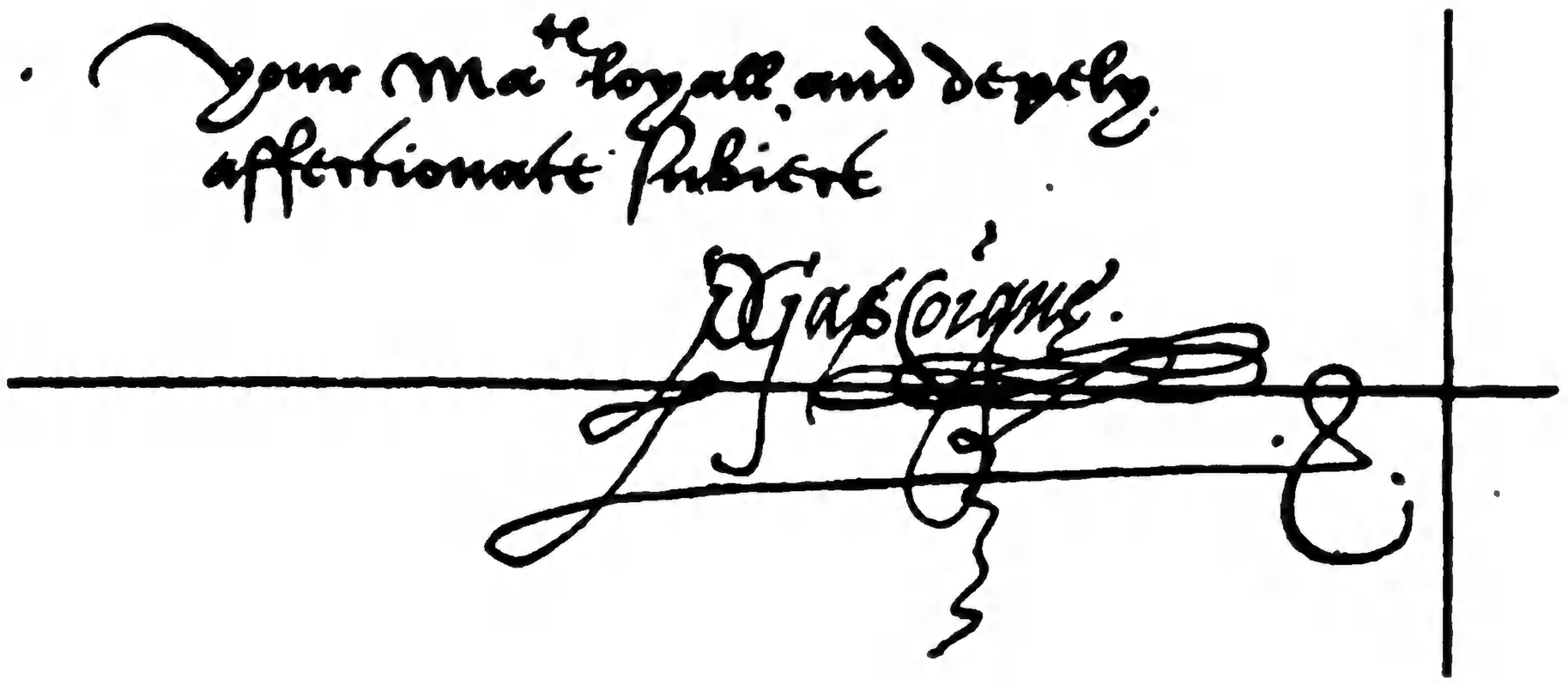
*of Hemetes the Heremyte* (Brit. Mus. Royal MS. 18 A xlviii). All three signatures are given below, reproduced from photographs, the exact size of the originals, taken by Mr R. B. Fleming, so that the reader can judge for himself of their identity:



SIGNATURE OF LETTER IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE (STATE PAPERS. FOREIGN. ELIZABETH. VOL. 139, FOL. 169 v°). WRITTEN TO BURGHLEY FROM PARIS AND DATED SEPT. 15, 1576.



SIGNATURE OF LETTER IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE (STATE PAPERS. FOREIGN. ELIZABETH. VOL. 140, FOL. 829). WRITTEN TO BURGHLEY FROM PARIS AND DATED OCT. 7, 1576.



GASCOIGNE'S SIGNATURE IN ROYAL MS. 18 A xlviii. FOL. 6 b.

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It is now possible, the poet's authorship of the pamphlet being fully established, to set forth his later career more exactly. When Gascoigne wrote the dedicatory epistle to *A delicate Diet*[1], he saw the first step of reparation for his 'wanton (and worse smelling) Poesies' in *The Glasse of Governement*, the dedication of which is dated April 26, 1575. *The Princelye pleasures, at the Courte at Kenelwoorth*, which has survived only in the collected edition of 1587, was evidently published in the first half of 1576 (the printer's address to the reader is dated March 26, 1576, and the opening lines speak of 'July last past'). In April, 1576, Gascoigne completed *The Steele Glas* and *The complaynt of Phylomene*; during the same month he wrote the prefatory epistle to Gilbert's *Discourse of a Discoverie for a new Passage to Cataia*, and on May 2 he finished the translation of *The Droomme of Doomes day*. Commendatory verses by him to Turberville's *The Noble Arte of Venerie* and *Cardanus Comforte translated into Englishe* were published in the same year. Altogether, Gascoigne's multifarious activities about this time indicate that his illness in the spring of 1576 was not so serious as Hunter supposed. His request to the Queen for employment on January 1 suggests at least an equal willingness to use the sword and the pen[2], and it is followed in April by a complaint that he is marching 'amongst the Muses for lacke of exercise in martiall exploytes[3].' On September 15 he was at Paris, and on October 7 he wrote Burghley that he was setting out the next day for the Low Countries[4]; on October 12 Ambassador Paulet reported to Walsingham that he had started[5]. He arrived at Antwerp on October 22, and was present throughout the various operations of the 'Spoyle' which began on November 3, up to the 12th, when he left for England. He arrived in London on the 21st, for Walsingham records in his *Journal* (p. 29 of the Camden Society edition): 'Mr. Gascoigne came out of the Low Countries with lettres': and Peter Cunningham in the extracts from the Office Books of the Treasurers of the Chamber prefixed to the *Revels Accounts*, published by the Shakespeare Society, has the following:—'Paid uppon a warrant signed by Mr. Secretaire Walsingham dated at Hampton Court xxi° Novembre 1576 to George Gascoigne gent. for bringinge of Lettres in post for her Majesties affaires frome Andwarpe to Hampton Courte, xx[li].' According to Gascoigne's own statement at the end of the tract, he wrote his report on November 25, and it was published the same month.

[1] Gascoigne's *Complete Works*, Vol. II, p. 453. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 473. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 566.
[4] *Calendar of State Papers*. Foreign. 1575–1577. No. 951. [5] *Ibid.* No. 955.

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It must have been gratifying to Gascoigne's stirring temperament to be employed in such a difficult and dangerous undertaking as the matter of Antwerp, for which he was fitted by his knowledge of languages and his previous military experiences in Holland[1]; he evidently bore himself in it with prudence as well as courage, and earned the gratitude of the English Adventurers and their Governor. His conduct apparently commended itself to the Queen and her Ministers, for his anonymous pamphlet was published almost with official authority, marked on the title-page, 'Seene and allowed.' It is odd that George Whetstone, in his obituary catalogue of Gascoigne's good deeds and praiseworthy writings[2], should have omitted this, which we should be inclined to regard as the most creditable incident in Gascoigne's life, if not the most remarkable of his literary works; for Gascoigne himself, who was never 'dayntie of his doings,' as his first publisher remarks[3], can hardly have kept the secret from his friend, even if the authorship of the pamphlet were not at the time generally known; but the fact remains that *The Spoyle of Antwerpe* was Gascoigne's, and perhaps we should add to his credit that he was not only able to do well but to keep quiet about his well-doing. If so, he was indeed changed from the roystering and swaggering days of his youth and early middle age.

JOHN W. CUNLIFFE.

MADISON, WISCONSIN, U.S.A.

## JOHN LYLY AND THE OXFORD STAGE.

In his recent volume upon John Lyly, Professor Feuillerat has brought to light interesting new biographical facts concerning him. I believe that, unless names are deceptive, I can add to these a hitherto unknown detail.

By the courtesy of the Governing Body and the Treasurer of Christ Church, Oxford, I have lately had the opportunity of investigating the college account-books for data bearing on the performances of academic plays in the Elizabethan period. With the general results of these investigations I hope to deal elsewhere, but it may be of interest to the readers of the *Modern Language Review* to have the entries that apparently refer to John Lyly put before them without delay.

[1] Gascoigne's *Complete Works*, Vol. I, pp. 139, 354.

[2] *A Remembraunce of the wel imployed life, and godly end, of George Gaskoigne Esquire, who deceassed at Stalnford in Lincolne Shire the 7. of October*, 1577.—Arber's English Reprints.

[3] Gascoigne's *Complete Works*, Vol. I, p. 478.

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In a list of expenses incurred in connection with the dramatic performances at Christ Church in January 1584/5, in honour of the visit of the Chancellor, the Earl of Leicester, these items appear under date, 13 January:

To Mr Lilies mȧ[n] for ye lone of soīne apparell ex co[n]sensu Decani et capituli ..... xx$^{s}$.

* * * * *

For gloves sent to M$^{r}$ Lilie for his curtesie in lendinge soīne apparell ex cōsensu Decani et Subdecani..... vi$^{s}$. viii$^{d}$.

The presumption is that it is Lyly, the dramatist, who is mentioned in these entries, and that the Christ Church authorities had obtained from him costumes to supplement their own theatrical wardrobe. Similar borrowings or hirings of stage 'apparell' took place on other occasions when plays were performed before royal or distinguished visitors, e.g. when James I. visited Oxford in 1605 (cf. *Malone Society Collections*, I. 3, pp. 247–59). Moreover there is further evidence in the Christ Church account-book for 1584–5 of other costumes being hired from a distance for the performances before the Chancellor. Under the same date as the entries quoted above there are the following:

To Nightingale for y$^{e}$ lone of apparell and his charges hither ex consensu Decani et Capituli..... iii$^{li}$. vj$^{s}$. viij$^{d}$.
To Tipslowe for y$^{e}$ like cause w$^{th}$ y$^{e}$ like cōsent ..... iij$^{li}$. v$^{s}$.
To his wyfe more for y$^{e}$ lone of a cloke..... v$^{s}$.
To Tipslowe for y$^{e}$ Revels ꝑmised by M$^{r}$ Maxie, and allowed by M$^{r}$ Deane and y$^{e}$ Chapitre ..... v$^{li}$.

I have not been able to identify Nightingale, but Tipslowe may be John Tipsley, a tailor, whose name appears several times during this period in the accounts of the London Revels Office.

From the fact that Lyly was sent the usual complimentary academic offering of gloves, it looks as if he had no pecuniary interest in the transaction, and that the sum of 20 shillings paid to his 'man' did not benefit him. We know that Lyly was on 3 March 1583/4 the head of the Earl of Oxford's 'servauntes,' probably his company of 'boyes' (cf. Chambers, *Mod. Lang. Rev.* vol. II, no. 1, pp. 7–8 and Feuillerat, *Revels*, p. 470). Was he, in spite of Prof. Feuillerat's assertion to the contrary (*John Lyly*, pp. 131–2), still head of the company when it played before the Queen at Greenwich on 27 December, and was it in this capacity that in the following January he lent costumes to the Christ Church amateur players? And did his own College, Magdalen, which spent £3 15*s*. 5*d*. on 'ludi theatrici' during the Chancellor's visit, also profit by his good offices?

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It is not to be forgotten that there was another Lyly prominent in Oxford at this time—Edmund Lillie, or Lyly, formerly a Fellow of Magdalen, who became Doctor of Divinity and Master of Balliol in 1580, and was Vice-Chancellor in 1585–6. But apart from the fact that he would have been called 'Dr' and not 'Mr,' he scarcely seems the type of person to lend out theatrical apparel.

In any case the entries offer interesting material for speculation, and are therefore worth putting on record. Perhaps one of Lyly's biographers or editors will help to elucidate the points here raised.

F. S. Boas.

London.

## Marlowe: Some Textual Notes[1].

### *Tamburlaine.*

631 With dutie not with amitie we yeeld
Our vtmost seruice to the faire *Cosroe.*

Dyce and all succeeding editors read 'and' for 'not.' Is this necessary? Techelles politely disclaims any intention of presuming to claim terms of friendship; he and his companions are bound in duty to pay their utmost service to Cosroe. This meaning seems clear if the lines are taken in their context. The tone of deference would be out of place from the mouth of Tamburlaine, but it befits Techelles well enough.

3627 while all thy ioints
Be rackt and beat asunder with the wheele,

Qy. 'bent asunder'?

3679 Now brother, follow we our fathers sword,
That flies with fury swifter than our thoughts,
And cuts down armies with his conquerings wings.

Editions later than 1590 read 'conquering wings' or 'conquering swings.' I should like to keep 'wings,' were it only that line 649 refers to Tamburlaine's 'winged sword.' But why not keep also 'conquerings,' taking it as possessive? The meaning of 'conquerings wings' is, apparently, 'wings of conquest.'

4317 And fishes feed by humaine carkasses,
Amasde, swim vp and downe vpon the waues,

Every editor from Robinson down changes 'feed' to 'fed,' but it is possible that we should recognise the word as 'fee'd.'

[1] References are to *The Works of Christopher Marlowe*, edited by C. F. Tucker Brooke, Oxford, 1910.

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### *The Rich Jew of Malta.*

26 o'th poore petty wites,
Let me be enuy'd and not pittied!

For 'wites' modern-spelling editors print 'wights.' Probably it should be 'witts.'

945 That I may, walking in my Gallery,
See 'em go pinion'd along by my doore.

Read 'pinion'd' as trisyllabic, and omit 'by.' One may as legitimately say 'along my door' as 'I walk'd along a stream.' Besides the phrase actually occurs in *Arden of Feversham*, l. 128.

1783 But you know some secrets of the Iew,

Read 'I but you know.'

1924—1927 [*Ith.*] Here's to thee.
*Pil.* Nay, *I'le* have all or none.
*Ith.* There, if thou lou'st me doe not leaue a drop.
*Curt.* *Love* thee, fill *me* three glasses.

But for a slight rearrangement of the verse and the use of a few italics, this is the reading of 1633. But all the editors except Reed and Collier give Pilia-borza's speech to the Curtezan. I have italicised certain words to make the sense clear. Bellamira pretends to be piqued at Ithimore's attention to her bully.

### *Edward the Second.*

883—4 *Pen.* Heere, here. Conuey hence *Gaueston*, thaile murder him.

Most editors are agreed that the words relating to Gaveston should be assigned to Edward. I would follow the reading of 1594 in everything. It is one line, not one and a bit. The warning words are spoken aside to the king. In a later scene (1245 sqq.), Penbrooke shews a sincere affection for his sovereign, and is willing to place his life in pledge for Gaveston.

2072 Ile not resigne, but whilst I liue.

Qy. 'but whilst I liue Ile liue.' ?

2097—8 *Enter Bartley.*
*Bartley.* My lorde.
*Edw.* Call me not lorde,
Away, out of my sight:

Editors seem fairly agreed that Bartley does not enter until after 2114. They give 'My lorde' to the Bishop. But why? Bartley, on his entrance, naturally salutes the king first, though his message is to Leicester. After 2114 he presents his missive.

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### *Dido, Queene of Carthage.*

813 The heire of furie, the fauorite of the fates,

Qy. 'heire of fancie'?

1151 *Carthage*, my friendly host, adue,

Read 'adue, adue.'

1629 Traytoresse too keend and cursed Sorceresse.

May we read 'Traytoresse took in't,' i.e. caught redhanded?

### *The Massacre at Paris.*

70—71 Where are those perfumed gloues which I sent
To be poysoned, hast thou done them? speake,

Omit 'which.' Read 'empoyson'd.'

549—551 I haue deseru'd a scourge I must confesse,
Yet is there pacience of another sort,
Then to misdoe the welfare of their King:

For 'pacience' perhaps we should read 'penance.'

997 O pardon me my Lord of *Guise*.

Read 'Pardon, O pardon me.' The lines immediately following are printed as prose. I would divide them at the following words:—'done,' 'them,' 'villaine' (though this word is probably intrusive), 'standings,' 'Lord,' 'go forth.'

J. Le Gay Brereton.

Sydney, N.S.W.

## 'Bozzimacu[1].'

Nearly sixty years ago the word 'Bozzamacu' was vulgarly used at Sheffield in its proper sense: that is to say, as the equivalent of 'Baisez mon cul.' I do not remember to have heard it used as a contemptuous appellation for a Frenchman.

H. Jackson.

Cambridge.

The note on the word 'Bozzimacu' in the October number of the *Review* recalls to my mind that in my native town of Essen an der Ruhr we used as schoolboys to fling the epithet 'Bäsemakŭh' [bēzəmakȳ] at the Belgian Walloons who were engaged in brickmaking in the neighbourhood. We were innocent of the meaning, but it never failed to awaken their resentment.

Heinrich Mutschmann.

Nottingham.

[1] See *Modern Language Review*, Vol. v, p. 500.

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## 'To prune.'

The verb *to prune* presents us with a problem of extraordinary difficulty, which the *New English Dictionary* does not wholly solve, though it gives a full and minute account of its uses. We are told that there appear to be two distinct verbs thus spelt. The former meant originally, 'to trim or dress the feathers with the beak,' as a bird does; the latter meant 'to cut or lop superfluous branches from a vine or tree.' It is left in uncertainty whether these were originally two distinct verbs or not. Of the former it is said that it seems to be French; of the latter, that it represents an Old French *pröoignier*, later *proignier*, which is of unknown origin.

Not finding much satisfaction in these etymologies, I addressed myself to the task of discovering something more definite, and I think I have been successful beyond what might have been expected. It will be shown that these two verbs are wholly independent of each other, and that Latin originals can be constructed in both cases.

And first as to the pruning performed by birds. The form is variable, but the best Middle English forms are *proinen* and *prunen*, used both by Chaucer and by Gower. The latter uses it of an eagle:

> 'For there he pruneth him and piketh,
> As doth an hauk whan him wel liketh.' *C. A.*, VI. 2203.

But Chaucer uses it metaphorically, with reference to Damian:

> 'He kembeth him, he proyneth him and pyketh.' *C. T.*, E. 2011.

The MSS. vary here; the readings are *preyneth*, E.; *prayneth*, Hn.; *pruneth*, Hl.; *proynyth*, Cm.; *proyneth*, Cp. Pt. Ln. The standard form is really *proinen*, as will appear.

The secret of the formation of this word is somewhat extraordinary; it rests upon the discovery, which I made in 1903, of the etymology of *proffer*, usually derived before that date from the French *proférer*, to produce, which explains neither form nor sense. I proved that it represented an Anglo-French *profrer* (used by N. Bozon), answering to an Old French *profrir*, shortened from *porofrir*, which meant precisely 'to proffer.' So that it is really a triple compound, from the Latin *prō*, *ob*, and *ferre*; and not from *prō* and *ferre* only. Dr Murray has adopted this view in the *N. E. D.*

In the same way, *proinen* is short for *poroinen*, due to the Old French stem *poroign-*, occurring in the present tense of *poroindre* (from



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Lat. *prō*, prefix, and *ungere*, to anoint). Godefroy's article on *poroindre* removes all doubt, for it had the precise sense required, and is used, in all the four quotations given, of birds only. The first quotation may suffice; it is from Benoît's *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, II. 1419 (ed. Michel):

'Parmi la fontaine nooent
Puroigneient s'i e baignoent.'

I.e., (the birds) swam amid the fountain, and there they pruned themselves and bathed. This gives the complete solution, Latin original and all.

The other verb can be explained on precisely parallel lines.

In the first place, it is a Norman word, still in use in Normandy in the form *progner*. Moisy's Glossary of modern Norman duly gives it, and he makes concerning it a somewhat odd remark, viz. that it has just the same sense as *rogner*, though it exhibits a prefixed *p*. Practically he is quite right, if we only happen to know what this prefixed *p* means. As to *rogner*, Hamilton explains it by 'to cut, to clip, to pare, to prune'; giving at once the right sense.

From what precedes, it will easily be seen that, if *progner* is to have much the same sense as *rogner*, it must be related to the latter in much the same way as *proffer* is related to *offer*, and *poroindre* to *oindre*; so that the prefix required is *por-*, as before. We have only to assume an Old French form **por-roigner*, which was easily reduced (like the two previous words) to *p'roigner*, whence the M.E. *proinen*. The word is then completely solved, because the origin of *rogner*, formerly *roignier*, *röoignier*, has been shown to be the Late Lat. *rotundiāre*, to clip round, to round, from the Lat. adj. *rotundus*. This shows that Dr Murray was perfectly right in assigning the O.F. *pröoignier* as the origin of the English word. All that remained was to explain *pröoignier* itself. It is merely a contraction from **porröoignier*, and that is all.

WALTER W. SKEAT.

CAMBRIDGE.

## 'VIE DE ST ALEXIS,' STROPHE CXI, 2.

Pour cette strophe A nous manque. L S M nous donnent une énumération des malades qui viennent se faire guérir par le pouvoir miraculeux de Saint Alexis. Cette énumération est distincte dans chacun des manuscrits:

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L. Surz ne auogles ne contraiz ne leprus
Ne muz ne orbs ne neuls palazinus
ensur tut ne nuls languerus.

S. Surs nauules ne contraiz ne lepreus
Ne crestiens qui tant soit languereus
Ensor que tout nus hom palasinex.

M. Ne nus liepreus ne malades ne sours
Ne nus enfers ne nus palasinous
Ni est ales ken portast ses langours.

Gaston Paris a établi comme il suit son texte pour ces trois vers (cf. grande édition p. 166):

Sorz ne avogles ne contraiz ne lepros
Ne muz ne orbs ne nuls palazinos,
Ensorquetot ne neuls langoros.

c. à d. qu'il a conservé la leçon de L en corrigeant *neuls* en *nuls* et en ajoutant *que* à *en sur*.

Mais quelle différence y a-t-il entre *avogles* au vers 1 et *orbs* au vers 2? Dira-t-on que l'un a un sens plus large et l'autre plus étroit? Ce serait bien vague. Dira-t-on que l'un signifie *aveugles de naissance* et l'autre *aveugles par accident*? Cela ne correspondrait pas au sens ressortant des exemples que nous avons de ces deux mots, constamment pris l'un pour l'autre[1]. Proposera-t-on d'adopter la leçon d'un autre manuscrit? Ce serait bien difficile. Car d'une part les vers 1 et 3, assurés par deux manuscrits de familles différentes, doivent rester; d'autre part l'on ne peut faire cas du second vers de S qui est évidemment refait. Enfin *enfers* de M est exclu par le premier vers de CXII absolument certain:

'N'i vint enferms de nule enfermetet.

Alors se résignera-t-on à croire que l'auteur de St Alexis ait oublié qu'il avait déjà parlé des aveugles, dans le vers 1 et qu'il les mentionne de nouveau au vers 2? Ce serait accorder à sa mémoire et à son talent un bien infime crédit.

Or si l'on se reporte à d'autres récits de miracles on voit que les saints guérissent généralement 'les muz, les sorz, les orbs et les tors.' Il est fort probable qu'il faut remplacer au vers 2 *orbs* par *tors*. Au point de vue paléographique la faute s'explique aisément: l'original

[1] Si telle avait été l'intention de l'auteur, il n'aurait pas séparé les 'avogles' des 'orbs.' Il aurait mis plus d'ordre dans sa cour des miracles et aurait écrit par exemple:

Orbs ne avogles ne contraiz ne lepros
Ne muz ne sorz ne nuls palazinos.



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devait porter *ne tors*; un scribe *a* aura écrit *netors* et un scribe *b* aura mal coupé ces mots et mis *net ors*. Le scribe de L aura réduit en ce cas, suivant son habitude, *net* à *ne*[1] et ajouté à *ors* son *b* etymologique[2].

Louis Brandin.

London.

## 'Aucassin et Nicolete,' xxi, 5–8.

Li uns dist bel conpaignet
dix ait Aucasinet
voire a foi le bel vallet
et le mescine au cors corset.

Ce passage offre deux difficultés. 1. De ces vers le dernier est évidemment faux et commentateurs et éditeurs ont essayé de le corriger. Tous sont d'accord pour supprimer *cors*, mais les uns ont remplacé *corset* par *cors net* et les autres, comme M. Suchier, et à la suite M. Bourdillon, ont conservé *corset* en lui donnant le sens de 'partie du bliaut des femmes' synonyme de *bliaut* employé dans xii, 12[3]. 2. Le sens de 'voire a foi' (v. 7) est bien plat, si on l'interprète, comme on l'a fait jusqu'ici, par 'oui, vraiment.' 'Que Dieu aide le petit Aucassin, oui vraiment!' Quel sens cela offre-t-il? Notre poète nous a habitués à mieux que cela. Il nous donne le droit d'exiger plus de lui qu'une cheville aussi banale: elle n'a cependant pas attiré l'attention des érudits qui s'était probablement portée, si j'ose ainsi dire, tout entière sur le *corset* de la mescine. N'y a-t-il pas moyen d'enlever cette tache de notre laisse et de résoudre la première difficulté de façon plus satisfaisante? C'est à cette question que les lignes suivantes doivent répondre.

Il est évident que, à la laisse qui nous occupe, le poète a eu l'intention bien arrêtée de donner, en accumulant les diminutifs, un tour vif et gracieux; il y a d'ailleurs réussi; non sans qu'on puisse cependant lui reprocher de n'avoir pas entièrement évité quelque mignardise. Il faut remarquer notamment que tous les mots terminant le vers sont des diminutifs en *-et* ou *-és*[4], où la force diminutive est nettement marquée:

[1] Il a oublié de faire cette réduction au vers liii, 5: 'ne sen corucet net il nes en apelet.'

[2] Dans sa petite édition de *La Vie de Saint Alexis* (Champion, 1903, 1905) Gaston Paris a rétabli l'orthographe *ors*, la plus conforme aux règles de l'ancien français.

[3] Cf. la traduction de Bourdillon, 'And the girl in bodice clad' avec la note ajoutée à propos de ce vers, p. 146 (2e éd., 1897), et la note de Suchier, *Aucassin et Nicolete* (6e éd., traduite en français par A. Counson, pp. 55–57).

[4] Vallet de **vassulittum* implique souvent encore à cette époque une idée diminutive. Il correspond à *jeune homme*, les idées de jeune et petit se confondant fort naturellement. Les diminutifs y sont tous formés par le suffixe *-et* (du latin *-ittum*) au singulier ou au pluriel.

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seul le mot *corset* ferait exception parce que, tout en étant dérivé de *cors* auquel s'est ajouté le suffix *-et*, il n'offrirait plus, dans le sens où M. Suchier et M. Bourdillon le prennent, la moindre idée de diminutif. *A fortiori* il y aurait exception si l'on recourait à la correction proposée par Bartsch et adoptée notamment par Gaston Paris et Tobler, *cors net* au lieu de *corset*. Or rien ne nous autorise à admettre l'explication de M. Suchier ou la correction de Bartsch, qui ont pour résultat de rompre toute l'harmonie de la laisse, de détruire l'effet que le poète voulait produire. On s'en convaincra en examinant de près les vers 7 et 8. La copulative qui est au commencement du vers 8 est tout simplement la répétition du *et* de *vallet*[1]. Il suffit de la supprimer pour retrouver la bonne leçon.

Au lieu donc de lire comme les éditions précédentes :

Li uns dist : Bel conpaignet,
Dix aït Aucasinet,
Voire, a foi ! le bel vallet
Et le mescine au corset[2] etc.

l'on propose d'établir le texte comme il suit :

Li uns dist : Bel conpaignet,
Dix aït Aucasinet !
Voire, a foi le bel vallet
Le[3] mescine au cort[4] corset etc.

Ce qui veut dire : Que Dieu aide le petit Aucassin ! A coup sûr, elle a la foi du beau jeune homme, la jeune fille a la fine taille, mot à mot 'au court petit corps[5].'

Ainsi l'on conserve *corset* mais en y voyant un *diminutif réel* de *cors*. On évite aussi, surtout en conservant l'adjectif *cort*, les objections de Gaston Paris[6] et de Tobler[7] auxquelles la note, d'ailleurs extrêmement intéressante, de M. Suchier n'enlève aucune force. On a, en outre, l'avantage de voir rappelé ici un des traits sur lesquels le poète insiste quand il nous décrit la beauté de Nicolete : 'et estoit graille par mi les flans qu'en vos dex mains la peüiscies enclorre.' Nous avions déjà *poil blondet, cler le vis et l'oeul vairet* qui correspondaient à *caviaux blons, ex*

[1] Le scribe l'a écrit une fois probablement par inadvertence plutôt que par inintelligence du texte. Cela serait rendu encore plus probable si les vers de l'original étaient mis à la queue leu leu, comme de la prose, ou si, comme il arrive souvent, deux vers étaient écrits sur la même ligne. Mais, en tout cas, on comprend parfaitement, étant donnés tous ces *-et*, que le scribe en ait ajouté un de plus. À un près et quand on prend du galon on n'en saurait trop prendre !

[2] Ou : au cors net. [3] MS. Et le. [4] MS. cors.

[5] Godefroy dans son *Dictionnaire* (II, 316) donne ce sens pour *corset*. Signalons le fait à son éloge. On n'a que trop souvent occasion de mettre en relief ses bévues !

[6] *Romania*, VIII, 288. [7] *Zeitschrift für Rom. Philologie*, II, 624.

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*vairs et rians* de xii. Les deux descriptions concordent ainsi beaucoup mieux et l'impression générale est bien plus satisfaisante. Enfin au point de vue paléographique on conçoit aisément la correction de *cors corset* en *cort corset*. Le scribe, qui d'ailleurs n'a pas pour la déclinaison un respect excessif, s'est laissé entraîner à écrire *cors* au lieu de *cort* sous l'influence de la première syllabe du mot suivant[1].

Si maintenant nous revenons au vers 7, nous voyons qu'il offre un sens beaucoup plus net. D'abord le mot *voire* y a toute sa force: 'Vraiment, il n'y a pas de doute.' Ensuite *a foi* dans le sens de 'a la foi' est beaucoup plus naturel que dans le sens de 'assurément' pour lequel notre auteur emploie d'ailleurs *par* foi (cf. xviii, 37). S'il avait voulu dire 'Aye, i' faith[2]' il aurait mis: 'Voir, par foi!'

Enfin la construction 'avoir foi le bel vallet' est peut-être un peu dure, mais elle est néanmoins très claire. Ce n'est qu'un cas particulier d'un tour courant en ancien français[3].

Et c'est ainsi qu'il semble y avoir forte raison pour enlever à Nicolete le corset dont on l'avait affublée[4].

LOUIS BRANDIN.

LONDON.

[1] On pourrait objecter que *corset* n'a jamais ce sens en ancien français. A vrai dire on n'en a point rencontré, que je sache, d'autre exemple. Mais, outre qu'il peut s'en trouver, il est évident que, si ce mot est du crû de l'auteur, si c'est une de ses créations, il n'en a que plus de saveur, il n'en fait que plus vivement ressortir son intention. C'est d'ailleurs le même procédé qui l'a conduit à imaginer *Aucasinet*, *conpaignet*, *denerés*, qui n'existent non plus nulle part ailleurs.

[2] Comme dit Bourdillon, *Auc. and Nic.*, p. 75.

[3] Gaston Paris a ainsi formulé la règle: 'L'accusatif d'un nom de personne au singulier et rarement au pluriel, peut, sans être précédé d'aucune préposition, faire fonction de génitif' (Gaston Paris, *Chrestomathie du moyen âge*, *Syntaxe*, LV–LVI. Voir ses exemples et y ajouter ceux donnés par Tobler dans ses *Vermischte Beiträge zur Französischen Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1886). Je dis que nous avons affaire ici à un cas spécial de cette règle; en effet, dans les exemples cités par les deux philologues que nous venons de nommer, le premier substantif est toujours précédé de l'article défini, sauf quand il suit une préposition: En nom Dieu, par ex. Dans notre vers il n'y a pas d'article défini et *le bel vallet* dépend immédiatement de *avoir foi*. Cela ne laisse pas que de donner une tournure un peu forcée; mais elle reste néanmoins fort claire et est en tout cas de beaucoup préférable à la cheville: Voire, a foi! le bel vallet!

[4] Dans le cas même où l'on conserverait pour ces vers la leçon contre laquelle nous nous sommes élevé:

Dix aït Aucasinet
voire, a foi! le bel vallet
et le mescine au corset,

il faudrait, croyons-nous, traduire le dernier par: et la jeune fille à la fine taille, *corset* étant pris dans le sens de 'petit corps.'

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# REVIEWS.

*John Lyly: Contribution à l'Histoire de la Renaissance en Angleterre.* Par ALBERT FEUILLERAT. Cambridge: University Press. 1910. Royal 8vo. xii + 661 pp.

The interest in John Lyly shows no sign of abatement. Mr Bond's edition of his works in three large and well-packed volumes, issued in 1902, is now followed up by a monograph by M. Feuillerat almost colossal in its proportions. Some of us have been long and eagerly looking forward to the appearance of this book. We are more than satisfied. The work has been done so carefully and exhaustively that it will be many a day before anyone comes forward again with an attempt to cover the whole field. As far as the present generation is concerned the book is final.

This does not mean that M. Feuillerat has rendered any further study of Lyly superfluous. He himself would be the first to laugh at such a proposition. On the contrary, the valuable discoveries he has made will but act as a stimulus to research in this or that section of the subject. Nor does it mean that all the theories he advances—some of them most revolutionary in character—will find general acceptance among scholars. The book is final chiefly in the sense that it 'places' Lyly far more successfully than any previous investigation, and gives him a position and background which are never likely to be materially altered. Where others have speculated, M. Feuillerat produces documents. He lets us into the secret of Lyly's birth and social standing. He places us on terms of familiarity with various members of his family. And when his hero leaves Canterbury and Oxford for the larger world of London, the life of the court is placed before us in a series of vivid pictures which wonderfully illuminate that brilliant and artificial phase of the English Renaissance when its activity was still largely confined to an Italianized coterie surrounding the Queen. For M. Feuillerat fulfils the promise made in his sub-title in a generous and large-hearted spirit. Finally, from the book as a whole we receive a very clear and convincing impression of what Lyly stands for in the history of English literature. Let it be here said that this impression is in a sense reactionary, that is to say, it is a corrective of the recent attempts—peccavi!—to place Lyly on one of the chief pedestals in the Elizabethan temple of fame. He is not, M. Feuillerat would have us believe, nearly

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so big a man as we had supposed. We had long ago given up thinking of him as the inventor of euphuism or as a writer of lyrics. But Harvey was right all along the line. In drama also, it now appears, 'young Euphues but hatched the eggs his elder friends laid.' Nor does M. Feuillerat much believe in his reputed learning. The fame of one who was once 'alter Tullius Anglorum' is on the decline. We expect to be told next that Gascoigne was a more interesting and original writer.

M. Feuillerat divides his book into two parts, one historical and the other analytical. In the first the facts of Lyly's life are given us, and these, together with the work he produced, are considered in relation to the age which conditioned them. I cannot help agreeing with the author in finding this far the more attractive part. It also contains most of the original matter of the book, the strictly biographical sections being quite new. The second half is taken up with a critical consideration of the novels, the plays and the euphuistic style. Their sources are discussed, their species determined and their construction analysed. The results of the two parts are then brought together in a concluding chapter in which an attempt is made to fix Lyly's place in English literature, and to account on historical grounds for the sudden decline in his popularity. The method has distinct advantages, but no method is perfect; and M. Feuillerat is occasionally hampered by the necessity of treating closely allied topics in different parts of the book.

The last hundred and sixty pages of the volume are occupied with appendices, including an index and fifty pages of bibliography. The most important of these is the first, in which, under the title of 'Pièces justicatives,' are printed the documents upon which the preceding biography of Lyly is based. A large number of these have never seen light before, by far the most striking and important being a genealogy of the Lyly family which M. Feuillerat has discovered among the Harleian MSS. Drawn up early in the seventeenth century, and apparently of unimpeachable authenticity, it is an interesting document from many points of view; but chiefly for the proof which it affords that the author of *Euphues and his Ephoebus* was the grandson of William Lyly, the grammarian. The second appendix is concerned with the chronology of Lyly's works. There are few tasks of criticism more useful than a precise determination of dates. M. Feuillerat does not indeed depart very materially from the order and dating which Mr Bond gave us, but he has in nearly every case substituted certainty, or at least weighty probability, for conjecture, an actual day and month for a vague supposition in terms of years. He has been enabled to do this largely owing to the advance made in our knowledge of court performances since Mr Bond wrote, an advance due to Mr Chambers's discoveries among the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber and M. Feuillerat's own researches among the Revels office account books. The third and last appendix deals with Lyly's debt to Ovid; it being proved, among other things, that the *Cooling Carde for all fond Lovers* is an adaptation—*mirabile dictu*—of the *Remedium Amoris*.

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The foregoing account of the method and variety of the book gives but a faint idea of the thoroughness with which the task has been carried out. Writing, as he is careful to state, for the student only, M. Feuillerat spares his readers no elaboration of detail in his pursuit of finality. Fifty pages, for example, are devoted to a consideration of the allegory of *Endimion*, while a catalogue has been made, with full references, of all the classical names appearing in Lyly's writings. On the other hand, if he considers that an issue has been settled by others M. Feuillerat does not re-discuss it. Thus, he contents himself by giving in a footnote a brief *résumé* of Mr W. W. Greg's arguments on the subject of the songs found in Lyly's plays[1], while all we have in reference to Lyly's blank-verse is a quotation from Mr Bond. Yet scientific as is M. Feuillerat's aim, he does not belong to that school which would divorce scholarship from literature. The book is written in an easy and delightful style, not infrequently enlivened by flashes of humour, which go a long way towards accommodating the reader to the weight of learning he is required to carry. Thus, despite its size, it has nothing of that heaviness which makes many valuable German treatises so indigestible.

In turning to matters of detail, it may be remarked that it is of course impossible to deal with more than a handful of the numberless points of interest contained in a volume of this elaboration and scope. I shall therefore confine my attention to those which seem to me most likely to excite criticism and discussion among Elizabethan students.

The question of the source, or sources, which Lyly drew upon for his 'compilation,' *The Anatomy of Wit*, is at once one of the most interesting and puzzling of the problems connected with his name. Landmann's old theory that the book was in substance (to say nothing of style) a mere rearrangement of North's *Diall of Princes* is by this time so dead that M. Feuillerat does not even deign to stop and sheathe his dagger in the corpse[2]. But new theories have sprung up to take its place. The present writer, in *The Library* of October 1909, ventured to assert that the novel owed a considerable debt to the school of Latin-Dutch dramatists who dealt with the prodigal son theme. Mr S. L. Wolf in *Modern Philology*, April 1910, attributes with some plausibility the episode of Euphues falling in love with his friend's mistress, together with his soliloquy on the situation thus created, to Boccaccio's story of Tito and Giseppo, to which, indeed, Lyly refers. Finally, M. Feuillerat, after carefully indicating the various sources for the didactic appendices, brings forward a well-authenticated incident in the life of the author which he claims as the basis of the plot, and a theory that the novel was planned and written as an attack upon the Italianate gentleman.

[1] M. Feuillerat is perhaps a little too unobtrusive in this matter. I notice for example that *The Times*' critique of his book reproduces the old belief in Lyly's authorship of the songs, in happy ignorance of M. Feuillerat's footnote.

[2] It still, however, continues to hold its ground in standard critical works: see for example M. W. MacCallum's *Shakespeare's Roman Plays*, p. 149.

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The incident in Lyly's life, to which M. Feuillerat draws our attention for the first time, is certainly curious and interesting. Simon Forman, who entered Magdalen in the year when Lyly was taking his degree, refers in his *Autobiographie* to two mad-cap seniors who were courting the two fair daughters of one Doctor Lawrence of Cowley, and used the unfortunate freshman as a go-between. 'Sir Thornbery he woed Besse and Sir Pinckney he woed Martha and in the end he married her: but Thornbery he deceyued Besse, as the mayor's daughter of Bracly, of which Ephues writes, deceyued him.' There can be little doubt that we have in these words a reference by a contemporary, a fellow-student and perhaps an acquaintance of Lyly's, to an actual love story which was recognised at the time as forming the basis of *The Anatomy of Wit*. Ferardo, we may legitimately suppose, represents the Mayor of Brackley, a town lying not far from Oxford; Lucilla is of course his daughter; while Euphues, as indeed is hinted in the preface to *Euphues and his England*, is none other than Lyly himself. At the same time it should be recognised that Forman's words do not carry us very far. If 'him' refers to Thornbery as M. Feuillerat assumes, then we may agree that Thornbery is the original of Philautus. But are we justified in making this assumption? There is no reason why 'him' should not be intended to refer to Euphues. In that case, not only would the identification of Philautus fall to the ground, but the passage would not necessarily imply a rivalry between the friends, or even for that matter, the existence of any rival whatsoever. All it tells us for certain is that the Mayor's daughter of Brackley jilted Euphues.

It is one of the drawbacks involved in M. Feuillerat's method that the foregoing problem is not brought into any relation with his treatment of the purpose of *The Anatomy*. For surely had he asked himself whether Euphues could be intended as a portrait of the author, and at the same time as an example of the evil consequence of travelling in Italy, he would have hesitated before committing himself to the theory we have now to consider. M. Feuillerat holds that *The Anatomy of Wit* was nothing but a 'Tendenzschrift,' one of the numerous attacks upon Italianism which the age produced—a thesis, be it said at the outset, which seems to me not merely opposed to everything we know of Lyly's own career and character, but entirely unsupported by anything in the book itself. At first sight it would seem plausible enough that the grandson of William Lyly should inherit a double portion of his spirit and deck himself in the mantle of the prophet Ascham. Nor can anybody deny that *Euphues* owes something to *The Schoolmaster* or that it is steeped in humanistic sentiment. But it is too much to ask us to suppose that Lyly the 'fiddlestick' of Oxford and the 'minion secretarie' of that Italianate monster, Edward de Vere, could ever have seriously contemplated writing against Italianism. M. Feuillerat sees the difficulty, and tries to surmount it by some hazardous and rather inconsistent speculations upon Lyly's character. He wavers, indeed, between two explanations, one that Lyly was never sincere, but wrote *The Anatomy* to please the grave eye of Burghley (pp. 44, 70), and the

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other that after leaving Oxford he went through a serious phase, which had, however, quite passed off a year or two later; for we are asked to believe that between the first and second part of *Euphues* 'une transformation profonde dans l'esprit de Lyly' had taken place (p. 89). How much basis there is for all this theorising may be judged when we remember that, as far as we can tell, Lyly went straight from Oxford to the Savoy where he would at once come across de Vere. It is even possible that he had entered his service before publishing *The Anatomy*[1].

But it is not necessary to test the theory by any preconceived ideas of Lyly's character. It falls to pieces of itself when compared with the actual text of *The Anatomy of Wit*. If Lyly intended it to be read as an attack upon Italianism, why is it he never states his purpose explicitly or indeed makes the slightest covert reference to the topic throughout the whole of the book? Elizabethan authors are not usually reticent concerning the axe they are offering to grind: they generally announce it with trumpets on the title-page. The only time, as far as I know, that Lyly mentions the reputation of Italians in England, is in *Euphues and his England*[2], a book which M. Feuillerat himself admits was written after Lyly had fallen from grace. Had the subject been in Lyly's mind when he wrote *The Anatomy*, the scene of which is laid in Naples, there are a score of places in the novel where he might have pointed the moral. But he does not: and the impression left upon the reader who comes to the book with M. Feuillerat's theory in his mind is that, considering Lyly's age and antecedents, it is almost a marvel that he has *not* introduced the topic of Italianism.

M. Feuillerat, it is clear, has been led astray by the word 'Naples.' Illogically enough he reads Oxford for Athens; sees in Euphues, the Athenian scholar, the portrait of a young English gentleman, but refuses to find any English equivalent for Naples. And yet it is perfectly obvious that Lyly's readers understood Naples as London, or more particularly the court, and that Lyly fully intended them to do so. Throughout the book the contrast so frequently drawn between Athens and Naples is unmistakeably a contrast between the university and the court; just as Euphues, the representative of the one, is a scholar, and Philautus, the representative of the other, is a courtier. In a word, Athens is Oxford, and Naples is London, Euphues being the young Lyly who has recently come from the one to the other. Were it otherwise, what is the point of the letter of Euphues 'To the grave matrones and honest maydens of Italy' in which he assures them that the case of Lucilla is quite exceptional? The letter, which may be compared with the famous epistle 'To my very good friends the gentlemen scholers of Oxford,' is awkward for M. Feuillerat, however one interprets it. Again, if Naples be really Naples, why does Lyly make Eubulus, in whom M. Feuillerat sees a representative of English humanism, a Neapolitan?

[1] M. Feuillerat (p. 44) himself speaks of *The Anatomy* as 'le livre que...Lyly élaborait dans les murs du Savoy.'

[2] Bond, vol. II, p. 88.

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And why is it Philautus, another Neapolitan, who has the frank and open heart, while it is Euphues, the Englishman *ex hypothesi*, who displays the characteristics of treachery and deceit? Not that Euphues is ever 'Italianized' in the sense that Lyly's contemporaries would have given that word. He shows no trace of atheism, and the references to his self-indulgence are few, and when they occur seem out of place; while his love for Lucilla is perfectly respectable if somewhat dishonourable. Finally, the picture of Naples given to Euphues by Eubulus, with its reference to drunkenness, gluttony, and gross indulgences of other kinds, reminds one much more of Stubbes' attacks on 'Ailgna' and Nashe's tears over the modern Jerusalem than of anything written at the period upon Italy. What the Elizabethans complained of in Italians was not *grossièreté* so much as the vices of luxury and refinement, and more especially lack of principle, subtlety, atheism—in a word, Machiavellism. Indeed, the theory as a whole seems to me so completely devoid of any support from internal evidence, and so entirely opposed to the whole weight of external evidence that I find it difficult to understand how M. Feuillerat can have subscribed to it.

We come now to the Marprelate controversy, a subject on which there is still very much work to be done, especially on the anti-Martinist side of the dispute. It is, therefore, a little disappointing to find that only fourteen pages of the book before us are devoted to it. But M. Feuillerat's field is so immense, and on the whole so well-tilled, that we cannot complain if a small corner seems to have been comparatively neglected. Unfortunately M. Feuillerat's chapter appears to me at times seriously incorrect, chiefly, I think, because he does not seem to have made any study of the business on its puritan side. The most misleading feature is the implication, running throughout and finally crystallizing into a definite assertion, that Martin was reduced to silence solely by Lyly and his fellow-pamphleteers. That was no doubt the way it was often put in Lyly's day by Nashe and others, but to anyone who has studied the fortunes of the fugitive puritan press, it is an absurd proposition. Martin Marprelate was silenced by the capture of his printing-press at Manchester, and by the disclosures and arrests which followed—in a word by force. So far indeed from being discouraged by controversial opponents, he welcomed them, as the modern socialist welcomes the existence of the Anti-socialist League, as an advertisement. It is perhaps a sufficient refutation of the old error that M. Feuillerat has once again reproduced, to point out that one of the longest and, as far as we can tell from the account given of it in *The Protestation*, the merriest of all Martin's tracts was penned as a direct reply to the writers and dramatists of London who had attacked him. I refer to *More Worke for the Cooper*, the manuscript of which was captured with the press. Among these writers it should be noted Lyly's name does not appear, for *Pappe with a Hatchet*, the pamphlet to which M. Feuillerat would ascribe the honour of striking Martin dumb, did not see light until after Martin had already been put to silence, that is until the end of October 1589,

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two months after the capture of the press, and even later than Martin's last flutter in *The Protestation*. On p. 216 M. Feuillerat even seems to imply that the still later pamphlets *The Return of Pasquill* and *An Almond for a Parrat* shared in the glory of extinguishing Martin; for after enumerating them with *Pappe* and the other tracts, he continues 'Marprelate traqué de toutes partes et sérieusement atteint par ces coups multiples réussit à peine à faire entendre une dernière *Protestation*, vite étouffée sous les plaisanteries et sous les quolibets.' No one properly acquainted with the facts of Martin's career or the chronology of the tracts could have penned such a sentence.

M. Feuillerat makes a valiant effort to find something more than mud and sawdust in the compound that Lyly labelled *Pappe with a Hatchet*, but I cannot feel that he has been very successful. He fixes upon the accusation of treason that Lyly hurls at Marprelate, as the point of saving grace, though he admits that there was nothing original in it. Pasquil gives quite as much space to the same line of argument, and it is obviously one that the episcopal patrons would do their best to emphasize. There was quite possibly a plot for a further secularisation of Church property on foot at the back of the Marprelate business, but there was certainly not a shade of disloyalty to the crown. Penry and Martin were perfectly capable of dealing with the accusation, and it is doubtful whether it imposed upon those who did not already wish to believe it.

Among minor points may be noticed the implication on p. 212, perhaps not intentional, that the Marprelate tracts were issued with the approval of the whole Puritan party, whereas it is notorious that Cartwright and the 'preachers' seriously disapproved of the movement.

There is little doubt that the section of the book which will excite most interest and discussion among Elizabethan students is that which deals with Lyly as a playwright. After his careful and minute study of the Revels Documents, M. Feuillerat finds himself looking at the early history of the Elizabethan drama from quite a new standpoint. And his conclusions are likely to be startling enough to those accustomed to the old way of regarding things. In a few brief and confident sentences he dismisses the time-honoured belief in Lyly as the founder of English comedy and leaves him as one, and not necessarily the best, of a school of court dramatists, which under the scrutiny and careful selection of the Master of the Revels and in the 'atmosphère favorable et tiède' of a refined court, had since the beginning of Elizabeth's reign attained 'un développement merveilleux.' Some hundred and fifty dramas, declares M. Feuillerat, must already have been acted before Elizabeth when Lyly began to write, and his present reputation as a dramatist is simply due to the fact that his plays have survived while those of his predecessors have perished. All we have left of these are a couple of tragedies, a tragi-comedy and a number of entries in the Revels account-books. The last, however, give us a list of suggestive titles which indicate that the classical and mythological drama which Lyly has made famous had long flourished at Elizabeth's court. Hitherto

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we have been comparing Lyly's plays with crude beginnings of comedy upon the academic stage such as *Roister Doister* and *Gammer Gurton's Needle*. This, which of course places Lyly in a very favourable light, M. Feuillerat would have us believe to be quite unscientific. Lyly's true forerunners are not Udall and Stevenson, but the host of unknown writers for the court theatre who worked out the dramatic type and laid down the traditions of comedy which Lyly took over from them. 'Dans le roman, Lyly avait à peu près tout à créer; dans le théâtre, il bénéficiait de l'exemple de ses prédécesseurs et des modèles qu'ils lui avaient légués, après un quart de siècle d'efforts continus.' Such is M. Feuillerat's thesis. He has an unrivalled knowledge of the Revels office at his back, and it is difficult to see how his position can be attacked.

It is characteristic of his method that while some four pages are devoted to a consideration of the foregoing problem, more than twelve times the space is given to the far less important, though more complicated, matter of the allegory in *Endimion*. The onslaught which he makes upon the theory, so long unquestioned, of Leicester's identity with Endimion is, I think, entirely successful. He points out, among other things, that it is really absurd to suppose that Lyly would have dared to handle so delicate and dangerous a matter as the relations between Elizabeth and her favourite; that, while in the play Tellus casts the spell upon Endimion, in real life it was Elizabeth (Cinthia) who in a jealous fit put Leicester under confinement; that the description given of the young, pale and hollow-eyed shepherd-lad was hardly appropriate to the ruddy-complexioned earl of fifty; and finally—and to my mind most telling argument of all—that Lyly as a satellite of the anti-Leicester clique which included Burghley and de Vere, would presumably be the last person in the world to plead Leicester's cause, as Messrs Halpin, Baker and Bond have imagined him doing.

But it is doubtful whether M. Feuillerat will gain a very large following for his own interpretation of the allegory. The play symbolises, he would have us believe, the negotiations for a league between Elizabeth and James of Scotland which, after some vicissitudes, were coming to a head at the end of 1585. Cinthia is, of course, Elizabeth, Endimion is the young Scottish monarch and Tellus is the captive Queen at Tutbury castle whom he was virtually abandoning and who naturally did all in her power to frustrate her son's intentions. In Endimion's twenty to forty years' sleep upon the lunary bank we are asked to see the temporary rupture between James and Elizabeth (Aug.—Nov. 1585) due to the intrigues of Mary and Arran, while the kiss of Cinthia represents the renewal of negotiations at the beginning of December (see Froude, *History*, ed. 1901, vol. XI, pp. 584–597). These dates are important because they throw some suspicion upon the theory even at the outset. M. Feuillerat agrees with Mr Bond that the play was produced on February 2nd, 1585/6. But at that time barely eight weeks had elapsed since Knowles wrote to Walsingham from Edinburgh to announce that James was once more anxious to proceed with the

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treaty[1]. Does this allow sufficient time for the topic to become once again the talk of the Court, and for Lyly to write his play, obtain the sanction of the Master of the Revels and see it properly rehearsed? I do not deny the possibility, but I suggest that the point is worth serious consideration.

There are, however, other and graver objections to the theory. I have tried to do all justice to M. Feuillerat in this matter; but after refreshing my memory on the course of politics in 1584–6, and after a careful re-reading of *Endimion*, I confess to remaining totally unconvinced of the truth of his interpretation. There are, it is true, points in the play which seem to support the theory. Cinthia, for example, speaks of Endimion as 'the hope of succeeding time' which certainly suggests James, the heir to the English throne; but M. Feuillerat does not appear to notice that in the same sentence she also calls him 'the flower of my court,' words which are scarcely applicable to a foreign monarch. Again, the talk of a match between James and Elizabeth is a satisfactory explanation of the adoration of Endimion for Cinthia, and yet it should be remembered that Elizabeth had many Endimions of this kidney to whom the application would be equally suitable. Finally, James in 1584–6 was hesitating whether to throw in his lot with his mother or with Elizabeth, just as Endimion is represented as hesitating between Tellus and Cinthia, eventually deciding, as James did, in favour of the virgin Queen. But here we stumble upon the most serious objection of all. Do the words of the play—in this case our sole authority—provide any grounds whatever for the supposition that Tellus was the mother of Endimion? They do not. On the contrary, Tellus is represented throughout as the mistress of the hero.

M. Feuillerat is conscious of the difficulty and tries to overcome it by two highly ingenious, but I think quite inconclusive, arguments. In the first place he points out that there is something puzzling in the relations between Endimion and Tellus. She never upbraids her supposed lover to his face for his infidelity, indeed she seems to accept the fact of his love for Cinthia with equanimity and resignation. In this he finds an indication that the love of Tellus was different in kind from the love which Endimion bore towards Cinthia, that it was in fact maternal and not sexual. I shall have something more to say about this in a minute, but meanwhile is there not another and much simpler explanation of the complacency of Tellus? 'Madam,' says Floscula at the beginning of the play, 'if you would compare the state of Cinthia with your own, and the height of Endimion's thoughts with the meanness of your fortune you would rather yield than contend, there being between you and her no comparison.' And to this judgment Tellus herself finally subscribes in the words of her last speech: 'Knowing your

[1] James himself did not write proposing to renew the negotiations until December 20th, while Elizabeth's reply announcing that she is sending an ambassador for the purpose of concluding the league, belongs to the beginning of 1586. (*Letters of Elizabeth and James*, Camden Soc., pp. 24–26.)

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virtues, Cinthia, to be immortal, I could not have an imagination to withdraw him.' In a word, Tellus from the first felt it hopeless to try and persuade Endimion to give up Cinthia, she was obliged in despair to fall back upon magic, and when that failed she submitted to the inevitable with as good a grace as she could. Surely there is nothing in the least mysterious or puzzling in all this. It is an obvious tribute to the overwhelming power of Elizabeth's beauty and one which the dramatist could hardly have omitted with impunity.

M. Feuillerat's second argument is based on the physical allegory of the play—the opposition between Tellus, the earth, and Cinthia, the moon. Tellus is a figure which Lyly himself introduces into the old myth and he is constantly referring to her attributes. These are obviously intended to represent some marked characteristic in the person symbolized. This characteristic M. Feuillerat finds in the relation in which Mary of Scots stood to James: in a word Tellus, mother Earth, represents maternity. Now had this been Lyly's intention, surely he would have made some explicit statement of the fact? 'Toute incertitude, toute obscurité sont fatales aux intentions de l'auteur' as M. Feuillerat rightly remarks of the allegorical drama. And yet the only passage in the whole that he can quote in support of the identification is the remark of Tellus to Floscula, 'Infinite are my creatures without which neither thou nor Endimion, nor any, could love or live[1]' (I. ii, 25). But so far from implying that Endimion is her 'creature,' these words implicitly distinguish him, Floscula and other human beings from the herbs and animals, 'her creatures,' without which none could live. I very much doubt whether the idea of Nature as the mother of man was at all familiar to sixteenth century minds.

'Endimion,' writes M. Feuillerat, 'se trouve tiraillé entre deux amours que ne sont pas de même nature. L'un, celui qu'il éprouve pour Cinthia, est fait d'adorations muettes, de soupirs et de désespérances; il touche presque à l'amitié et c'est en amitié qu'il se résoud: c'est l'amour des sonnettistes, le seul admis à la Cour, le seul amour vrai selon le code de la société polie. L'autre, l'amour que Tellus éprouve pour Endimion, est l'amour naturel ou maternel: il est violent, physique; c'est une "brûlure continuelle dans les entrailles presque un éclatement de chaque veine."' Remove the words 'ou maternel' and the foregoing quotation exactly expresses the character of these two loves. For the contrast that Lyly draws is not between Chastity and Maternity—surely a perfectly pointless antithesis—but between Chastity and Lust, between spiritual and physical love, one of the commonest and most obvious of themes in an age nourished upon Dante and Petrarch, or for that matter in any age. Nor would those present at the play hesitate for a moment to identify Tellus the goddess of the physical world, the goddess of

[1] M. Feuillerat has a curious footnote on this passage: 'Le mot "which" est, cela va sans dire, employé selon l'habitude élisabéthaine pour "who" et se rapporte à Tellus.' But this is quite impossible; 'creatures,' as is clear from the above quotation, is the only word to which the relative can possibly refer. The error has arisen from the fact that M. Feuillerat has paraphrased the passage, and then apparently forgotten the form of the original sentence.

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creation, with physical love. One need go no further than the opening stanzas of Milton's *Nativity Hymn* to see what was then thought of the Earth which Wordsworth and Meredith were later to hail as divine. And lest anyone should miss the point, Lyly drove it home in passage after passage. It is difficult to understand how anyone can read the speeches of Tellus in Act I, Scene ii, and Act V, Scene iii, and see in her anything but a sensual mistress. Here are a few of the phrases she uses: 'my amourous devices and his own loose desires'; 'disolute thoughts'; 'untamed thoughts and unbridled affections'; 'flattering of my face and devising sonnets in my favor'; 'thy oaths without number, thy kisses without measure, thy sighs without end'; 'I not without blushing confess I yielded to love'; 'the enjoying of my love made deeper wounds than the entering into it.' Strange language indeed for a mother to use of her son! But here is a stranger passage still: 'Feeling a continual burning in all my bowels and a bursting in almost every vein, I could not smother the inward fire but it must needs be perceived by the outward smoke; and by the flying abroad of diverse sparks divers judged of my scalding flames.' These words M. Feuillerat tells us depict 'avec une précision remarquable le genre d'affection que peut éprouver une mère pour l'être auquel elle a donné le jour au milieu de la souffrance'!

But the amatory tone of many of these expressions has led M. Feuillerat into formulating yet another theory. Elizabeth was nine years older than Mary. She would therefore be extremely flattered to see herself represented as Mary's successful rival in love. To this end Lyly represents Tellus as in love—and how violently in love!—with her own son. It is impossible to imagine that the Queen would have seen any flattery in such a piece of absurdity, if indeed she could have understood the point at all. Surely a picture of Cinthia, ever-young, attracting the prince from his ageing mother's side would have been a comparison much more acceptable to Elizabeth had Lyly chosen to make it. No: the theory will not work. Tellus may be Mary or Endimion may be James. As I have said, there are points in favour of either identification, but they cannot both be correct; while it seems to me possible that they are both quite beside the mark[1]. Nor do I think, indeed, that students are likely to be satisfied with the partial explanation which M. Feuillerat declares is all that is necessary. True, we need not trouble to seek for an identification for Sir Tophas and his pages. They belong to the comic underplot which was introduced to relieve the action of the main plot. Nor is it necessary to suppose that Panelion and Zontes, Pythagoras and Gyptes are meant to represent any actual persons at court. But the strange figure of Geron and his relations with Dipsas seem pointless unless they had some reference to a story well-known to Lyly's audience;

[1] Mr Percy Long even maintains that the allegory was never intended to have any personal application at all (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.* New Ser. XVII, p. 164). Quot homines, tot sententiae!



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while Semele, 'the very wasp of all women,' and the gentle Floscula must surely have been as easily recognisable at the time. But it would be idle to pursue the matter further. The problem of *Endimion* is, I believe, as far from solution as ever. And when someone does propound a theory which commands general acceptance, will the store of human knowledge be appreciably increased? Surely people of M. Feuillerat's powers can find something to do more profitable than making elaborate guesses at the meaning of a court charade by a second-rate writer.

M. Feuillerat's line is so extensive that it would be a wonder indeed if one could not find a weak spot here and there in his defences. And if these have been considered at some length he will not feel, I am sure, that I am wilfully unconscious of the splendid qualities of his admirable book. His survey of euphuism, upon which I have had no time to dwell, seemed to me upon a somewhat cursory reading by far the fullest and most illuminating treatment of the topic yet produced; and I may notice in passing that he will have nothing to do with the Guevara theory here either. The final chapter on Lyly's place in literature is eminently suggestive. Indeed, the whole book displays on every page such careful work, such scrupulous observation of detail, such industry and critical discernment, that it can be safely asserted that M. Feuillerat has not only lived up to the ever-rising standard of Elizabethan scholarship, but has himself helped to raise it very considerably by his example.

The volume is handsome, almost sumptuous. There is only one criticism to be made. It is too bulky. Like Falstaff, it needs levers to lift it.

JOHN DOVER WILSON.

LONDON.

*The Cambridge History of English Literature.* Edited by A. W. WARD and A. R. WALLER. Vol. IV. Prose and Poetry. Sir Thomas North to Michael Drayton. Cambridge: University Press. 1909. 8vo. xii + 582 pp.

This volume of *The Cambridge History of English Literature* is full of varied interest. The period has already been dealt with to some extent in the preceding volume, and we are told by the editors that the two are to be taken together as covering the sixteenth century and the early decades of the seventeenth, apart from the drama. Readers will perhaps feel the need of some general survey of the literary tendencies of the period. But it may well be that, for the use of students, what we have here is the most wholesome and the most useful provision. Every assistance is offered for the independent study of the literature, and little encouragement is given to the taste for superficial generalisation. Above all the bibliographies, drawn up in each case by the author of the chapter to which they belong, are of almost inestimable value; and on the whole we may very well approve of the decision of the editors, 'to

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limit the space devoted to generalisation rather than restrict unduly that required for bibliographies.'

Several of the chapters in the present volume deal with subjects which have a somewhat indirect bearing upon literature in the true sense of the word, and in this respect it is supplementary to the third volume. This is the case more or less with the chapter on Ralegh, and still more definitely with the two which treat of navigation and travels, and with the contributions of Professor Sorley and Dr Cunningham, the first on the philosophy of the period and the second on its politics and economics. It is well that these subjects should be treated of in connection with literature, but under the cooperative system which is adopted in this work the danger is that such chapters may have too much the character of independent essays, and that consequently there may be an absence of vital connexion with the main subject. This danger cannot be said to have been entirely avoided in the present instance, but in themselves these chapters are all valuable and interesting, and we would not willingly dispense with them.

A review of a book of this kind, if it is to have any critical value, must be limited in its scope, and the following remarks accordingly will refer almost entirely to the portions of the volume which have a direct bearing upon literature, and mainly to the three chapters which in the judgment of the present writer have the greatest literary interest and value, Mr Whibley's on the Elizabethan and Jacobean translations, Mr Grierson's on Donne and Mr Routh's on the development of popular literature in London.

The first of these is very ably written, and much of the praise which Mr Whibley metes out is thoroughly well deserved, but in certain cases it needs more qualification than the author has admitted. English prose style owes a considerable debt to North, and his Plutarch is in many ways an admirable book; but a good translation it certainly is not. No question need be raised here about accurate Greek scholarship; for North's original was not the Greek of Plutarch, but the French of Amyot. Nor is there any necessity to insist that it is a translator's duty to render as faithfully as possible, without adding touches of vivid description or pathetic eloquence, which are not to be found in the original; for though Amyot sets up for himself a high standard of fidelity, the Elizabethan idea of translation was a different one, as Mr Whibley points out, and we may reasonably make allowance for this. But it ought at least to be demanded that an Elizabethan who undertakes to translate from French should show himself capable of understanding that language, and of rendering it into English which fairly represents the meaning; and of North it must be said that he blunders far too freely, either making nonsense of what is perfectly intelligible, or omitting valuable details. Take, for example, the beginning of the life of Pompeius. Amyot has

> Et au contraire, iamais Romain n'eut l'amour du peuple si uehemente, ne qui commenceast de si bonne heure, qui plus florist en sa prosperité, ne qui plus constamment perseuerast en son aduersité, comme l'eut Pompeius.



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North translates thus:

Contrariewise, neuer any other Romane (but Pompey) had the peoples earnest goodwilles so soone, nor that in prosperitie and adversity continued lenger constant, then unto Pompey.

Can anything be worse? Amyot's finely balanced sentence becomes a shapeless and ungrammatical medley in the hands of his translator. Again,

aians les miseres passees reduit la uille de Rome à ce poinct, que n'esperant pas de pouuoir iamais recouurer la liberté, elle ne cherchoit plus que la plus doulce et plus equitable seruitude.

For which North has this:

for their citie was brought into such miserie, as hoping no more to see Rome recouer her lost libertie, they desired yet a more tollerable bondage.

The translator again makes absolute nonsense of the story about Flora and Geminius; mistranslates almost every clause in the account of the charges brought against Pompey on the death of his father; renders 'il les mena battant iusques en des lieux dont il estoit impossible que gens de cheual se peussent tirer,' by 'he draue them into such places, as was almost impossible for horsemen to come into'; and when Amyot rightly explains 'Imperator,' 'qui est à dire, Capitaine en chef,' North chooses to make it 'as much as Emperour or soueraine Prince,' the very mistake against which he was warned.

The case of Florio is still worse. Many have praised his Montaigne; but these surely must have paid attention mainly to the fact that he writes idiomatic Elizabethan prose, and little to the question how far he represents or misrepresents his author's meaning. Yet it is impossible to read Florio without being constantly pulled up by sentences from which no meaning whatever can be extracted, and which can only be understood by reference to the original. In fact, it may fairly be said that without the original he is unreadable; and his style has no such distinguished merit as to compensate for his incorrectness, though its eccentricity is by no means so great as the uninstructed reader will gather from Mr Whibley's account of it.

North's Plutarch, on the other hand, is a leading document of English prose style in the period to which it belongs. In eloquence, in picturesqueness of phrase, and above all in rhythmical cadence his style is superior to that of any other contemporary writer; but it must be remembered that the balance of the sentence, upon which its rhythm chiefly depends, is usually taken from Amyot, whose balance and rhythm, as we have seen, he sometimes destroys. In fact generally the praises of North by English critics have been given to a great extent at the expense of Amyot, to whom is due not only all the scholarship, but a very large part of the literary merit; and justice to Amyot, whose work is a classic of French prose, requires that this should be acknowledged.

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No chapter dealing with poetry in this volume is so valuable as Professor Grierson's account of Donne, as the poet who challenged and broke the supremacy of the Petrarchian tradition. It will suffice to quote two suggestive passages, one near the beginning and the other towards the end of the chapter.

> For evil and for good, Donne is the most shaping and determining influence that meets us in passing from the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries. In certain aspects of mind and training the most medieval, in temper the most modern, of his contemporaries, he is, with the radically more pedantic and neo-classical Jonson, at once the chief inspirer of his younger contemporaries and successors, and the most potent herald and pioneer of the school of poetic argument and eloquence (p. 198).

And again:

> The relation of Donne to Elizabethan poetry might, with some justice, be compared with that of Michael Angelo to earlier Florentine sculpture...Just as the grace and harmony of earlier sculpture were dissolved by the intense individuality of an artist intent only on the expression in marble of his own emotions, so the clear beauty, the rich ornament, the diffuse harmonies of Elizabethan courtly poetry...disappear in the songs and satires and elegies of a poet who will not accept Elizabethan conventions, or do homage to Elizabethan models, Italian and French; but puts out to discover a north-west passage of his own, determined to make his poetry the vivid reflection of his own intense, subtle, perverse moods, his paradoxical reasonings and curious learning, his sceptical philosophy of love and life (p. 222).

The sixteenth chapter, by Mr A. V. Routh, deals with the popular literature which grew up in the social atmosphere of London between 1584 and 1630. This chapter is most interesting, and the bibliography connected with it contains a wonderful collection of miscellaneous books. Some overlapping was perhaps inevitable with the chapter in the third volume entitled 'Elizabethan Prose Fiction,' which includes also a review of the pamphleteering work of Greene and Nashe. It is, in fact, impossible to isolate prose fiction at this period from other kinds of miscellaneous literature. But Professor Routh dwells principally upon the element of social satire. Here Nashe receives something like his due, but more with regard to substance than style. Attention is not sufficiently drawn to the development of his style from the stilted euphuism of the *Anatomie of Absurditie*, to the vigorous and idiomatic English of *Pierce Penilesse* and the succeeding pamphlets, so that he could write boldly, 'Is my style like Greene's?... Do I talk of any counterfeit birds or herbs or stones?...This I will proudly boast, that the vein which I have...is of my own begetting, and calls no man father in England but myself, neither Euphues nor Tarlton nor Greene.' Nashe, in short, had deliberately thrown over the style with which he began his literary career under the influence of *Euphues*, which had moved his enthusiasm when he was an undergraduate; and instead of the elaborate balance of sentences and the artificial similitudes which are characteristic of euphuism, had adopted the rival plan of enriching the vocabulary by coining and compounding, while holding to simplicity in sentence structure[1]. From the social satire of Greene and

[1] See the passage on this subject in *Christ's Tears over Jerusalem*: ed. McKerrow, p. 183 f.

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Nashe Professor Routh leads us on, with a passing glance at the evolution of formal verse satire, to the character-book and the essay, concluding with a lively account of the pamphlets and rogue-books of Jacobean London, and particularly of the popular work of Dekker and Rowlands.

Besides the three chapters to which attention has especially been called, there are others on which it would have been a pleasure to dwell, if space allowed; and it must not be supposed that there is any failure to appreciate the merits of Professor Cook's account of the Authorised Version of the Bible, Mr Child's chapters on the Song-books and Miscellanies, and on Drayton, Mr Vivian's account of Campion, Mr Hutchinson's excellent review of the preachers from Fisher to Donne, or Professor Bensly's chapter on Burton and on the contemporary writers in Latin, John Barclay, author of *Argenis*, and Owen the epigrammatist. The volume concludes with two important and interesting chapters on the external conditions and circumstances of literature during this period, one by Mr Aldis, Secretary of the University Library, on the book-trade, and the other by Mr Bass Mullinger on the foundation of libraries. Mr Aldis in a chapter of about forty pages has skilfully brought together a very large number of facts with regard to the circumstances under which books were published and sold, which certainly cannot be found in so convenient a form elsewhere, and it is not surprising that his contribution should already have been brought out in a separate form. Mr Mullinger has special qualifications to write the early history of the College and University libraries, and the association of his name with the library of St John's College, which so beautifully reproduces and preserves the original characteristics of a College library, makes the selection peculiarly happy.

On the whole this volume fully maintains the standard which had been established in the preceding three.

G. C. Macaulay.

Cambridge.

*The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age.* By Phœbe Sheavyn. (Publications of the University of Manchester. English series, No. 1.) Manchester: University Press. 1909. 8vo. 222 pp.

This study relates itself closely to two other recent books dealing with conditions of authorship in Elizabethan times—*Government Regulations of the Elizabethan Drama* (1908), by Virginia Crocheron Gildersleeve, and *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos* (1909), by A. W. Pollard; its interest is centred, however, upon material which they have treated somewhat secondarily. It contains, besides an Introduction dealing with the economic, legal and social features of the time, seven chapters treating of the Elizabethan author in relation respectively to his patron, to his official censors, to his publishers, to the theatre, to his supplementary means of support, to his fellow-authors, and to his

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readers. Of the three chapters offering the fresher material, the one on patronage is perhaps the most original, that on supplementary means of support the fullest of interesting illustrative incident, and that on the personal relations of authors the most vivid, in its presentation of the forced intimacies of crowded Elizabethan London.

The book shows much study in the literature and documents of the period, but almost no acquaintance with recent critical discussion. Cunningham, Collier and Fleay are the critics and editors most frequently cited as authorities, even when, as in the case of Henslowe's Diary, or the Accounts of the Revels, vastly better editorial and critical work upon the texts has been done by later scholars. So also, in the discussion of literary quarrels, there is no mention of the work of Mr Penniman or of Mr Small on the 'War of the Theatres,' nor of the recent treatment of the Marprelate Controversy by Mr J. D. Wilson. Some reference to Professor Gregory Smith's work on Elizabethan Critical Essays, or to Mr Einstein's book *The Italian Renaissance in England*, would have been apposite in the last chapter dealing with the state of literary taste. Miss Sheavyn's book shows the lack of the steadying judgment which contact on her part with these and other helpful studies would have produced. *The Government Regulation of Elizabethan Drama*, cited above, is in marked contrast, in the judicial handling of disputed questions, as for example the question of official censorship, its scope and its fairness. In the discussion of authors and publishers Mr Pollard's *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos* would have proved most valuable, but it was probably not available for use by the author of this book. Miss Sheavyn has here followed closely after Mr Sidney Lee in her conclusions, as the following quotations will show:

> The law regarded, or was popularly believed to regard, the mere possession of a manuscript, apart from its previous entry in the book of the Stationers' Company, as implying ownership, and the consequent right to dispose of it. There was thus a regular trade carried on, to the injury of writers, in the illicit procuring and selling of manuscripts. . . . The worst of it was that a book once printed and entered in the Stationers' Register became the property of him who entered it, and no other person could safely publish it, however necessary might be an amended edition.

Mr Pollard, on the contrary, brings forward many proofs that the Elizabethan sin of piracy has been greatly exaggerated, both in its extent and in its results. He finds that pirated editions were rarely, if ever, entered regularly on the Stationers' Register, not one of the obviously pirated quartos of Shakespeare's plays having been so entered. Moreover, the evidence available indicates that, outside of dramatists, scarcely more than a half dozen writers suffered from piracy. He shows that such groups of plays as were published appeared at times when, by reason of the plague or Puritanical opposition, the theatres were closed, as in 1593–4 or 1600, and he makes it highly probable that the plays were published by the players themselves to help them in their financial straits, rather than by unscrupulous printers. So far too from an author's having, as Miss Sheavyn says, no redress when his

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book had once been published, Mr Pollard declares: 'The publication of a surreptitious edition left him free to do exactly what he liked. The existence of an edition in print absolved him from the need of a license, and we find him simply reprinting his own text without registration or other formality. This is what Nashe did when Richard Johnes took advantage of his absence to register and print his *Pierce Penilesse*. Mr Lee, if he will read Nashe's letter to his authorised publisher, J(ohn) B(usby), will hardly contend that Nashe had found it "necessary to conciliate" Johnes.' Mr Pollard cites too the interesting case of Bacon's Essays, which were first fraudulently entered on the Register to Richard Seiges. Later, on the margin by that entry, was written 'Cancellatus ista intratio per curiam tentam 7 febrarij.' A little lower down is an entry, by Bacon's authorised publisher, Humphrey Hooper, of the *Essaies*, 'Vnder thandes of Master Francis Bacon,' the book being ready for sale two days later. The whole matter of editorial carelessness too, so much dwelt upon by Miss Sheavyn, as by Mr Lee, Mr Pollard thinks has been over-emphasised, and his findings in regard to the first Folio of Shakespeare certainly go far to justify his view. So also his conclusions are much less depressing as to the remuneration for literary work in Elizabethan times.

Indeed, the greatest fault of the book under review is its persistent pessimism. The writer is not satisfied with insisting that patronage was indispensable, and yet fitful, wholly inadequate, degrading, and hard to come by; that the official censorship was increasingly severe, propped up by unscrupulous and greedy informers, and apt to cause expensive delays or unjustifiable prohibitions; that editorial care was an undiscovered art; that neither authors nor honest printers could hope for any protection in their property; that even where the author was left the gloomy privilege of selling his manuscript to the printer, the latter —somewhat pardonably, one thinks—could not always be persuaded to accept it, or if he did accept it, would often give a mere pittance in return; that when, driven by the pinch of want, the wretched Elizabethan author looked about for supplementary means of livelihood, he found little to his taste, and nothing sufficient for his needs; and that the bickering, seething group of his fellow-writers in London did little but add to his distress. His last hope, a responsive, appreciative reading public was also denied him, for his public had a crudity and a lack of taste all but barbarian. The writer of the book under review seems indeed in complete bondage to one set of facts regarding that age of many moods and aspects, and has left out of count the very genius of the Elizabethan spirit, its irrepressible vitality and resiliency, its exaggerated romanticism, which loved its own woes quite as much as its pleasures, and never failed to paint them in high colouring. The best argument for favourable conditions of literary life in Elizabethan times is the extent of that life and its results. If misfortunes multiplied, so did writers; and the dominant note in the literature of the period is certainly not despair, or even distress.

A few errors of detail may be noted. It is of course inaccurate to

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say that Beaumont wrote nothing alone, or that Beaumont and Fletcher dethroned the romantic in drama for the study of contemporary social types. It is confusing to read in one place, 'Dramatic writers occasionally added to the profession of playwright that of actor, but it is probable that the number of dramatists who were also actors has been over-estimated. With our present knowledge it does not appear that there were more than nine, &c.,' and in another, 'Since many dramatists were actors, and most of them played an active part in their own rehearsals, the two callings were apt to be regarded as one.' Again in one place we are told that 'We need not go so far as to hold that they [the actors] were all regarded as outcasts and vagabonds because classed by law as such,' and in another that 'it was not by a mere technicality that players were regarded as rogues and vagabonds.' Moreover, it is worth while to remember in this connection Hamlet's extremely cordial friendliness to the players throughout all their visit to Elsinore, no less than the much-quoted sonnet in which Shakespeare seems to bewail his lot as an actor.

However, much as one may dissent from the main contention of the book, and whatever its faults of detail, it cannot fail to be interesting and helpful. This too, although it cannot be called contributive in any large or constructive way. Its merits are rather of the literary sort than those severer ones which characterize research.

O. L. Hatcher.

Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.

*Campion's Works.* Edited by Percival Vivian. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1909. 8vo. lxv + 400 pp.

This edition of Campion's work is an outgrowth of an earlier edition which Mr Vivian prepared some years ago for the well-known 'Muses' Library.' It contains all the authentic works of the Elizabethan writer, in verse and prose, in English and in Latin; and, in addition, certain poems which the editor, on external or internal evidence, or both, ascribes to him. Thus, at last, Campion is instated in his true position in the rank of English poets, and our interest in him and his writings, which was first of all awakened by Mr Bullen and Professor Arber, grows the stronger now that the full canon of his literary work lies before us.

But the preparation of a complete edition of Campion's works is not the only debt which we owe to Mr Vivian. He has also thrown new and valuable light upon his career; and though much concerning him still remains dark, we are enabled to trace the main outlines of his life in the story which his editor has to lay before us in his full and scholarly Introduction. Mr Vivian has spared no pains in the examination of state records in print and manuscript, and he has sifted, and

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weighed with judicious discernment, the material which he has thus brought to light. Among other things, he has definitely established the date and circumstances of the poet's birth, showing that he was the son of a Cursitor of the Chancery Court in London, and born in the year 1567. We are thus able to place Campion among the earlier school of Elizabethan lyrists, and to regard him as the contemporary of Marlowe, Greene and Shakespeare.

Mr Vivian traces the poet in his career as a student of Peterhouse, Cambridge, and subsequently of Gray's Inn. He brings forward evidence to show that, in all probability, he served for a time in the army, and saw something of military campaigning in France. Thence he proceeds to tell of the poet's literary activity—the publication of his poems and prose writings and his share in the production of court Masques. We could have wished for more information as to Campion's career as a physician, but definite facts are, doubtless, hard to find: the question of Campion's complicity in the mysterious death of Sir Thomas Overbury is examined with great care.

Mr Vivian gives us a pleasant sketch of the poet's personality during the later years of his life, and it is one which will commend itself to the reader of his poems. 'He bids us think of him as 'a kindly gentleman, full of ripe experience and judgment, yet cherishing the memories of old loves and friendships, and the generous illusions of youth; devoted to the studies of poetry, music and medicine, a true son of Apollo, as he was never tired of urging; clothed with that finer tact and sympathy which comes to a good physician.'

In the second chapter of his Introduction, Mr Vivian deals with Campion's works, and drawing attention to the poet's habit—which, by the way, he shared with Andrew Marvell and other scholarly singers—of expressing the same thoughts in Latin and in English, he claims for him the authorship of a number of poems scattered among the song-books of the period. In particular, he attributes to Campion the set of five *Cantos*, published in 1591 among the *Poems and Sonets of Sundry Other Noblemen and Gentlemen*, as an appendix to the surreptitious edition of *Astrophel and Stella*. He also claims for him the *Ayres that were sung and playd at Brougham Castle* (1618). In estimating Campion's rank among English poets, Mr Vivian rightly regards him as a link between the early school of Elizabethan poets and the later school represented by Donne and his followers. He draws attention to the musical quality of his verse and to his emancipation from the trammels of laborious versification. The wonderful charm and freedom of movement of some of Campion's best known lyrics has led to a somewhat exaggerated view of his metrical emancipation, and wonder has been expressed that Campion could at the same time be the author of those songs and of the pedantic *Observations in the Art of English Poesie*, in which he advocates the imitation of classical measures. The fact is, however, that Campion practised what he preached. Several of his poems are lumbering attempts to reproduce the classical measures upon which he set such store; moreover, whereas in some of his songs

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he has all the sweetness and spontaneity of the noblest Elizabethan lyrists, there are others in which his pinions drag the ground, encumbered as they are with a weight of pedantry.

It is to be wished that the editor of this collection of Campion's works could have told us more about his religious verse; for here too the poet is an interesting transitional figure. Some of the religious pieces contained in his *Bookes of Ayres* resemble those metrical paraphrases of the Hebrew Psalms which stand for religious lyric poetry in the early Elizabethan period; but into others there is breathed that spirit of personal feeling and individual soul-searching which we meet with in the religious lyrists of the seventeenth century.

Mr Vivian appends some valuable Notes to his edition of Campion's works, and the equipment of the volume with Index and Bibliography is most scholarly.

F. W. Moorman.

Leeds.

*The Works of Sir John Suckling.* Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by A. Hamilton Thompson. London: Routledge. 1910. 8vo. xvii + 424 pp.

In this volume Mr Hamilton Thompson has given us a careful reprint, based on the early editions of the *Fragmenta Aurea*, of all Suckling's writings in verse and prose. In a short Introduction—which might with advantage have been longer—he relates the chief facts in the author's life, and forms a sane and liberal estimate of the man's character. He also makes some attempt to indicate his relation to the poets of the preceding generation and to those contemporary with himself. He rightly insists on his detachment from Ben Jonson, adding that 'his inclinations led him rather in the direction which had been pointed so forcibly by Donne.' Mr Thompson has drawn attention to certain verbal reminiscences of Donne's *Songs and Sonets* in the lyrics of Suckling, but it might well be contended that the influence of the Elizabethan poet penetrated much deeper than this. For Donne was the poet who waged relentless war in his early lyrics upon the Petrarchian tradition in English lyric poetry as represented by Spenser and the sonneteers as a whole; and in this warfare Suckling may be looked upon as Donne's direct successor. Something too might have been said of Suckling's influence upon post-Restoration lyric poetry. Of the Cavalier poets of Charles I's reign, Suckling alone seems to have been widely read in the next generation. Dryden's well-known reference, in the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, to Suckling's courtly style and to his reproduction in his poetry of 'the conversation of a gentleman,' and Congreve's Millamant's praise of 'natural, easy Suckling,' are eloquent tributes to his vogue in the second half of the seventeenth century; and it would have been well within the scope of Mr Thompson's survey to have indicated the

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influence which Suckling exerted upon the lyrics of poets like Sedley and Rochester.

The most interesting part of the Introduction is that in which resemblances of idea and characterisation are traced between Suckling's lamely-constructed plays and those of Shakespeare and other Elizabethan dramatists; while in his Notes, which are excellent, Mr Thompson renders valuable service by pointing out, among other things, a number of passages in these plays which bear a more or less close resemblance to passages in Shakespearean drama.

F. W. Moorman.

Leeds.

*The Literature of the Victorian Era.* By Hugh Walker. Cambridge: University Press. 1910. 8vo. vi + 1067 pp.

A critic could perhaps set himself no more difficult task than that undertaken by Prof. Walker in the book under review. To pass judgment on the achievements in Art and Philosophy of our own generation or of the generation which fathered us is at all times a work fraught with danger and difficulty, for it means the critical analysis of the influences which have done most to determine our own imaginative bent and standards of judgment. We are in acute danger both of over-estimating and of under-rating what we criticize. Further there is the obvious difficulty of obtaining a right perspective and a right focus. Time is needed to reveal clear development in the multiplicity of interests and movements which perplex us in the literature of our own period; to leave in high light those which were of intrinsic importance and to cast into beneficent shadow those which belonged only to their day.

At no period has the difficulty of seeing behind the endless agitation to the central principles been greater than at the present. Professor Walker has, we think, carried through his task with conspicuous success, —a success due chiefly to his fine and catholic literary taste, but in part also to the scheme upon which he has framed his work. Like Mr Courthope he works on the principle that the criticism of literature must be based on a study of social, political and intellectual developments, but his outlook and method are more philosophic than those of his predecessor. He lays more stress upon the thought which inspired the movements of the age and less upon its political and social manifestations. He believes that 'the surest way to penetrate the thought of any age is to study it in the systematic thinkers'; and he therefore divides his book into two main sections, dealing in the first with Speculative Thought, in the second with Creative Art. These divisions are flanked on the one side by an Introduction, on the other by that necessary evil, a section devoted to 'Et Cetera.' The Introduction, by its contrast of the 'rationalistic' and 'Catholic-romantic' movements in thought, suggests at once an excellent point of view from which to study

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the multifarious products of Victorian Literature. Professor Walker also insists at the outset on the influence of Hegel's thought upon artist, theologian and man of science, declaring that 'his conception of development has done more than anything else to make modern thought what it is.' His own method as critic and historian of Literature is in itself a fine proof of the influence of Hegel's conception, an influence which is evident not only in his analysis in the introductory chapter of the relation between political and literary developments, but in the organic construction of the whole book, and in the perception of growth and relation revealed in his treatment of individual authors.

Under 'Speculative Thought' he deals comprehensively with writers and thinkers in Theology, Philosophy and Science, and makes a valuable and original contribution to the study of the literature of the age by his analysis of the spiritual and intellectual experience which is its basis.

With some details in the working-out of his scheme we are inclined to find fault. In dealing with non-literary writers, such as minor theologians and philosophers, he is apt to drift into the unessential. This is perhaps the inevitable outcome of a passion for completeness. Yet on the other hand in his treatment of the main intellectual influences behind the age he appears to make an important omission. He devotes the whole of his second introductory chapter to Carlyle as representing the 'German Influence,' and though we may agree as to the importance of Carlyle's influence, we cannot but think that Professor Walker does something more than justice to its predominance, when he is led thereby totally to ignore the influence of Wordsworth upon the century. Carlyle is credited with bringing to England from Germany the Gospel of a humanized religion offering a much-needed alternative to atheism and formalism, and with introducing into literary criticism the principle of appeal to the laws of 'human nature and the nature of things at large.' How far Carlyle was directly influenced by Wordsworth is a matter of small importance. It is in any case certain that Wordsworth had preached the Gospel of a humanized religion, and proclaimed 'a vigorous human-heartedness as the constituent principle of true taste' to a generation of writers and thinkers the best of whom were profoundly influenced by his thought. Further the new intimacy with nature into which Wordsworth led men's minds had a profound and far-reaching effect upon the spirit and the manner in which poets and thinkers of succeeding generations have regarded the natural world. Professor Walker gives a clear exposition of Ruskin's religion of nature and comments justly on the abundance and fidelity of natural description in Tennyson and other poets, but he has failed to indicate that Ruskin's faith and the poet's treatment of nature owe their inspiration ultimately to Wordsworth. Again we must take exception at one or two details of classification. The first section, 'Speculative Thought,' prepares the way for the second, 'Creative Art,' and the third, entitled 'Et Cetera,' is a useful receptacle for what cannot be included in the other two: but there are few spirits that will not rise in revolt at the spectacle of

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Landor relegated, under 'Et Cetera,' to the limbo of Miscellaneous Prose. If minor novelists such as Lytton and Disraeli are allowed a place under 'Creative Art,' surely Landor, one of the greatest writers of imaginative prose, should have been equally honoured.

On the whole Professor Walker steers clear with an admirably level judgment of the dangers of over-estimating and under-rating. In dangerous cases he seems to hold himself deliberately 'on this side idolatry,' and his estimates are sometimes even damaged by over-caution. That of Francis Thompson fails, we think, to do justice to the extraordinary richness and glow of language and the rare rhythmic and melodic qualities of verse which make Thompson, more indisputably than any of his generation, a true poet. In the more important case of George Meredith he fails to rise to the greatness of his subject, and his pages of appreciation leave the reader somewhat cold. He states at the outset that 'no writer of the nineteenth century stands more alone than he, and none is more difficult to deal with.' He proceeds to a careful examination of Meredith's work, but though his appreciation of individual books and characters is just and illuminating, he makes no attempt to analyse the essential characteristics of Meredith's thought and style. Meredith is one of those writers who need the criticism of interpretation. The very qualities of mind which are his strength, his extraordinary swiftness of thought, his imaginative habit of seeing analogies, of thinking in pictures, in music, in every medium in fact which his Protean experience makes natural to him, all these tend to make him obscure, and have created for him his reputation for affectation in style and wilful subtlety of thought. Professor Walker justly condemns Meredith's abuse of his qualities, but fails to reveal the origin and essence of the qualities themselves. He fails moreover to do justice to Meredith's philosophy. As poet and novelist Meredith has perhaps done more to shape the conceptions of life of the present generation of men and women than any other writer. His fearless acceptance of the facts of modern knowledge, his reverence for science and supreme trust in Reason, combined with the deeply religious faith of an imaginative mind, have typified for groping minds the ideal which they would fain attain. The influence has been all the greater in that it has worked through imaginative forms, and in particular through the representation of the drama of human life. We should have welcomed here some indication of the way in which Meredith absorbed the principles of evolution, of his attitude towards religious dogma, and above all of that conception of the relation between the spiritual and the physical which makes his philosophy of life at once so austere and so catholic.

Against these instances of over-cautious estimate we have to set one or two sins of over-valuation. That which makes the strongest impression is the eulogy of Oscar Wilde which closes the book. Professor Walker stakes this author's reputation not upon his poetry, his plays or his fairy-tales, but upon the two works written after his downfall. He insists upon the supreme power of *De Profundis*. 'Surely,' he writes, 'no such cry ever before came from the depths,' and he closes his

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appreciation of Wilde and with it his book on Victorian Literature with the following words:—'The curtain falls in gloom at once upon the century and upon the most brilliant figure of its closing years. But to him who reads *De Profundis* thoughtfully and sympathetically, it is a gloom which is flecked with light, a death which carries with it the promise of resurrection.'

We do not doubt Professor Walker's sincerity nor suspect him here of false rhetoric, but we believe that to read *De Profundis* thoughtfully and sympathetically, with the mind as well as with the aesthetic sense, is to find in it a work of art of extraordinary beauty, yet at the same time a document lacking the essential quality of sincerity. Probably it was as true as Oscar Wilde could make it. But we believe that his art is most exquisite where it has least basis in actual experience. In the fairy-tales, in his comedies and in some of his poetry that perfect balance between form and content is attained which puts literary products in the first rank. The enduring qualities in Wilde's writings are in our opinion the miraculously fine and delicate wit, the charming fancy and the rare felicity of expression which he used to interpret the humour and romance of that sphere of experience that seems to shut out the harsher realities of life.

It is perhaps in his estimate of the two great rival poets, Tennyson and Browning, that Professor Walker gives best proof of his sure insight and level judgment. He is alive to the faults as well as to the genius of both poets, but whilst he is confident of Tennyson's lasting reputation he hesitates to predict as much for Browning. His estimate of the two is suggestive of the turn of the tide in present-day opinion. A little while ago Tennyson's faults were allowed to obscure his greatness, whilst Browning's greatness was made to embrace even his faults. Browning is more truly than Tennyson the poet of an age. Though his thought is profounder, the appeal of his poetry is less universal. His case suggests an interesting literary phenomenon. Writers of marked originality will often speak the truth to their own age in a way which, however eccentric, is welcomed and understood by that age; but their language quickly becomes obsolete, and in a generation or two people have ceased to understand it and are beginning to want their Gospel preached in a new form. In poetry it is beauty of form rather than value of thought which is the pledge of lastingness. The power of Browning's poetry lies primarily in its thought, only secondarily in its beauty, and according to the inexorable law of art, Tennyson's poetry with its thought enshrined in more perfect form will last the longer. On Dickens and Thackeray Professor Walker is again sane and discerning, though lovers of Dickens will feel that justice is in his case meted out somewhat too coldly. He shows a full appreciation of Dickens's humour and power of observation, whilst he points out the exaggeration of his pathos and lays perhaps rather too much stress on his want of reflective power. His treatment of Thackeray is more sympathetic, and he deals admirably with the problem of his alleged cynicism. The chapter illustrates both the merits and the defects of the author's habit of

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approaching great writers from the starting-point of popular conceptions. His criticism of Dickens is hardened by his sense of the exaggerated popular estimate, to a temper somewhat too judicial. And again his appreciation of Thackeray is thrown out of balance by his desire to combat the ordinary view of Thackeray as pessimist and cynic. This leads to a protracted discussion of *Vanity Fair*, quite disproportionate to the short criticism which follows of Thackeray's greatest novel, *Esmond*. On the other hand he opens the way for a sounder appreciation of both writers by investigating with insight and combating with excellent judgment the one-sided estimate of the public.

In the management of his material throughout the book Professor Walker has aimed at two things, compactness and vitality, and if he has at times pursued the second to the detriment of the first, he has certainly chosen the lesser of two evils. He is amply justified in his full use of quotation to illustrate his authors. It is in his own manner of treating his material that his desire for vitality and dislike of the academic and dry-as-dust method sometimes betray him. He frequently tends to long-windedness and repetition, as for instance in the chapter on Carlyle. He slips easily into over-statement, as for example when he calls Browning's *Saul*, 'a poem unsurpassed for lyrical fervour and beauty.' He does not entirely escape the taint of journalese. Dickens is referred to as 'the Laureate of the London streets,' and Carlyle as 'the seamed and haggard sage of Chelsea.' And finally his style is throughout 'popular' rather than scholarly. The colloquial use of 'just' in the sense of 'merely,' and of the auxiliary 'do' for emphasis, along with a flickering tendency to quotation of pun and anecdote, are the marks of a style somewhat out of keeping with the subject. But these are all minor points. The book is essentially alive. It deals adequately with a great subject, and it will make a sure appeal alike to the scholar and the general reader.

H. Darbishire.

Oxford.

*Studien zur germanischen Sagengeschichte.* Von Friedrich Panzer. I. *Beowulf.* Munich: C. H. Beck. 1910. 8vo. ix + 409 pp.

Nine years ago Professor Panzer in his *Hilde Gudrun* set out to show the importance of the folk-tale (Märchen) for the study of Germanic saga origins. In the Studies, of which the volume under notice forms the first instalment, his aim is to prove that certain Germanic and Scandinavian sagas are but variants of the ancient and widespread tale of the Bear's Son, a variant of which is related by the brothers Grimm under the title of 'Dat Erdmänneken.' When Simrock and afterwards Laistner threw out a hint of a possible connection between the Beowulf story of Grendel and the Bear's Son, little heed was paid by scholars, no doubt because the tale had never been made the subject of detailed investigation. Dr Panzer therefore has been well

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advised in prefacing his studies with what he justly terms 'the most searching analysis of a folk-tale ever undertaken.' We are first given a list of over 200 versions of the Bear's Son tale collected from all quarters of the world. Through this vast mass of material Dr Panzer has gone with admirable patience and discernment, and having established the primitive form he has succeeded in disentangling certain main types under which all the numerous variants can be brought. This analysis, which in itself is a notable contribution to the study of the origins and development of the folk-tale, occupies not far short of two-thirds of the volume. The task was all the more difficult in that the versions of the Bear's Son story were with few exceptions not recorded until the 19th century, and moreover in many instances there is an admixture of incidents and motives from other tales. Dr Panzer concludes his investigation with the following words: 'We have been able to trace the tale of the Bear's Son back to Indo-Iranian times, not only in its main outlines but also in its whole structure (Aufbau). For it is my conviction that so far from the tale being a submerged (gesunkener) myth we must recognise in the myths of which we have been treating both poetic and religious interpretations and expansions of the older folk-tale.'

In his preface Dr Panzer explains that it was his original intention to treat of the Beowulf saga incidentally, in its relation to the Siegfried saga, in the investigation of which he was more especially interested. But before he could hope to throw light on the origin of the Siegfried story he found that it would be necessary to examine the Beowulf saga and its relation to certain Scandinavian sagas. This examination occupies the remaining portion of the book. The author begins by mentioning, only to dismiss as impossible, nay ludicrous, the various explanations of the Beowulf-Grendel story as a culture-myth, a nature-myth, an allegory, or a combination of all three. He cannot understand how any person in his senses can be satisfied with such 'bloodless intellectual abstractions' as, for instance, the personification of the sea-depths in Grendel's mother. Dr Panzer remarks that the only way to dispose of such theories is to bring forward a new one. For him the key to the enigma is furnished by the folk-tale of the Bear's Son. 'Saga and folk-tale,' he says, 'have not merely some motives in common; the story of Beowulf's fight with Grendel is in my view nothing else than the tale of the Bear's Son turned by the art of the *scop* into a hero-saga.' To prove this thesis he takes the incidents in the first part of the *Beowulf* and for most of them finds parallels in the folk-tale. It must be admitted that Dr Panzer's methods here show less originality than his main thesis. When the folk-tale mentions an incident or circumstance not contained in the poem, the latter is said to have lost it (p. 266). When incidents in the poem have no parallels in the tale, they are regarded as belonging to the 'style' of the poem and containing 'no substantial nucleus' (p. 273). There is a third method employed by Dr Panzer. Whereas, for example, Grendel escapes from Beowulf's grasp with the loss of his



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arm, in the tale there are two versions; in one the monster loses a limb by a blow from a sword, in the other he loses his beard in wresting himself free. Here Dr Panzer postulates a 'Verschleifung,' or blend of the two variants of the tale, as the original of the *Beowulf* version. By the aid of such methods as these remarkable results are to be obtained, as is well known; and with such a Protean folk-tale as the Bear's Son an enthusiastic parent of a theory can go far. Professor Panzer at times shows a *naïveté* which such parenthood may perhaps excuse. 'Die fortschreitende Erzählung des Epos,' he remarks, 'hat nun manches recht Auffallende.' This is said *à propos* of the visit of the Danes to the pool where Grendel disappeared. 'Apart from the satisfaction of curiosity it is not clear what was the object of the ride to the pool.' In other words, it is not easy to account for an incident in the poem for which there is no parallel in the folk-tale. Similar surprise is expressed by Dr Panzer at the coming of Grendel's mother to avenge her son, for which there is again no parallel in the Bear's Son. On the other hand, Dr Panzer is obliged to admit that important parts of the tale are not found in the poem, for example the last part, which describes the discovery and rescue of the women in the underworld.

The source of the story of Beowulf's fight with the dragon Professor Panzer seeks and finds with equal confidence in the folk-tale. The 'Thor type' of dragon story, as he terms it, in which the hero dies after slaying the monster, to which type the *Beowulf* story belongs, is represented in a number of versions, chiefly but not exclusively Germanic. Of these versions a list of 38 is given. It is hardly a matter of chance, says Dr Panzer, that the Danish folk-tale of Henrik and the dragon corresponds more closely than any of the other versions to the narrative of the *Beowulf*. The English epic poem presents us with two objects for Beowulf's fight with the dragon, (1) the freeing of the people and (2) the gaining of the treasure. Now the hidden treasure motive does not occur in the series of versions of the folk-tale to which the Danish tale belongs. The required combination of motives is found in a Polish dragon tale which is identical with the *Beowulf* version and which moreover preserves an older tradition, lost in the *Beowulf*, viz. that of the identity of the dragon with the man who originally hid the treasure. Dr Panzer, in opposition to Sievers, sees a decided difference of type between the *Beowulf* story and the story of Frotho's fight as related by Saxo; nevertheless he recognises points of resemblance in detail. He agrees with Olrik that the story of Frotho's fight is a late composition which borrowed numerous details from an older Danish lay. Upon this lay, Dr Panzer thinks, the *Beowulf* version was based.

The third and last part of the book is devoted to an examination of certain Scandinavian sagas, those of Grettir, Grimr, Ormr and Bǫðvarr Bjarki, which, as is well known, show more or less resemblance to the first part of the *Beowulf*. It must suffice here to say that, holding as he does the view that these sagas are versions of the Bear's Son tale,

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Dr Panzer is able to view the question of their relationship to the Anglo-Saxon epic from a new standpoint. His treatment of this subject, including his criticism of recent theories, is of real value. He considers it proved that a poem was composed by a Danish or Geatish *scop*, based on the folk-tale of the Bear's Son. Upon this poem or lay were further based (1) The saga of Bǫðvarr Bjarki, and (2) on its reaching England in one or more versions, the first adventure of the *Beowulf*. As regards the relation of the sagas of Grettir and Ormr to the *Beowulf* and to each other, Dr Panzer unhesitatingly rejects Boer's theory and accepts that of Bugge, which regards these two sagas as independent of the Beowulf story in respect of their contents but as showing the influence of the epic poem in respect of their literary presentation. The *Beowulf* is according to Dr Panzer not so much a mere translation as a free re-shaping (Bearbeitung) of the Scandinavian poem, of which the essential features are preserved. The dragon-fight is based on a Danish folk-tale and may have formed part of the original poem on which the *Beowulf* version is modelled.

In this book Professor Panzer has produced a work which is certain to influence powerfully the direction of the study of the *Beowulf* in particular and of Germanic saga origins in general. That there is a strong general resemblance between the first part of the *Beowulf* and the saga of Bjarki on the one hand and the folk-tale of the Bear's Son on the other is, we think, satisfactorily proved by Dr Panzer, though with some of his methods and inferences in working out his thesis we are not in agreement. His summary and contemptuous treatment of theories of myth and allegory will inevitably arouse the hostility of the mythically minded and the allegorical, and blind them to the real strength of his main position. Nevertheless Dr Panzer has done a great service to the study of the folk-tale.

W. J. Sedgefield.

Manchester.

*An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language.* By the Rev. Walter W. Skeat. New Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1910. 4to. xliv + 780 pp.

It is now close upon thirty years since the appearance of the first edition of this standard work. During these thirty years philology has made as great advances as any other science, indeed has first become a science. Seldom has an author the energy, and still less the courage, to essay a thorough revision of the work of his youth, but this has been done with conspicuous success by Dr Skeat. Since 1881 (the date of the first edition) much new material has been accumulated by the editing of a large number of Anglo-Saxon and Middle English texts, but still more important has been the compilation of full and scientific dictionaries of other European languages and more especially of the allied Germanic languages and dialects. Such works as Kalkar's



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dictionary of Early Danish, Feilberg's work on the Jutish dialects, Kluge's German etymological dictionary, Falk and Torp's Norse and Danish etymological dictionary, and the various dictionaries and studies of the Low German dialects, have thrown light on many an obscure place in the history of English words. Professor Skeat's own studies in Anglo-French and its influence on Middle English spelling and pronunciation have furnished the clue to many Middle English anomalies, and during the last twenty years the study of phonetics as a necessary basis for scientific phonology has tended to make etymology a more exact science than it has hitherto been. In the study of English more particularly, the great advances during the last thirty years have been first the compilation of the *Dialect Dictionary*, and secondly the appearance of more than two-thirds of the *New English Dictionary*. Dr Skeat has used these new works largely in the revision of his dictionary, but when one remembers his ungrudging labours in gathering materials for both these compilations, and the large amount of etymological and other work by Dr Skeat which is incorporated in them, it is difficult to determine where the balance of indebtedness lies.

When we turn to the dictionary itself, the first thing that strikes us is its extraordinary success in combining fulness of information with conciseness of expression, a success which makes it far more than a mere dictionary of etymology in the narrow sense of the term, for it provides valuable comment on many sides of English life and activity. In this it contrasts very favourably with the dry etymological detail of such works as those of Kluge or Falk and Torp. Again and again Dr Skeat chooses just the right quotation to bring home the whole history of a word to us, and many of his articles are packed with interesting comments on some aspect of English social life. Secondly, I think we must note the pleasant infusion of a personal element, often sorely lacking in the work of lexicographers. We are only too thankful when, in Dr Skeat's own words, he permits himself 'to indulge in comments, discussions, and even suggestions and speculations which would be out of place in a dictionary of the usual character.' One hears the echo of the Professor's own voice in the articles on 'beefeater,' 'greyhound,' 'harebell,' 'no,' 'Whitsunday,' 'woolward,' 'ywis.' Excellent are some of his comments, *e.g.* (*s.v.* schooner) 'as a rule derivations which require a story to be told turn out to be false,' or the note on 'glamour' (*s.v.* gramarye) 'I desire here to record my opinion that the word 'glamour,' magic, also used by Scott in the same poem...is nothing but another form of 'gramere,' *i.e.* grammar. The note in Vigfusson's Dictionary asserting the identity of 'glamour' with Icel. 'glāmr,' the moon, cannot be seriously entertained.'

On every page we have examples of Dr Skeat's own etymological work, though he himself rarely adduces the evidence of authorship by referring to his books on English etymology, his various editions of Middle English texts or other volumes in which that work was first published. The words 'calthrop,' 'derring-do,' 'dismal.' 'fond,' 'gallop,' 'grail,' 'ingot,' 'jeer,' 'jerkin,' 'luff,' 'rigmarole,' 'scavenger'

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are among the most interesting examples of Dr Skeat's own discoveries. At times we owe to him, not the whole etymology of a word, but the explanation of some stage in its history, *e.g.* the discovery of the unsyncopated form of O.E. 'hlaford' in a single passage in the Psalter, or the unique occurrence of the Anglo-Saxon form of 'hog.' At times light is thrown on a rare or difficult use of a familiar word, *e.g.* Beaumont and Fletcher's 'She had better have worn *pasterns*,' or the Shakespearean 'Since Frenchmen are so *braid*.' Nor must we forget the many interesting etymologies of bird and beast and flower. Folk-etymology has often done its best to baffle the investigator, but seldom is it successful with Dr Skeat. Occasionally the author differs from the *New English Dictionary*, as in his etymologies of 'curse,' 'pier,' 'kersey'; some words he frankly gives up as of unknown etymology, *e.g.* 'culvert,' 'barren,' 'prawn'; very rarely does he hazard a guess, as in the suggested history of 'harlequin.'

One may be permitted a few words of general criticism. It is somewhat to be regretted that roots are given so prominent a position in the derivation of words. The connexion of some modern word with an Indo-Germanic root is often very distant and throws little light on its history or present meaning. At the same time the prominence given to the surd with its capital letters ensuing has the danger for the lay mind that it encourages the idea that in primitive times language consisted exclusively of roots and that roots are essentially older than words that are derived from them. Another and smaller point of criticism is that it seems a pity to draw a distinction (in certain etymologies), not between Old Northumbrian and West Saxon, but between Old Northumbrian and Anglo-Saxon. A word that is only found in Old Northumbrian is none the less Anglo-Saxon, just as any modern dialectal word is none the less English. The crucial instance where Dr Skeat's distinction seems misleading is in the history of the word 'till.' There can be no question that the preposition 'til' was as genuine and common in the Northern dialect of Old English as in the Scandinavian languages, and it is natural to explain its prevalence in the North rather by reference to native than to foreign influence.

The printing and general form of the work are as excellent as ever, and it is extremely difficult to detect any errors. After much reading of the book one slight mistake, under the word 'street,' was discovered: there may be others, but they are certainly very few.

There can be no finality in dictionary making, and Dr Skeat would be the last to claim it. There remains much still to be done in working out the etymology of that somewhat numerous group of words which we roughly class together as Low German, but whose precise history is unknown. Dr Skeat has done much even in this direction, and one cannot but realise that in his new edition of the *Etymological Dictionary* he has given us the best summary of the history of our language that we possess, and one worthy to be compared with the best in other lands.

ALLEN MAWER.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

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*Dante and his Convito.* A Study with Translations. By W. M. Rossetti. London, Elkin Matthews. 1910. 8vo. pp. 130.

Dante, as is well known, only completed four out of the projected fifteen books of the Convivio, and incorporated only three of the fourteen poems on which he intended to comment. It is an interesting subject of speculation to search among his extant poems for the missing eleven. Personally we should find it very difficult in making such a selection to leave out the fascinating and extremely puzzling canzone *Tre donne intorno al cor mi son venute.*

W. M. Rossetti, who follows, on the whole, Fraticelli's leading in this matter, apparently rejects that notable poem, though not without some hesitation.

His book, which cannot, with his name attached to it, fail to attract English lovers of Dante, is a quaintly interesting study of the *Convivio* ('*Convito*' he still calls it, with sturdy conservatism) in which a short historical sketch is followed by a severely literal translation of the three canzoni of the extant books, opposite to which is printed in each case another translation embodying Dante's own mystical interpretation as given in the prose commentary. Then follows a short *résumé* of the four prose treatises. After this we have the four Sonnets addressed to the 'Lady of the Window,' treated like the three canzoni, and these are followed by precisely similar translations of ten poems presumed to have been intended for the later books of the Convivio, and a few remarks on the possibly allegorical significance of other poems of Dante. The book ends, rather inconsequently, with a translation of the famous decree of Cante de' Gabrielli followed by a recommendation of Perez' *La Beatrice Svelata*, which, though certainly not irrelevant, comes in rather as an anticlimax.

Lonsdale Ragg.

Tickencote, Stamford.

## MINOR NOTICES.

Rabelaisians are greatly indebted to M. Bourrilly for his much needed edition of Rabelais's *Lettres écrites d'Italie*, recently published by Champion for the Société des études rabelaisiennes. Bringing to the task a more intimate knowledge of the period of Francis I than that of any living man, he has performed it with a scholarly precision which is beyond praise. In his interesting introduction he deals with Rabelais's first two visits to Rome, and raises by the way two points which are of some importance. First, he suggests with great plausibility that it was on the return from the first visit, that is to say in the spring of 1534, and not, as has hitherto been generally supposed, on the outward journey in 1535, that Rabelais paid the visit to Florence which he records in Chapter xi of the Fourth Book. Secondly, he is of opinion that Rabelais did not accompany Jean Du Bellay on his

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hurried flight from Rome in February 1536, but remained behind with the rest of the Ambassador's suite till the month of April. This view is rendered very probable by the safe-conduct granted by the Pope to the Cardinal's *familiares ac servitores*, the text of which M. Bourrilly prints in an appendix. If M. Bourrilly is right, Rabelais must have been in Rome when Charles V made his entry on April 5.

A. T.

In *Ensayos críticos de literatura inglesa y española* (Madrid, 1910) Señor José de Armas has collected a number of papers which appeared at various times in Cuban and Spanish periodicals. Though some of them were scarcely worth reprinting, the volume is of interest to Englishmen: for English literature is much neglected in Spain and Spanish-speaking countries. The author is evidently a man of culture and an enthusiast, and discourses pleasantly enough, if never very deeply, on Marlowe, Othello, Pepys and on Calderón in England. The volume is dedicated to Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly, whose *History of Spanish Literature* (in the French version) forms the subject of one of the essays, where its great merits are duly appreciated.

H. O.

Every fresh Anglo-Norman text that appears carefully edited, and with a philological and general introduction conceived on scholarly lines, is sure of a hearty welcome; and such a welcome should be especially hearty in England. In his edition of the *Sermon de Guischart de Beauliu* (Uppsala and Leipzig, 1910) Dr A. Gabrielson meets all requirements. Three MSS. contain shorter versions of this text, two of which were somewhat imperfectly printed by Jubinal and Stengel, while a third was discussed and excerpted by P. Meyer. The present volume contains these versions in a full and revised form; while the body of the text is devoted to the only complete version of the Sermon, which is contained in Harl. 4388 and is now published for the first time. Dr Gabrielson decides in favour of Anglo-Norman authorship, in spite of the fact that not all the traits are Anglo-Norman. He agrees with De La Rue in thinking that the author belonged to the Cistercian priory of Beaulieu in Hertfordshire (a dependency of the Abbey of St Albans): for though the poet himself tells us that he had taken Benedictine orders, the Cistercians also followed the rule of Benedict. Finally, he holds that the poem belongs to the end of the twelfth century.

H. O.

All lovers of Italian literature will have seen with pleasure the announcement that a new series of *Scrittori d' Italia* is contemplated by the firm of Gius. Laterza e Figli (Bari). The project is conceived on monumental lines: more than 600 volumes are to appear, including all that is best in Italian literature. One of the first now lies before

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us—*Lirici Marinisti*, edited by Benedetto Croce. If this book is to be regarded as typical of the rest, critical introductions are to be dispensed with; in the present case, at any rate, there is nothing beyond a full bibliographical appendix. In view of the enormous number of existing monographs, to say nothing of the histories of literature, this is perhaps as well. The series is intended for students and cultured readers, who will have no difficulty in 'placing' the works in question, and in finding all the additional information they require. The great need nowadays is for critical texts, carefully edited, and, in the case of anthologies, carefully selected. On these lines Signor Croce has done his work admirably: in collecting typical poems of the Marinisti he was practically a pioneer. We may add that the book is beautifully printed on excellent paper.

H. O.

Chaucer, no doubt, is a humorist, but it is a mistake to suppose that he wrote nothing seriously. Mr Harold C. Goddard, in his essay on the *Legend of Good Women* (University of Illinois, 1909), expresses the opinion that the whole composition is an elaborate joke, a satire upon women, 'a poem whose humour and irony are so gigantic, so colossal...as to defy description, and yet whose facetiousness is not more stupendous than it is subtle, whose satirical shafts are not more keen than they are unexpected.' Having mounted on this hobby, the author proceeds to ride it to death. The use of the word 'Legend' in the title may be meant to imply that the tales are untrue; the fact that the series is left incomplete is simply a part of the joke, no more good women could be found; the introduction of the names of Absalom and Jonathan into the balade is intended to suggest that there was not a sufficient supply of beautiful women available; the mention of books as authority for the stories implies that there were no instances of womanly fidelity to be found except in books; when the God of Love gave the poet leave to omit unnecessary details, we are to understand this as hinting at the many undesirable things that might be recorded from the lives of the heroines; the choice of the lives of such persons as Cleopatra and Medea, while Penelope and Alcestis are omitted, must be taken to be a stroke of malice, and though it is admitted that their doings are placed in as favourable a light as possible, this is perhaps only that the reader may be moved to think the more about what is left out. That there are strokes of humorous satire in the Prologue of the *Legend* no one will deny: it is quite in Chaucer's manner to combine a serious story with an ironical comment, as in the case of the tale of Griselda; and it is likely enough that the list of books given in the so-called A text has a humorously ironical significance: but Mr Goddard has quite failed to establish his contention that the tales are satirical, and that being so, his whole case falls to the ground. On the insecure foundation of his theory he erects an argument in favour of the priority of the A text of the Prologue, which need not be

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examined in detail. Mr Goddard thinks that Chaucer's central motive in revising the Prologue was to increase the irony and satire of what he had written, yet at the same time to make that irony and satire more subtle and imperceptible. Accordingly, when he finds that in the text which he regards as the earlier the traces of irony and satire are more definite than in the other, he takes refuge in the suggestion that Chaucer here endeavoured to make the satire more effective by rendering it imperceptible. The whole argument is a piece of special pleading, and the author adopts a supercilious tone with regard to Ten Brink and other critics which, considering the weakness of his own case, is hardly decent.

G. C. M.

The single-volume edition of Marlowe issued by the Clarendon Press (*The Works of Christopher Marlowe*, ed. C. F. Tucker Brooke, Oxford, 1910) contains the promise of a library edition to be published shortly, in which will be found a full critical account of the text, as well as explanatory notes and a discussion of the various problems of authorship with which Marlowe's name has been connected. Detailed criticism therefore may be reserved till the appearance of the larger book. Meanwhile we have here a handy volume for the use of the student and the general reader, which reproduces in the case of each work the text of the earliest editions, so far as the relative dates of editions can be ascertained, with brief but business-like introductions, and footnotes which record the variants. Its text is certainly far more authentic than that of Cunningham's edition, with which it naturally comes into comparison. It may reasonably be a question, however, whether in the case of a book intended for the general reader, the translations might not with advantage have been omitted. 'Judged by absolute standards,' says the editor, 'Marlowe's *Elegies* must be agreed to be a failure, both as poetry and as a rendering of the Latin.' This being so, their indecency may be considered a sufficient reason for leaving them out of a book which will probably be in the hands of young students of both sexes. Still less reason is there for the inclusion of the *Epigrams* of Sir John Davies, merely because they are printed with the *Elegies* in the early editions. A very convenient feature of the present volume is the continuous numbering of the lines in each play, the two parts of *Tamburlaine* being for this purpose treated as one drama.

G. C. M.

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# NEW PUBLICATIONS.

## September—November, 1910.

### GENERAL.

OSTHOFF, H., und K. BRUGMANN, Morphologische Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen. VI. Teil, mit einem Register. Leipzig, Hirzel. 12 M.

SINGER, S., Mittelalter und Renaissance. Die Wiedergeburt des Epos und die Entstehung des neueren Romans. Zwei Vorträge. (Sprache und Dichtung, II.) Tübingen, Mohr. 1 M. 80.

### ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

**General.**

Prinzipienfragen der romanischen Sprachwissenschaft. W. Meyer-Lübke gewidmet. I. Teil. (Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, 26. Heft.) Halle, Niemeyer. 6 M.

**Latin.**

Sammlung vulgärlateinischer Texte. III. Proben aus der sogenannten Mulomidécina Chironis (Buch II und III), herausgegeben von M. Niedermann. IV. Kleine Texte zum Alexanderroman, herausgegeben von F. Pfister. Heidelberg, Winter. Each 1 M. 20.

TRAUBE, L., Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen. Herausg. von F. Boll. II. Band. Einleitung in die lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters. Munich, Beck. 8 M.

**Italian.**

AZZOLINI, M., G. Carducci und die deutsche Literatur (Sprache und Dichtung, III). Tübingen, Mohr. 3 M.

BANDELLO, M., Le novelle. I, II, a cura di G. Brognoligo. (Scrittori d'Italia, II, VI.) Bari, Laterza. Each 5 L. 50.

BANDELLO, M., Le quattro parti de le Novelle riprodotte sulle antiche stampe di Lucca (1554) e di Lione (1573) a cura di G. Balsamo-Crivelli. Vol. I. Turin, Unione Tip. Editr. Torinese. 7 L.

BOCCALINI, T., Ragguagli di Parnaso e Pietra del Paragone politico, a cura di G. Rua. (Scrittori d'Italia, V.) Bari, Laterza. 5 L. 50.

BUTLER, A. J., The Forerunners of Dante. A Selection from Italian Poetry before 1300. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 6s. net.

CROCE, B., Scritti di storia letteraria e politica. Vol. I. Saggi sulla letteratura italiana del seicento. Bari, Laterza. 6 L.

DANTE ALIGHIERI, Die göttliche Komödie. Ausgewählte Abschnitte aus dem Gedicht mit Übersetzung, Erklärung und Einleitung von F. Settegast. Leipzig, Diederich. 4 M.

DE CHIARA, S., Dante e la Calabria. 2da edizione. (Collezione di opuscoli danteschi inediti o rari, 91—93.) Città di Castello, S. Lapi. 4 L.

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Lirici Marinisti. A cura di B. Croce. (Scrittori d'Italia, I.) Bari, Laterza. 5 L. 50.

Mateucci, V., Conferenze e discorsi. Lodi, Tip. L. Marinoni. 3 L.

Poliziano, Il, Il Magnifico, lirici del Quattrocento. Scelta e commento di M. Bontempelli. Florence, Sansoni. 2 L. 50.

Proverbi, motti e scongiuri del popolo siciliano raccolti ed illustrati da G. Pitrè. Turin, Clausen. 7 L.

Toynbee, P., Dante Alighieri, his Life and Works. 4th ed. London, Methuen. 5*s.* net.

**Spanish.**

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Hämel, A., Der Cid im spanischen Drama des 16. und 17. Jahrh. (Zeitschrift für roman. Phil., XXV. Heft.) Halle, Niemeyer. 4 M. 60.

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**Rhæto-romanic.**

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**French.**

(*a*) *General* (*Language*).

De Anna, L., Il verbo francese e la sua teoria dal XII al XIX secolo: studio critico, storico, filologico. Vol. VIII (La coniugazione morta). Rome, Soc. Editr. D. Alighieri. 12 L.

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(*b*) *Old French.*

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(*c*) *Modern French.*

Balzac, H. de, Pensées, sujets et fragments, édition originale avec préface et notes par J. Crepet. Paris, A. Blaizot. 20 fr.

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## GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

### General.

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### Scandinavian.

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(*a*) *General.*

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(*c*) *Modern English.*

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Oxford Book of Ballads. Chosen and edited by A. Quiller Couch. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 6*s*. net.

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**German.**

(*a*) *General* (*Language*).

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# BACON'S POEM, 'THE WORLD': ITS DATE AND RELATION TO CERTAIN OTHER POEMS.

IN the *Fortnightly Review* for September 1899 appeared an article by Miss Alice Law on a Caroline Commonplace-book in her possession, the most interesting part of which was devoted to a discussion of the authorship and date of the poem, generally attributed to Bacon, whose title stands at the head of this article. Of this poem Miss Law printed, from her Commonplace-book, what she describes as 'a rare and curiously unique copy...inasmuch as the verses here given in italics now appear in print for the first time and are not found in any of the other existing MS. copies of the poem.' Miss Law argued at considerable length for the thesis that the poem was written not by Bacon but by Sir Henry Wotton; and that its probable date is some time between 1610 and 1615. I think I am able to throw some light on the additional stanzas, to show that the traditional ascription of the poem to Bacon is probably correct, and to connect it with poems by Donne, Bastard and Wotton written in or about 1598.

The poem was first printed by the classical scholar Thomas Farnaby (a contemporary of Bacon, Donne and Wotton), in 1629, as a version by Bacon of the epigram attributed to Posidippus, beginning,

Ποίην τις βιότοιο τάμῃ τρίβον;

'Huc elegantem V. C. et Domini Verulamii παρῳδίαν adjicere adlubuit' are Farnaby's words.

This epigram and the reply to it attributed to Metrodorus (Mackail, *Select Epigrams*, 1906, pp. 299—300) are both in the Planudean Anthology; and were translated into English by Nicolas Grimald before 1557, when his versions were printed in Tottel's *Miscellany*. Grimald's paraphrases are to some extent the source of those which followed, including Bacon's, and I propose to print them; but in doing so I should like to give the opening lines of the original epigrams, as



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it will be seen that in the English versions the classification of life's principal arenas underwent a gradual and characteristic alteration. 'What path of life may one hold?' runs Mackail's rendering, 'In the market-place are strifes and hard dealings, in the house cares; in the country labour enough, and at sea terror, etc.' 'Hold every path of life,' is the reply. 'In the market-place are honours and prudent dealings, in the house rest; in the country the charm of nature, and at sea gain, etc.' Grimald's renderings are as follows:

*Mans life after* Possidonius *or* Crates.

What path list you to tred? what trade will you assaye?
The courts of plea, by braul and bate, driue gentle peace away.
In house, for wife and childe, there is but cark and care:
With trauail, and with toyl ynough, in feelds wee vse to fare.
Vpon the seas lieth dreed: the rich in foraine land
Doo feare the losse: and there the poore like misers poorly stand.
Strife with a wife, without, your thrift full hard to see:
Yong brats a trouble: none at all, a maym it seems to bee:
Youth, fond: age hath no hert, and pincheth all to nye.
Choose then the leefer of these twoo, no life, or soon to dye.

Metrodorus *minde to the contrarie.*

What race of life ronne you? what trade will you assaye?
In courts is glory gott, and witt encreased daye by daye.
At home we take our ease, and beak our selues in rest:
The feelds our nature doo refresh with pleasures of the best.
On seas is gayn to gett: the straunger, hee shall bee
Esteemed, hauing much: if not, none knoweth his lack, but hee.
A wyfe will trim thy house: no wife? then art thou free.
Brood is a louely thing: without, thy life is loose to thee.
Yong bloods be strong: old sires in double honour dwell.
Doo waye that choys, no life or soon to dye, for all is well.

In 1589 *The Arte of English Poesie* (attributed to Richard or George Puttenham) appeared, and under the heading '*Antipophora* or Figure of responce' the author 'Englished' these epigrams again, evidently with Grimald's version in view, but in six-foot lines throughout.

It will be observed that Grimald takes

εἰν ἀγορῇ μὲν
νείκεα καὶ χαλεπαὶ πρήξιες·

as referring not to the business of the market-place, but to the law-courts, which 'by braul and bate driue gentle peace away' but where there is 'glory gott and witt encreased daye by daye.' Puttenham refers also in the first epigram to the 'brawle and brabbles of the law,' but in the second he introduces a division which was a favourite Elizabethan one—the Court, the City, and the Country. His expression 'Court gets vs

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great renowne' *may* refer to the courts of law, but I think it is more likely that it refers to the Court of the King. This at any rate, it will be seen, is the classification fastened on by Bacon and the poets who took up the theme later[1].

Bacon's poem—assuming it to be his—is well known, but I should like to quote it for the sake of comparison, and because there are some important differences of reading between the two printed authorities for the text, Farnaby's volume and the *Reliquiae Wottonianae*. Miss Law's chief reason for doubting Bacon's authorship was that in the first edition (1651) of the latter work the poem was marked, like others, *Ignoto*. From this she argued, with Dr Grosart, that the copy found among Wotton's papers had been unsigned, and that either because Wotton did not know the author, or because he was himself the author. But this is a rash inference. Wotton may have known so well who was the author that he made no note of it. Collections of Donne's poems were frequently left thus nameless. Farnaby's ascription is not to be set aside lightly. He probably knew Bacon well. Moreover, in a collection preserved at Corpus Christi Coll., Oxford, of what seem to be papers that had been Wotton's (they include letters, printed from this source by Mr Pearsall Smith in his *Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, and poems) there is a beautifully written copy of this poem signed 'F. B.,' which is the signature it would bear before it became proper to give it the more formal signature which it bears in the later editions of the *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, 'Fra. Lord Bacon' or more correctly 'Fra. Bacon, Lord Verulam,' or as in a Trinity College, Dublin, MS. 'Visc. St Albans.' It is quite possible that in 1651 an editor would not recognise at once what 'F. B.' stood for.

Of the further contents of this MS. collection I shall have something to say presently. Meantime this is the poem as printed by Farnaby

[1] The view that the words

εἰν ἀγορῇ μὲν
νείκεα καὶ χαλεπαὶ πρήξιες

referred to the Law-courts seems to have been common in the 16th and 17th centuries. Grotius' Latin version in Firmin-Didot's edition of the Palatine Anthology opens thus:

Quod vitae sectemur iter? Fora plena molestis
Litibus:

The substitution of the King's Court for the courts of law originated apparently with Ronsard (1560). The first four lines of his version run:

Quel train de vie est-il bon que je suive
Afin, Muret, qu'heureusement je vive?
Dans les palais il n'y a que procès,
Noises, débats et querelleux excès;

but the Elzevirian edition gives as a variant of the last:

Aux cours des Roys regne l'ambition,
Les senateurs sont pleins de passion.



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(taken from Spedding, for I have not Farnaby's volume at hand) with the variants of the *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, one of which I have adopted.

*The World.*

The World's a bubble: and the life of man
less than a span.
In his Conception wretched: from the womb
so to the Tomb:
Curst from the Cradle, and brought up to years,
with Cares and Fears.
Who then to frail Mortality shall trust
But limns on Water, or but writes in Dust.

Yet since with sorrow here we live oppressed,
what life is best?
Courts are but only superficial Schools,
to dandle Fools:
The rural parts are turned into a Den
of savage Men:
And where's a City from all vice so free,
But may be term'd the worst of all the three?

Domestick Cares afflict the Husbands bed,
or pains his Head:
Those that live single, take it for a curse,
or do things worse:
These would have Children, those that have them none,
or wish them gone:
What is it then to have or have no Wife,
But single thraldom, or a double strife?

Our own Affections still at home to please
is a Disease.
To cross the Seas to any foreign soil,
peril and toil.
Wars with their noise affright us: when they cease
we 'are worse in peace.
What then remains, but that we still should cry
Not to be born, or being born to die?

l. 5. Curst *Farnaby*, Nurst *Reliq. Wott. and Corpus MS.*, *but Latin Version* diris votus. Curst *altered to* Nurst *Trin. Coll. MS.* G. 2. 21.

l. 8. on Water] the Water *Farn.*

l. 9. since *Farn.*, whilst *Reliq. Wott.*

l. 13. parts are *Farn. and Corpus and Trin. MSS.*, part is *Reliq. Wott.*, Rura in Speluncam migrant *Lat.*

l. 15. all vice *Farn. and Corpus MS.*, foul vice *Reliq. Wott.*

l. 21. none *Farn. and Corpus and Trin. MSS.*, moan *Reliq. Wott.*

l. 32. Not...die? *Farn. and Corpus and Trin. MS.*, For being born, and being born to die? *Reliq. Wott.* The reading in the text has the support of the original, and of other imitations, as Drummond's:

Who would not one of those two offers try,—
Not to be born, or being born, to die?

and King's

At least with that Greek sage still make us cry,
Not to be born, or being born, to die.

I quote these from Hannah's note, *Poems by Raleigh, Wotton* etc. 1892. The readings of the *Reliquiae Wottonianae* seem to me very like emendations of an editor.

In Miss Law's Commonplace-book, ll. 17 f. run thus:

Some sick care overwhelmes the husbands joyes,
his mirth annoyes.

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In Miss Law's version of this poem the first two stanzas are not given at all; but each of the last two is followed by what Miss Law printed as new and additional stanzas hitherto unknown. It is strange that she should not have noticed, what is evident at a glance, that these are not additional stanzas but replies, which the copyist has inserted, each after the stanza to which it refers. Probably the earlier stanzas with their replies have been torn away. I need not print Miss Law's stanzas for I have this summer found the whole poem from which they are taken, in the Corpus Christi College, Oxford MS. referred to already. That collection contains the following poems, all in the same handwriting: (1) Bacon's poem signed 'F. B.,' (2) a Latin verse rendering of the same signed 'G. S. Equit. et Baronetti f. A. M.,' (3) the reply to Bacon's poem, (4) a Latin verse rendering of this reply signed 'H. B.,' (5) (apparently in the same hand, but at a different part of the MS. volume) Sir Thomas Roe's lines 'Upon the Glorious King of Sweden.'

The reply to Bacon's poem runs as follows:

The World's a Globe of State, our Life a Raigne,
Man Soueraigne:
Begot with pleasure, and brought up in daies
With sports and playes:
Courted while youthfull, and when Riper yeard
Honourd and feard.
Who on this Rock doth stand, or Ocean steere,
Rests in his Center, moues as in his Sphaere.

Blessings so crowne each place, Tis hardly guesst
What Life is best:
The Court is Honors wombe, transforming Clods
To Demigods:
The restfull Country Eden speakes, in all,
Except the Fall:
And the trim Cities Plenty-horne imparts
Treasures to all, but above all, her Arts.

Wiues share our Cares by daie, wee their Delight
Much more by night:
The Virgins like an Epicoene Phoenix shown,
Both Twins in one;
The Childlesse are their own Heires; Sons give breath
Even after Death:
The Mayden then, or Mariage state will bee
A Single Paire, or double Vnitie.

We dote on Home, as if that Mother Earth
Gaue our Soules birth:
Trauaile descryes mens Customes, Habits, Parts;
And these their harts:
Warre is a Kingdoms Physicke, Peace its Health,
Their off-spring, Wealth:
What then remaines but that we choose of twaine,
Never to dye, or streight be born againe?

l. 15. Cities] Cities, *MS.* l. 19. Epicoene] Epicoene, *MS.*
l. 25. Wee fancy home as if that attoned earth, *Miss Law's Version.* Prof. Dowden, who showed me the article, conjectures 'atomed' for 'atoned.'

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This it will be seen is a very free expansion of the epigram of Metrodorus, as Bacon's is of that of Posidippus. One of the most interesting touches in the original, *ἐν δ' ἀγροῖς φύσιος χάρις*, is delightfully and characteristically rendered:

> The restfull Country Eden speakes, in all,
> Except the Fall.

'I do not know,' says Professor Mackail, 'any other passage in classical literature where "the beauty of nature" in the completely modern sense of the words is spoken of so explicitly.' The Elizabethan rendering is not so 'completely modern' as the Greek.

The MS. affords no clue to the authorship of the poem. 'Warre is a kingdoms Physick' echoes Bacon's essay *Of the true Greatnesse of Kingdomes and Estates*: 'And certainly, to a Kingdome or Estate, a Iust and Honourable Warre is the true Exercise. A Civill Warre, indeed, is like the Heat of a Feaver; But a Forraine Warre is like the Heat of Exercise, and serveth to keepe the Body in Health.' It may be noted also that the 'The World's a Globe of State' recalls the sentence in the Essay *Of Great Place*, 'For Imitation is a Globe of Precepts'; and that the line 'Rests in his Center, moues as in his Sphaere' reminds us of the famous metaphor in the Essay *Of Truth*, 'Certainly, it is Heaven upon Earth, to have a Mans Minde move in Charitie, Rest in Providence, and Turne upon the Poles of Truth.' What is said, too, about the married state is on the lines of the Essay *Of Parents and Children*, Children 'increase the Cares of Life; but they mitigate the remembrance of Death.' 'The Childlesse are their own Heires' is, I suppose, a condensed manner of saying, 'The Perpetuity by Generation is common to Beasts; but Memory, Merit, and Noble workes are proper to Men.' Or does it rather mean that their wealth is more entirely their own? 'There are some other that account Wife and Children but as Bills of changes. Nay more there are some foolish rich covetous Men, that take a pride in having no children, because they may be thought so much the richer' (*Of Marriage and Single Life*). Possibly Bacon wrote both poems but thought the first alone deserving of circulation as by himself.

But Bacon's verses called forth other poems on the theme of Court, Country, and Town. Miss Law points out in the article referred to that this is the subject of Donne's longest verse letter to Sir Henry Wotton, that beginning, 'Sir, more than kisses, letters mingle soules, etc.' As Donne's poem is well known, I need not quote more than a few lines, and I shall take some of those which Miss Law quoted 'with a view to

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show that in writing thus Donne must have been acquainted with this particular poem,' i.e., Bacon's *The World*. I quote from the 1633 text:

> Life is a voyage, and in our lifes wayes
> Countries, Courts, Towns are Rockes or Remoraes:
> They breake or stop all ships, yet our state's such,
> That though then pitch they staine worse, wee must touch.
> . . . . . .
> Cities are Sepulchres, they who dwell there
> Are carcases, as if no such there were.
> And Courts are Theatres where some men play
> Princes, some slaves, all to one end, and of one clay.
> The Country is a desert where no good
> Gain'd (as habits not borne) is understood.
> There men become beasts, and prone to more evils;
> In cities blocks; and in a lewd Court devills.

Bacon's lines:

> And where's a City from all vice so free,
> But may be term'd the worst of all the three?

are clearly echoed in Donne's:

> Cities are worst of all three; of all three?
> (O knotty riddle) each is worst equally.

Donne's contribution brings us to the question of the date of the poems. Miss Law, assigning *The World* to Sir Henry Wotton, considered that the period when it was written was most probably some time between 1610 and 1615, when Wotton was out of favour with the king and when, to quote Miss Law's words, 'Wotton's correspondence with his intimate friend and kinsman Sir Edward Bacon was characterised by a reckless bitterness of tone, astonishing in one usually so politic.' In these letters he frequently burst into bitter invective against the Court: 'This place of such servility in the getting, and such uncertainty in the holding of fortunes.' Or again, in reference to the logicians of the Court and their fickle judgments he writes: 'For yet I never in the Country, nor much less in the Court, see anything done of this kind that was not afterwards approved by those that had most opposed it.' Miss Law finds a clue to the date in the mention of the Epicoene which she takes to be a reference to Jonson's comedy. This is out of the question. Indeed the only argument for Miss Law's date is the parallel, in the new verses given above, with Bacon's essay *Of the true Greatnesse of Kingdomes and Estates*. This was not published till 1612. The argument has not much force, however, if Bacon himself wrote the poem. The essays, too, were known to his friends before publication.

If Donne's poem was written as a reply to or comment on Bacon's, this must be assigned an earlier date. It was only comparatively soon

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after Wotton's return from his first long residence abroad that Donne would have addressed him in the terms in which his letter closes:

> But, Sir, I advise not you, I rather doe
> Say o'r those lessons, which I learn'd of you:
> Whom free from Germane schismes, and lightnes
> Of France, and faire Italies faithlesnesse,
> Having from these suck'd all they had of worth,
> And brought home that faith which you carried forth
> I throughly love: But if my selfe I haue won
> To know my rules, I haue, and you haue Donne.

This is a suitable compliment to pay to a young man: it would not be quite so appropriately offered to one who had been for five years his country's ambassador at Venice.

But there is conclusive evidence that the poetic *débat* took place before 1598. On the '3 Aprilis' [1598] the following entry appears in the Stationers' Register: 'Jone Brome Wydowe Entred for her copie under the handes of Master Kinge and Master Man, *Seven bookes of Epigrammes* wrytten by Thomas Bastard whereunto are added *Three Slepers* by the same Author vjd.' In the course of the year appeared

'*Chrestoleros.* Seuen Bookes of Epigrames written by T. B

> Hunc novere modum nostri servare libelli,
> Parcere personis: dicere de vitiis.

Imprinted at London by Richard Bradock for I. B. and are to be sold at her shop in Paules Church-yard at the signe of the Bible. 1598.'

This volume contains epigrams addressed to Essex, Egerton and Wotton which suggest that Bastard was attached to the same group of adherents of Essex as Donne, Wotton and Bacon. The fourth epigram of Book II has been quoted more than once, but its exact significance becomes apparent when taken in connection with the poems I have given. It runs thus:

*Epigr.* 4. *Ad Henricum Wottonum.*

> Wotton, the country and the country swayne,
> How can they yeeld a Poet any sense?
> How can they stirre him up or heat his vaine?
> How can they feed him with intelligence?
> You have that fire which can a witt enflame
> In happy London Englands fayrest eye:
> Well may you Poets have of worthy name,
> Which have the foode and life of Poetry.
> And yet the Country or the towne may swaye,
> Or beare a part, as clownes do in a play.

What Bastard means by the 'fire which can a witt enflame,' 'the foode and life of poetry,' is the Court, otherwise the last two lines would lack point. I have not got the *Chrestoleros* at hand (only some notes and extracts made in Professor Saintsbury's library) but Corser

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(*Collectanea*, II, 211) says 'there is little doubt that Bastard was well acquainted with the Greek Anthology.' It is worth noting that the *Chrestoleros*, like the Planudean Anthology, is divided into seven books. The influence of the Anthology on Elizabethan and Jacobean epigrams deserves some attention.

If the poems in question were written before 1598, they must have been written after 1594, when Wotton returned to England. I incline to date their composition 1597–8, at some period between the return of the Islands' Expedition in October, and April 1598, when Bastard's volume was registered. There is no proof that Donne was a courtier before the Cadiz expedition (1596). His earliest verse-letters would seem to have been *The Storm* and *The Calm* (1597). On the 20th of July 1598 he wrote to Wotton a letter referring to their joint expeditions and in the same vein as the poems in question:

> Here's no more newes then vertue: I may as well
> Tell you Cales or Saint Michaels tales for newes, as tell
> That vice doth here habitually dwell
>
> Yet as to get stomachs we walk up and down,
> And toyle to sweeten rest; so may God frown
> If but to loath both, I haunt Court, or Towne.

Bacon, Donne and Wotton were all in 1597 in the unhappy position of suitors, kicking their heels, or toiling at ungrateful tasks, in the hope that Essex' influence might find them profitable employment; and Essex was playing his cards badly. On the 30th of October 1597 Wotton writes to the Earl begging 'that if there grow any actions between her Majesty and the Emperor wherein your Lordship may make any use of that time which I bestowed in these countries, and in this Court, it please you to employ me.' A letter to Cecil also contemplates an embassy to Germany; but it was not till 1599 that Wotton found employment and went to Ireland with Essex, whither Donne sent him another verse-letter. For Bacon the year 1597, like so many before it, was a period of hope and disappointment and debt and suitorship and unprofitable labour. Donne too had apparently some months of waiting and suitorship before he entered Egerton's service:

> What is hee
> Who officers rage and suitors misery
> Can write and jest?

are his words after he had found a haven [1].

[1] Mr E. K. Chambers indeed has suggested, in this Review (October 1910), that Donne was at this date employed by Cecil on missions to France. It is an interesting suggestion and seems to be borne out by the extracts he has given. I still feel some doubt, however, because Mr Chambers' extracts probably refer to the same person as is

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If in their hours of enforced idleness Bacon and Donne and Wotton interchanged verses suggested by some Greek epigrams, it was not a purely literary exercise. Their verses reflected their feelings. Bastard's lines, indeed, are the utterance of a poet sighing in the country for the delights of London life; but the other poems strike a deeper note. Whoever wrote the reply to *The World*, based on Metrodorus' reply to Posidippus, it was clearly not so widely circulated, probably because it was more entirely a *tour-de-force*.

But satire of the Court, the Country and the Town was not confined to the epigram. In *Every Man out of his Humour*, written in 1598 and acted in 1599, Jonson opens on the same scent. The characters whom he elaborates with such fierce scorn fall into the three groups,—the Court represented by Sir Puntarvolo, Carlo Buffone, Fastidious Brisk and Saviolina, the Town or City by Deliro, Fallace, Fungoso, the Country by Sordido. Sordido's character is a complete expression of that feeling about the Country to which Donne gives utterance:

The Country is a desert, etc.

It is in a different spirit that Shakespeare contrasts Court and Country in *As You Like It*; but his satire of the Court in *Hamlet* is hardly less trenchant than Jonson's.

I have kept Wotton's own contribution to the last. Miss Law contended that *The World* was written by Wotton himself. I have not proved that Bacon is the author, but I think I have added to the probability that Farnaby's ascription was correct. And this probability is increased by the discovery that Wotton did write a poem which is much more in the stoical but sweet-blooded vein of 'How happy is he born and taught' than Bacon's despondent lines. The poem has never

mentioned in an entry I came upon the other day in the Cecil papers. It is a note of introduction from Sir Robert Cecil to Essex dated Jan. 1598/9:

'This gentleman, Mr Done, hath made earnest unto me to recommend his suit unto you to have command of one of the companies that go now into Ireland. He saith he hath heretofore followed you in some of your actions and that his name hath been by Sir Richard Bingham and others set down among those who are fit to take charge in Ireland.'

Is this the poet? He had followed Essex in his actions at Cadiz and the Azores. But was Donne in January 1599 still unemployed? This seems hardly compatible with his statement in March 1602 that he had been four years in Egerton's service. Is there any evidence that Donne the poet was known to and apparently esteemed a capable soldier by that old veteran Sir Richard Bingham? Is it not probable that the person referred to in Mr Chambers' extracts and mine is the Donne twice mentioned in Fynes Moryson's account of the rebellion in Ireland. In 1599 he mentions among the wounded in a fray 'Master Done was shot in the leg,' and again in 1600 'A Gentleman of his Lordship's chamber called Master Done (that carried his cloke) shot through the leg,' *Fynes Moryson's Itinerary* (Maclehose) II, 269, 341. His Christian name is not given, and I cannot find another reference to him, but John Donne seems to have been a fairly common name. Looking for Moryson's soldier in the State Papers and Privy Council Registers I have found one baker and one recusant of the name.

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hitherto been printed, so far as I know. I have met with it in two MSS. In one of these it is erroneously ascribed to Donne himself, but in the other it immediately precedes Donne's own contribution to the *débat*,

Sir, more than kisses letters, etc.

and is headed and runs thus:

*To J: D: from Mr H: W:*

Worthie Sir
Tis not a coate of gray or Shepherds life
  Tis not in feilds or woods remote to liue,
That adds or takes from one that peace or strife
  Which to our days such good or ill doth giue:
It is the mind that makes the mans estate
For euer happy or unfortunate.

Then first the mind of passions must be free
  Of him that would to happiness aspire;
Whether in Princes Pallaces he bee
  Or whether to his cottage he retire;
For our desires that on extremes are bent
Are frends to care and traitors to content.

Nor should wee blame our frends though false they bee
  Since there are thousands false for one that's true,
But our own blindness that we cannot see
  To chuse the best although they be but few:
For hee that every fained friend will trust
Proues true to frend but to himselfe vnjust.

The faults we haue are they that make our woe,
  Our virtues are the motiues of our ioye,
Then is it vaine if wee to deserts goe
  To seeke our bliss or shroud us from annoy:
Our place need not be changed but our will,
For everywhere wee may do good or ill.

But this I doe not dedicate to thee
  As one that holds himself fitt to advise,
Or that my lines to him should precepts bee
  That is less ill then I, and much more wise;
But 'tis no harme mortality to preach,
For men do often learne when they do teach.

What we may imagine to have happened is briefly this. Bacon's attention was attracted either by the Greek epigrams or (which I think is more probable) by the versions in *The Arte of English Poesie*, a book which excited considerable interest. It is referred to by Sir John Harington in 1591 and was used just about the date of these poems by Meres in preparing his *Palladis Tamia* (1598). Bacon tried his hand at one or both of the epigrams, catching up and amplifying Puttenham's division of Court, Town, Country. He sent that which expressed his own feelings to Wotton, who, like himself, was in the service of Essex. Wotton showed it to Donne and Bastard, who wrote their comments; and to Donne's weighty and eloquently complimentary letter Wotton replied in a characteristic and equally eulogistic strain.

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It may be worth noting that Sir John Beaumont, who entered the Inner Temple in 1596, made a translation of both the epigrams. There is no reference in them to the main theme of Bacon's and Donne's meditations; but Beaumont, a young student, may have been tempted to make his versions by the fact that the theme was in vogue during these years.

Lastly, Bacon's poem in the *Reliquiae Wottonianae* is followed immediately by this epigram:

*De morte.*

Man's life's a tragedy: his Mothers Womb
(From which he enters) is the tiring Room;
The spacious Earth the Theater; and the Stage
The Country which he liues in: Passions, Rage,
Folly, and Vice are Actors: the first cry
The Prologue to th' ensuing Tragedy.
The former Act consisteth of dumb shows;
The second, he to more Perfection grows;
I'th' third he is a man, and doth begin
To nurture vice, and act the deeds of sin:
I'th' fourth declines: I'th' fifth Diseases clog
And trouble him; then Death's his Epilogue.

*Ignoto.*

Is not this an expansion—in the same manner as Bacon's *The World* is an expansion of the epigram of Posidippus—of that other epigram in the Anthology attributed to Pallades:

Σκηνὴ πᾶς ὁ βίος καὶ παίγνιον.

'All life is a stage and a game: either learn to play it, laying by seriousness, or bear its pains': if this be so, is it not likely that it was composed about the same time, 1597–8, when Wotton and his circle were turning over the Anthology? If so, it would be earlier than *As You Like It* and may be the link between the Greek epigram and Shakespeare's brilliant expansion. It is difficult to believe that if subsequent to Shakespeare's version, it would not have profited by it. But I am wandering into the region of conjecture.

The chief interest of the few facts I have brought together is, that they throw a small pencil of light upon the lives of Bacon, Wotton and Donne at a time when they must have been in close intercourse with one another. The death of Essex was soon to sunder them. Bacon made himself the chief instrument in procuring the condemnation of his patron; Wotton went into voluntary exile; and Donne digested his spleen in a fragment of sombre and enigmatical satire.

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# DRUMMOND'S INDEBTEDNESS TO SIDNEY.

THE influence of Sir Philip Sidney upon Drummond's poetry, which had been strangely overlooked by former editors, was first pointed out by W. C. Ward in his edition of *The Poems of William Drummond of Hawthornden* (London, 1894). W. C. Ward instances a number of passages and single lines in which that influence is unmistakable; and also draws attention to certain sonnets which were obviously fashioned on the pattern of certain other sonnets in *Astrophel and Stella*. My researches into the French and Italian sources have led me to make a very minute study of the Scottish poet's verse, and as a result of my investigations I have discovered that the indebtedness of Drummond to Sidney is considerably larger than Ward concluded. Drummond's habit, already noted by Ward, of skilfully weaving Sidney's very phrases into the web of his own verse, makes it probable that a certain number of examples have escaped my attention, but those which I cite, added to those already gathered by Ward, make a sufficiently imposing array. In two instances, as the late Professor David Masson showed, Drummond transplanted two powerful passages from Shakespeare into his own poetry without any acknowledgment[1]. These, together with the numerous borrowings from Sidney, suggest an interesting clue to the student of Drummond's poetic style. Many of the brightest flowers of his rather over-florid style may prove one day to have been culled from the favourite poets on his shelves. I merely throw out this suggestion for what it is worth, and declare that my researches have not corroborated the suspicion I once entertained that a majority of the striking lines in Drummond's verse were stolen property, and that he had systematically, pen in hand, ransacked his favourite poets, jotting down the finest lines for incorporation in his own poetry. This he undoubtedly did in the case of Sidney; practically all the outstanding lines of *Astrophel and Stella* can be paralleled

[1] *Drummond of Hawthornden: The Story of his Life and Writings.* London, 1873, p. 69.

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in Drummond's sonnets; and this probably because he thought him and declared him to be the greatest English poet who ever wrote on the subject of Love. Of Sidney's *Arcadia*[1] also he was a fervent admirer, and to it he is indebted in almost equal measure, especially in the longer poems. The other Elizabethan sonneteers he had also read carefully and studied: he notes that the sonnets of Shakespeare have lately been published; praises those of his friend Sir William Alexander and those of Daniel; declares that Drayton 'seemeth rather to have loved his Muse than his Mistress'; and makes the startling assertion that Spenser's *Amoretti* are 'so childish' that they cannot very well be the work of so distinguished a poet. Constable's *Diana* he knew by report only, and Lodge's *Phyllis* he notes as having been read by him in the year 1611. To all these, however, Drummond owes very little, except perhaps a reminiscence or two from Spenser's *Amoretti* and from Drayton's *Idea*.

For the sake of convenience and clearness I will begin with Drummond's sonnets, noting specific borrowings of single lines and passages first, and then more general resemblances between two given compositions:

| | |
|---|---|
| But, God wot, wist not what was in my brain: (Sonnet I, l. 8.) | But (God wot) wot not what they mean by it. (*Ast. and Stell.* LXXIV, l. 6.) |
| Best companied when most I am alone. (IV, l. 11.) | Seem most alone in greatest company. (*Ast. and Stell.* XXVII, l. 2.) |
| Ere in these mansions blind they come to dwell. (VII, l. 5.) | What needed so high spirits such mansions blind? (*Arcadia*, p. 187.) |

Drummond addresses sleep as,

> Indifferent host to shepherds and to kings. (IX, l. 3.)

Apostrophising sleep Sidney had written before him:

> Th' indifferent Judge between the high and low. (*Ast. and Stell.* XXXIX, l. 4.)

| | |
|---|---|
| I long to kiss the image of my death. (IX, l. 14.) | A dull desire to kiss the image of our Death. (*Arcadia*, p. 332.) |
| These tears, and the black map of all my woe. (X, l. 14.) | But think that all the map of my state I display. (*Ast. and Stell.* VI, l. 13.) |
| O tongue in which most luscious nectar lies. (XIII, l. 5.) | And through those lips drink nectar from that tongue. (*Ast. and Stell.* LXXXIII, l. 13.) |
| Those flow'rs are spread which names of princes bear. (XVII, l. 7.) | And you, O flowers, which sometimes princes wear. (*Arcadia*, p. 572.) |
| In colour black to wrap those comets bright. (XVIII, l. 6.) | In colour black, why wrapt she beams so bright? (*Ast. and Stell.* VII, l. 2.) |

[1] *Arcadia* is quoted according to E. A. Baker's edition (London, 1907).

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Shrill treble, weep; and you, dull basses show. (XXVIII, l. 5.)
And serve no God who doth his churchmen starve. (XXXI, l. 12.)

Trebles sing high, as well as bases deep. (*Ast. and Stell.* LXX, l. 6.)
Till that good God make church and churchman starve. (*Ast. and Stell.* V, l. 8.)

In the opening lines of Sonnet XL:

Ah! who can see those fruits of Paradise,
Celestial cherries, which so sweetly swell,

Drummond, apart from more general reminiscences, would probably not have used the same phraseology if his predecessor had not already addressed Stella's 'sweet swelling lips' (Sonnet LXXX), and described them as 'cherries' (Sonnet LXXXII) and as 'fruits of new-found Paradise' (Sonnet LXXXI). These are no doubt minutiae, but they serve to show that Drummond borrowed Sidney's very epithets.

What snaky eye, grown jealous of my peace. (XLIII, l. 5.)
What mourning weeds, alas! now dost thou wear! (XLIV, l. 5.)

Nor envie's snaky eye finds any harbour here. (*Arcadia*, p. 297.)
Wear these my words as mourning weeds of woe. (*Arcadia*, p. 482.)

A few examples may now be quoted from Ward's second volume. In the sonnet entitled 'The Book of the World' occurs a passage which manifestly re-echoes certain lines in Sonnet XI of *Astrophel and Stella*:

But silly we, like foolish children, rest
Well pleased with colour'd vellum, leaves of gold.
Fair dangling ribbons, leaving what is best,
On the great writer's sense ne'er taking hold.

For like a child, that some fair book doth find,
With gilded leaves or coloured vellum plays;
Or, at the most, on some fair picture stays:
But never heeds the fruit of writer's mind[1].

Again in a commendatory sonnet prefixed to Patrick Gordon's *Historie of Penardo and Laissa* we read:

Thy sire no pick-purse is of others' wit.

which is paralleled by:

I am no pick-purse of another's wit. (*Ast. and Stell.* LXXIV, l. 8.)

In writing the first of the 'Five Sonnets for Galatea' (Ward II. p. 127) Drummond had no doubt in mind Sonnets III and V of *Astrophel*

[1] Cp. also *Arcadia*, p. 112:

So have I seen trim books in velvet dight,
With golden leaves, and painted babery
Of silly boys, please unacquainted sight

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*and Stella*, but also, I think, the following passage of Sidney's *Apologie for Poetrie*, in which he found an expression almost identical with the one he uses in the closing line of his sonnet: 'But truely many of such writings as come vnder the banner of vnresistable loue, if I were a Mistres, would neuer perswade mee they were in loue; so coldely they apply fiery speeches, as men that had rather red Louers writings, and so caught vp certain swelling phrases.' I ought to have said that the last line of Drummond's sonnet reads:

O no, thou learn'dst thy love in lovers' books.

The examples so far quoted may, I confess, appear somewhat finical at first sight, separated as they are from their context. Those that follow are much more convincing.

As regards more general resemblances between single poems, the first to present itself occurs in Sonnet v. The general movement and central idea is at once seen to be identical with that in Sonnet xxx of *Astrophel and Stella*:

How that vast heaven intitled First is roll'd,
If any other worlds beyond it lie,
And people living in eternity,
Or essence pure that doth this All uphold;
What motion have those fixed sparks of gold,
The wand'ring carbuncles which shine from high,
By sprights, or bodies, contrare-ways in sky
If they be turn'd, and mortal things behold;
How sun posts heaven about, how night's pale queen
With borrowed beams looks on this hanging round,
What cause fair Iris hath, and monsters seen
In air's large fields of light, and seas profound,
Did hold my wand'ring thoughts, when thy sweet eye
Bade me leave all, and only think on thee.

Whether the Turkish new moon minded be
To fill his horns this year on Christian coast,
How Poles' right King means, without leave of host,
To warm with ill-made fire cold Muscovy,
If French can yet three parts in one agree,
What now the Dutch in their full diets boast,
How Holland's hearts—now so good towns be lost—
Trust in the shade of pleasing Orange tree,
How Ulster likes of that same golden bit,
Wherewith my father once made it half tame?
If in the Scottish Court be welt'ring yet;
These questions, busy wits to me do frame:
I cumbered with good manners answer do;
But know not how, for still I think on *you*.

But considerations taken from practical politics did not appeal to Drummond's philosophic mind, and he found a more congenial task in adapting the substance of the following passage from *Arcadia* (pp. 332–3):

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Those lamps of heav'nly fire to fixed motion bound,
The ever turning spheres, the never moving ground;
What essence dest'ny hath, if fortune be or no;
Whence our immortal souls to mortal earth do flow:
What life it is, and how that all these lives do gather,
With outward maker's force, or like an inward father.
Such thoughts, methought, I thought, and strain'd my single mind,
Then void of nearer care, the depth of things to find.

Drummond's Sonnet VII would certainly not have received its present form but for Sonnet XXV of *Astrophel and Stella*.

Sonnet XVIII, as Ward has already pointed out, recalls vividly Sonnets VII and XX of the same cycle, and the name 'Auristella' was probably chosen not without a thought of Sidney's mistress. Sonnet XIX ('In vain I haunt the cold and silver spring') is obviously written on the pattern of a similar composition in *Arcadia* (p. 122) beginning with the words: 'In vain mine eyes you labour to amend.' Sonnet LIV and *Astrophel and Stella* VI present a very similar parallel, as does also Madrigal II of 'The Second Part' in manner and substance with the madrigal sung by Basilius in *Arcadia*.

I will now pass on to consider Drummond's indebtedness to Sidney in the longer poems.

Already in the *Tears on the Death of Mœliades*, Drummond's first printed poetic utterance, this dependence on Sidney is manifest. The pattern in this case is at once seen to be the 'song of lamentation' uttered by one of the Arcadians at the loss of Basilius—not only in the repetition at given intervals of certain verses driving home the mourmful tenor of the whole piece[1], but in specific passages such as the following, in which are cleverly interwoven Sidney's very epithets and expressions:

Mœliades sweet courtly nymphs deplore,
From Thule to Hydaspes' pearly shore.
Delicious meads, whose chequered plain forth brings
White, golden, azure flowers, which once were kings,
In mourning black their shining colours dye,
Bow down their heads, whilst sighing zephyrs fly.
Queen of the fields, whose blush makes blush the morn,
Sweet rose, a prince's death in purple mourn;
The weeping myrrh I think will not deny
Her help to this, this justest cause of plaint.
Your doleful tunes sweet Muses now apply.
. . . . . .
Let pearls be wan with woe their dam doth bear!
Thyself henceforth the light do never see,
And you, O flowers, which sometimes princes wear,

[1] In *Mœliades* a couplet is repeated, whereas in Sidney's dirge it is only a single verse. This device had already been used by Ronsard (ed. Blanchemain, IV. p. 239) with whose verse both Sidney and Drummond were well acquainted. It may also be noted that such repetitions, serving a similar purpose, are very frequent in the *Nuove Fiamme* (a collection of sonnets, eclogues and elegies) of Lodovico Paterno (1561) of which Drummond possessed a copy.



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O hyacinths, for aye your AI keep still,
Nay, with more marks of woe your leaves now fill;
And you, O flower of Helen's tears first born,
Into those liquid pearls again you turn;
Your green locks, forests, cut; in weeping myrrhs,
The deadly cypress, and ink-dropping firs,
Your palms and myrtles change; from shadows dark,
Wing'd syrens, wail; and you, sad echoes, mark
The lamentable accents of their moan,
And plain that brave Mœliades is gone.
Stay, sky, thy turning course, and now become
A stately arch unto the earth, his tomb;
Over which aye the wat'ry Iris keep,
And sad Electra's sisters which still weep.
Mœliades sweet courtly nymphs deplore,
From Thule to Hydaspes' pearly shore.
Tell these strange alt'rings you did hap to try,
Of princes' loss yourselves for tokens rear.
Lily in mourning black thy whiteness die:
O Hyacinth let AI be on thee still,
Your doleful tunes sweet Muses now apply.
. . . . . .
O Echo, all these woods with roaring fill,
And do not only mark the accents last,
But all, for all reach out my wailful will:
One Echo to another Echo cast.
. . . . . .
And well methinks becomes this vaulty sky
A stately tomb to cover him deceased.
Your doleful tunes sweet Muses now apply.

(*Arcadia*, pp. 572–3.)

The same piece also contains reminiscences of Sidney's sonnet-cycle. Sidney says:

I never drank of Aganippe well;
Nor never did in shade of Tempe sit:

(*Ast. and Stell.* LXXIV.)

and the Scottish poet duly re-echoes the lines in:

Chaste maids which haunt fair Aganippe's well
And you in Tempe's sacred shade who dwell.

Because Night, in Sonnet XCVII of *Astrophel and Stella*,

Herself . . . . . .
Silent and sad in mourning weeds doth dight,

therefore, in the *Death of Mœliades*, she

Ever appears in mourning garments dight.

The graceful song 'It was the time when to our northern pole' (Ward, I. p. 32) is still more redolent of Sidnean imagery. Compare for example:

When I, in simple course, free from all cares,
Far from the muddy world's captiving snares,
By Ora's flow'ry banks alone did wander,

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with,

> When I, disgraced wretch, not wretched then did give
> My senses such relief, as they which quiet live,
> . . . . . .
> Free all my powers were from those captivating snares,
> Which heavenly purest gifts defile with muddy cares.
> (*Arcadia*, p. 332.)

Other striking parallels are quoted by Ward from the same poem which it would be tedious to repeat here. To these may be added:

> Her neck seemed fram'd by curious Phidias' master,
> Most smooth, most white, a piece of alabaster:

which recalls Sidney's:

> A hill most fit for such a master,
> A spotless mine of alabaster. (*Arcadia*, p. 182.)

These lines occur in the description of the bathing nymph, which should be read throughout to fully comprehend Drummond's methods.

In Sonnet LXVIII of *Astrophel and Stella* Sidney had written:

> With voice more fit to wed Amphion's lyre.

Drummond's version is:

> A voice surpassing far Amphion's lyre. (Ward, I. p. 180.)

In *Eurymedon's Praise of Mira* (Ward, I. p. 180) the line:

> So wooden globes bright stars to us set forth,

is also conveyed from Sidney:

> Models such be wood globes of glistering skies.
> (*Ast. and Stell.* XCI, l. 11.)

A still better illustration of the imitative habits of Drummond's Muse is afforded by the lines that follow, taken from the *Hymn of the Fairest Fair*:

> Stars, host of heaven, ye firmament's bright flow'rs,
> Clear lamps which overhang this stage of ours,
> Ye turn not there to deck the weeds of night,
> Nor, pageant-like, to please the vulgar sight;
> Great causes, sure ye must bring great effects,
> But who can descant right your grave aspects.

In which is embodied the substance of Sonnet XXVI of *Astrophel and Stella*:

> Though dusky wits dare scorn astrology,
> And fools can think those lamps of purest light—
> Whose number, ways, greatness, eternity,
> Promising wonders, wonder do invite—
> To have for no cause birthright in the sky,
> But for to spangle the black weeds of Night,
> Or for some brawl, which in that chamber high
> They should still dance to please a gazer's sight.
> For me, I do Nature unidle know,
> And know great causes great effects procure,
> And know those bodies high reign on the low.



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Sufficient evidence, I venture to think, has been put forth to prove that Drummond's indebtedness to Sir Philip Sidney is such that it can hardly be justified by a nice literary morality. At first sight one might indeed be tempted to conclude that the laird of Hawthornden made use of Sidney's poetry as a storehouse of poetic expression, a kind of *gradus ad Parnassum* when inspiration failed him. But on more deliberate consideration, it is seen that much tact and discernment have been exercised. Drummond's fine poetic sense and musical ear almost without exception saved him from lapsing into mere patchwork; of many of the pearls he found in Sidney's verse he enhanced the beauty by a more brilliant and artistic setting. Yet it is undeniable that he lacked originality and invention, and as a consequence that spontaneity which is the criterium of the true lyric poet is absent from much of his verse. In his defence it may be urged that poets were then less punctilious in such matters than they have since become. This is especially true of those of the poets of his day who still remained like himself belated disciples of a generation which had done its work, and who looked back for models by which to fashion themselves, instead of trusting to their own individual vision[1].

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[1] I am not aware that English literature offers any quite parallel case, but in France and in Germany the same methods, roughly speaking, were employed by two poets almost contemporary with Drummond—Martin Opitz and Mathurin Regnier. That Opitz's poems are often a mere tessellation from Ronsard was detected long ago by Beckherrn and others. More recently Joseph Vianey in his admirable study on Mathurin Regnier (Paris, 1896) has demonstrated that the French satirist had used a somewhat similar method of conveyance (less clumsily than Opitz, and more on the lines of Drummond) not only from his favourite poet Ronsard, but also from the pages of Jodelle, Baïf, Belleau and Desportes.

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# THE OLD ENGLISH 'EXODUS,'
## ll. 63—134.

As this passage stands there is considerable confusion in the arrangement and order of the matter. The description of the pillar of cloud is immediately followed in l. 86 by the third encampment, with a brief allusion in ll. 93 sqq. to the two pillars, as though *both* had been already described, whereas only the pillar of cloud has hitherto been spoken of, no mention whatever of the pillar of fire having been made. Then the trumpets summon the host to arise, and the Israelites resume their march. Here the narrative is suddenly interrupted by a description of the pillar of cloud, as though it were something new (*ofer wundor*) and had not been alluded to before. Then we are abruptly carried back to the journey of the Israelites to the Red Sea.

I venture to suggest that a simple transposition of ll. 86—107 and ll. 108—124 will restore order and yield a perfectly natural sequence of events, and I print them below with the arrangement thus altered.

We now get (1) ll. 63—67, second encampment; (2) ll. 68—85, description of the pillar of cloud; (3) ll. 108—124, description of the pillar of fire; (4) ll. 86—107, and ll. 125—129, third encampment and further march until stopped by the Red Sea; (5) ll. 129—134, fourth encampment.

The cause of the displacement of the two passages was, no doubt, the wrong folding of a couple of leaves in the MS. from which Junius XI was copied or at any rate descended. If we assume that the two joined leaves in the middle of a quire, containing 1a + 1b (= ll. 108—124) and 2a + 2b (= ll. 86—107) respectively, got wrongly folded and were thus bound, the sequence in the MS. would be 2a, 2b, 1a, 1b, which is the actual sequence in the Junius MS. That the pages contained so few lines (1a + 1b = 17 lines, and 2a + 2b = 22 lines) can be accounted for by assuming spaces for pictures.

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Heht þa ymb twa niht tirfæste hæleð,
siððan hie feondum oðfaren hæfdon,
ymbwicigean werodes bearhtme,
mid ælfere Æthanes byrig,
mægne mæste mearclandum on.
Nearwe genyddon on norðwegas,
wiston him be suðan Sigelwara land,
forbærned beorhhleoðu, brune leode
hatum heofoncolum. Þær halig god
wið færbryne folc gescylde,
bælce oferbrædde byrnendne heofon,
halgan nette hatwendne lyft.
Hæfde wederwolcen widum fæðmum
eorðan ȝ uprodor efne gedæled,
lædde leodwerod; ligfyr adranc,
hate heofontorht. Hæleð wafedon,
drihta gedrymost. Dægscealdes hleo
wand ofer wolcnum; hæfde witig god
sunnan siðfæt segle ofertolden,
swa þa mæstrapas men ne cuðon,
ne ða seglrode geseon meahton
eorðbuende ealle cræfte,
hu afæstnod wæs feldhusa mæst.
Æfena gehwam oðer wundor,
syllic æfter sunnan setlrade beheold
ofer leodwerum lige scinan,
byrnende beam. Blace stodon
ofer sceotendum scire leoman,
scinon scyldhreoðan, sceado swiðredon;
neowle nihtscuwan neah ne mihton
heolstor ahydan. Heofoncandel barn;
niwe nihtweard nyde sceolde
wician ofer weredum, þy læs him westengryre,
har hæð[broga], holmegum wederum
o[n] ferclamme ferhð getwæfde.
Hæfde foregenga fyrene loccas,
blace beamas, bellegsan hweop

63. *MS.* tirfæstne. *Cp. Cosijn PBB.* 19, 460. 67. *MS.* mægnes. *Or read* mægna, *gen. pl.?* 70. *MS.* burhhleoðu. *Cp. note.* 81. *MS.* swegle. 113. *MS.* sceaðo. 118. *MS.* har hæð. *Cp. Cosijn PBB.* 19, 460. 119. *MS.* o.

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in þam hereþreate, hatan lige,
ƿþ he on westenne werod forbærnde,
nymðe hie modhwate Moyses hyrde[n].
Siððan he mid wuldre geweorðode
þeodenholde; þa wæs þridde wic
folce to frofre. Fyrd eall geseah
hu þær hlifedon halige seglas,
lyftwundor leoht; leode ongeton
dugoð Israhela ƿþ þær drihten cwom,
weroda drihten wicsteal metan.
Him beforan foran fyr ȝ wolcen
in beorhtrodor, beamas twegen,
þara æghwæðer efngedælde
heahþegnunga haliges gastes,
deormodra sið dagum ȝ nihtum.
Þa ic on morgen gefrægn modes rofan
hebban herebyman hludan stefnum
wuldres woman. Werod eall aras
modigra mægen, swa him Moyses bebead,
mære magoræswa metodes folce,
fus fyrdgetrum; forð gesawon
lifes latþeow liftweg metan.
Segl siðe weold, sæmen æfter
foron flodwege; folc wæs on salum,
hlud herges cyrm. Heofonbeacen astah;
scean scir werod, scyldas lixton,
gesawon randwigan rihte stræte,
segn ofer sweoton, oð ƿþ sæfæsten
landes æt ende leodmægne forstod,
fuson forðweg. Fyrdwic aras,
wyrpton hie werige; wiste genægdon
modige meteþegnas hyra mægen beton.
Bræddon æfter beorgum, siððan byme sang,
flotan feldhusum; þa wæs feorðe wic,
randwigena ræst be þan readan sæ.

124. *MS.* hyrde. 87. *MS.* þridda. 104. *MS.* lifweg. 105. *MS.* swegl. 128. *MS.* leo mægne.

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## NOTES.

68. This line of course means, 'The difficulties facing them (*nearwe*, i.e. the heat, if they took a southerly direction) forced them to the north.' It does not mean with Grein, 'Mit Nachdruck eilten sie an Nordwege,' nor with Johnson, 'Straitly they pressed on the northern roads.'

70. MS. *burhhleoðu*. The original no doubt had *beorhhleoðu* 'mountain slopes.' It is true that a similar misspelling is recorded once, viz. Riddle 28[2], but the *eo* form is the only one found elsewhere. It occurs *Elene* 788 and 1009; *Exodus* 448; *Riddle* 58[2]; *Genesis* 2159 (where the MS. has *beorh-*, not *burh-*, as is erroneously given in Grein's *Sprachschatz*). Conversely in the glosses we meet with the misspelling *beorhleod* 'municeps' for *burh-*, where the original undoubtedly had *burh-*: cp. Napier, *O. E. Glosses*, note to 7, 293.

109. The difficulty in this line seems to be the *beheold*. One expects a verb meaning 'began,' and, though *ongann* would be a bold emendation, it would yield good sense. 'Each evening another wonder, a strange one, after the setting of the sun, began to shine with flame over the people, a burning pillar.' There is however great difficulty in seeing how the mistake could have arisen.

107. *Heofonbeacen astah*, 'The heavenly beacon (the sun) arose.'

129. Instead of *fus on forðweg*, the reading of the MS., which is retained in most of the editions, I propose to read *fuson forðweg*. 'Until the sea-fastness (i.e. the Red Sea) at the limit of the land blocked the further journey to the host, to the eager [troop].' For *fuson* = *fusum*, cp. *sweoton*, l. 127 etc. *Forðweg* is the object of *forstod*. In most cases where it occurs it is preceded by the preposition *on*, and the phrase *fus on forðweg* (*Menologium* 218 and *Guthlac* 918, cp. also *Guth.* 773) must have been familiar to the scribe. This led him to divide *fuson f.* into *fus on f.*

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# SPENSER'S 'HOUSE OF ALMA.'

In the ninth canto of the Second Book of the *Faery Queene* there is an elaborate allegory representing the human body as a castle in which the soul (Alma) resides. The working out of the allegory in detail is necessarily a *tour de force*, resulting occasionally in forced conceit and imperfect analogy. On the whole the interpretation presents few difficulties, though some points have been missed by commentators through imperfect acquaintance with medieval physiology. But there is one stanza which has caused perplexity to scholars, from Sir Kenelm Digby to Dr Kitchin. I hope to show that the traditional explanation, first offered by Sir Kenelm Digby and accepted with modifications by the Clarendon Press editor, is in part unsound and in part incomplete. The stanza is the twenty-second:

> The frame thereof seemd partly circulare,
> And part triangulare; O worke divine!
> Those two the first and last proportions are;
> The one imperfect, mortall, fœminine,
> Th' other immortall, perfect, masculine;
> And twixt them both a quadrate was the base,
> Proportiond equally by seven and nine;
> Nine was the circle sett in heavens place;
> All which compacted made a goodly diapase.

The House of Alma is the habitation of the soul, and therefore 'the frame' is the human body. Hence the traditional interpretation, which makes the circle represent the soul, and the triangle the body, seems unsatisfactory. The mention of the circle and the triangle in connection with the structure of the human body suggests a reference to the *Timaeus* of Plato, where the creation of man by the gods is described in detail. (Hence perhaps the exclamation, 'O worke divine!') 'First then the gods, *in imitation of the spherical shape of the universe*, bound the two circles of the soul in *a spherical body*,—that, namely, which we now call *the head*, which is man's most divine meunber, and the ruler of our whole composition' (chap. XIX). The circular part therefore of

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the House of Alma was the head. Passing on to the composition of the body, Plato mentions earth, air, fire and water as its constituents, and proceeds: 'First, then, that fire and earth, water and air are bodies, is evident surely to everyone. But every species of body possesses solidity; and every solid must necessarily be contained by planes. Again, a base formed of a perfectly plane surface is composed of triangles' (chap. XXVIII). Thus the human body, like all other solids, is ultimately composed of triangles. Spenser therefore, who was an enthusiastic student of Plato[1], here in all probability refers to the trunk of the body as triangular in contrast with the circular head.

The triangle played an important part in the theories of the Pythagoreans, who employed the properties of a right-angled triangle (with sides proportioned to 3, 4 and 5) 'to explain and enforce their embryological theories[2].' Plato also employs this triangle in discussing the period of the pre-natal development of the human animal[3]. Thus in this passage of Spenser there is a trace of Pythagorean as well as of Platonic speculation.

The triangle and the circle are 'the first and last proportions,' that is, the most elementary and the most perfect geometrical forms respectively. The triangle is the plane figure formed with the least possible number of straight lines; and on the other hand it was a doctrine of Pythagoras that the circle is the most beautiful of linear figures[4].

Of these, Spenser says, the circle is 'immortal, perfect, masculine,' contrasting in each particular with the triangle. He here probably contrasts the head, as containing the immortal rational soul, with the body as the receptacle of the mortal soul. As Plato divides the mortal soul into distinct parts which he implicitly distinguishes as male and female[5], Spenser here seems to contrast the immortal soul as masculine with the mortal soul as feminine.

Common to both parts of the body thus described—the head and the trunk (with the limbs)—is the underlying quadrate. As in an allegory the language must be applicable to both interpretations, the quadrate as a geometrical figure will represent part of the structure of the castle. The word 'quadrate' most commonly means 'square,' but it is sometimes used[6] in the sense of 'rectangle.' In this geometrical sense the castle contains a rectangular base court whose sides are in

[1] J. W. Hales, 'Memoir of Edmund Spenser,' in Globe edition, pp. xxi, xxxiii sq., liii.
[2] Adam, *Plato's Republic*, Bk. VIII, App. I, ii, § 4.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Encyclop. Brit.*, Art. Pythagoras.
[5] *Timaeus*, c. XLIV.
[6] *N.E.D.* s.v. 'quadrate.'

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the proportion of seven and nine. (The word 'equally' will then refer to the equality of the opposite sides.) As applied to the human body the word 'quadrate' must refer to the old physiological theories which represented the body as composed of the four elements (earth, air, etc.), the four elementary contraries (heat, cold, dryness and moisture), and the four humours. These theories were commonplaces in the medical writings of the sixteenth century[1]. The Pythagorean *tetrad* (which occurs in the Golden Verses) had a similar application, if we may trust a late interpreter[2]; though the medical theories were not fully developed until towards the end of the fifth century B.C.

The seventh line of Spenser's stanza is the most difficult of interpretation as applied to the human body. Dr Kitchin says that 'seven' refers to the influence of the seven planets, and 'nine' to the ninth sphere which is referred to as 'summus ipse Deus.' On the face of it there seems an improbability in an interpretation which makes one of these numbers a cardinal and the other an ordinal. A more probable explanation seems to lie in the ancient significance of the numbers seven and nine in relation to the human body. The mystical power of numbers was a striking feature of ancient Greek speculation, as may be seen for example in Plato's discussion of the period of gestation of the Divine animal in the Eighth Book of the *Republic*. Aristotle in commenting on this passage objects to this attribution of influence to numbers. So that in saying that the quadrate in the human body is proportioned, that is, arranged in due proportion, by the numbers seven and nine, Spenser is using Platonic methods.

The particular significance of these two numbers is shown by Sir Thomas Browne in his *Vulgar Errors* (Bk. IV, c. 12). After remarking that number has 'received adjectives from the multiplying conceits of men,' he proceeds: 'And so perhaps hath it happened unto the numbers seven and nine, which multiplied into themselves do make up sixty-three, commonly esteemed the great climacterical of our lives. For the days of man are usually cast up by septenaries, and every seventh year conceived to carry some altering character with it, either in the temper of body, mind or both. But among all other, three are most remarkable, that is, seven times seven or forty-nine, nine times nine or eighty-one, and seven times nine or the year of sixty-three, which is conceived to carry with it the most remarkable

[1] E.g., Vicary, *The Anatomie of the Bodie of Man* (E.E.T.S.).
[2] Comment. of Hierocles on the Golden Verses of the Pythagoreans, tr. Rayner, 1797, Lect. xx, p. 75.

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fatality, and consisting of both the other numbers was apprehended to comprise the virtue of either, is therefore expected and entertained with fear, and esteemed a favour of fate to pass it over.' He later argues against the efficacy of numbers as causes, and after quoting Aristotle (as above) he continues: 'Ptolemy, that famous mathematician, plainly saith he will not deliver his doctrine by parts and numbers, which are ineffectual and have not the nature of causes. Now by these numbers, saith Rhodiginus and Mirandula, he implieth climacterical years, that is septenaries and novenaries set down by the bare observation of numbers. Censorinus, an author of great authority and sufficient antiquity, speaks yet more amply in his book, *De Die Natali*, wherein expressly treating of climacterical days he thus delivereth himself: "Some maintain that seven times seven, that is forty-nine, is most dangerous of any other, and this is the most general opinion; others unto seven times seven add nine times nine, that is the year of eighty-one, both which consisting of square and quadrate numbers, were thought by Plato and others to be of great consideration: as for this year of sixty-three, or seven times nine, though some esteem it of most danger, yet do I conceive it less dangerous than the other; for though it containeth both numbers above named, that is seven and nine, yet neither of them square or quadrate; and as it is different from them both, so it is not potent in either."'

I conclude therefore that Spenser in the passage before us represents the condition of the human body as determined by the mystical numbers seven and nine. In the next line, however, he gives additional significance to the number nine by identifying it with 'the circle sett in heavens place.' It is possible that this circle may simply be the spherical head described in the first line, for in a subsequent description of the head (Stanza 45) he refers to it as

> Like highest heaven compassed around,
> And lifted high above this earthly masse.

In that case nine, which was regarded by the Pythagoreans as a perfect number, is assigned to the perfect form of the circle. We should then have to identify the other number seven with the body, and to explain it by a belief of the Pythagoreans[1] that the development of the embryo proceeded according to the proportions of the harmony or octave, with its seven musical intervals. This would also account for the use of 'diapase' in the last line, i.e., the complete octave.

[1] Adam, *Plato's Republic*, VIII, *loc. cit.*

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If this interpretation seems fanciful, we must regard the 'circle sett in heavens place' as the complete celestial sphere consisting of nine concentric spheres. In that case Spenser regards the mystical number nine, so influential in human life, as receiving its efficacy from the fact of its being the number of the celestial spheres.

The last line of the stanza states that the whole human body thus joined together formed a beautiful harmony. The diapase was the complete series of musical sounds composing an octave. The line from Dryden (quoted by Dr Kitchin) is not to the point, except as showing the meaning of the word 'diapason.' Dryden says that in the series of created things 'the diapason closes full in man,' that is, man is the concluding and triumphant note of the whole. Spenser says that man by his very constitution is in himself a complete whole, containing all the elements of a perfect harmony.

It is noticeable that in the discussion in the Eighth Book of the *Republic*, Plato combines the ideas of geometrical form, mystical number, and development of the human body. As all these find place in Spenser's description of the House of Alma, we may feel sure that he was indebted to Plato for the main ideas contained in this particular stanza.

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# ÉTUDE SUR QUELQUES VOCABLES ANGLO-NORMANDS.

Les vocables qui forment le sujet de cette petite étude se trouvent dans un manuscrit (Oak Book of Southampton) conservé aux archives de la ville de Southampton. Le texte spécialement étudié ici (fo. 20 a—24 b du MS.) est un tarif des 'Coutumes' de la ville, c'est-à-dire des droits d'entrée et de sortie prélevés sur différentes marchandises. Il se divise en deux parties: la première (fo. 20 a—22 b), probablement rédigée vers 1300, est en anglo-normand; la seconde, datée du mardi de la fête de St Jacques l'apôtre, l'an 3 du règne d'Edouard III (1329), contient à peu près les mêmes termes en latin, ou plutôt en français latinisé.

J'ai été chargé de préparer une édition de tout le manuscrit pour la 'Record Society' de Southampton. Le premier volume vient de paraître, mais le texte des 'Coutumes,' qui d'ailleurs a déjà été publié, avec quelques fautes de lectures, en 1859 par Smirke (*Archaeological Journal*, vol. xvi, pp. 343—350), figurera aux chapitres v et vi du second volume.

Enfin, je désire exprimer ici ma reconnaissance à M. Antoine Thomas, membre de l'Institut, professeur à la Sorbonne, qui a eu la bonté de compléter quelques-unes de mes notes.

Arnement (='encre') est une graphie fréquente en anglais dès le commencement du xiv^e^ siècle. Cf. *New Engl. Dict.*, art. 'arnement.' L'anglo-norm., d'accord avec l'anc. franç., avait généralement 'arement,' 'arrement' ('atramentum'), ex.: *Boeve de Haumtone*, ed. Stimming, v. 1751.

Arresm me paraît représenter le lat. 'aeramen,' anc. fr. 'arain,' provenc. 'aram' (voir *Dictionn. Hatzf.-Darmst.-Thomas*, art. 'airain'). L'anglo-norm. conserve volontiers 'm' final (autres exemples: 'seym,' fr. 'sain'; 'merym,' fr. 'mairien') et redouble facilement les consonnes: 'aeramen' serait devenu '*erame > *eram > araim > arreim > arrem >

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arresm,' avec 's' inorganique. La graphie 'arrem' a été conservée dans un texte anglo-norm. du XIV^e^ siècle, voir *Domesday of Ipswich*, ed. Twiss, vol. II, p. 190.

BONCHE (on pourrait aussi lire 'bouche,' car le copiste ne fait pas de distinction entre 'u' et 'n') se rencontre dans l'expression 'de la somme des aux, xijd.; de c. bonches vj^xx^, vjd.' Le *New Engl. Dict.* ne relève le mot 'bunch' ('bonch'), au sens de 'faisceau,' 'botte,' que dans un texte de c. 1450, tandis qu'il cite plusieurs exemples de 'bunch' ou 'bonch' = 'bosse,' 'protubérance,' appartenant au siècle précédent. Dans l'un et l'autre cas il ne se prononce pas sur l'origine du mot.

Il est certain que le français connaissait déjà de très bonne heure une forme 'bonge' (cf. Godef., art. 'bouge,' où il faut lire 'bonge' au lieu de 'bouge,' cf. *Romania*, XX, p. 618, art. 'boujeau') ainsi qu'un dérivé 'bongeau' ou 'bonjeau.' Behrens rattache 'bonge' au flamand 'bondje,' diminutif de 'bond,' et signale que le wallon 'bonge' s'emploie encore dans l'expression 'bonge d'ognons, bonge d'aux,' etc. (cf. *Zeitschrift für franz. Sprache und Literatur*, XXIX, p. 142).

Il me paraît évident que le mot de notre texte est une forme anglo-norm. de 'bonge.' Les MSS. de Southampton fournissent d'ailleurs de nombreux exemples de ce mot avant 1450: xij 'bonches (ou bouches) de ail' (*Water Bailiffs' Account*, année 1428, fo. 8 a); ij 'bonches (ou bouches) de ayl' (id., fo. 26 b); l 'bench' (ou beuch') de ail' (id., fo. 44 b); XXX 'bunch' allei' (id. année 1434); c et iiij^xx^ 'bonchys (ou bouchys) allei' (*Brokage Books*, année 1440).

La question se pose, si l'anglais 'bunch' = 'bosse' représente le même mot? Je crois que notre texte permet de répondre affirmativement à cette question, car le mot 'bonche,' bien qu'ajouté après coup dans le MS. de Southampton, appartient certainement au XIV^e^ siècle, et quant au sens, la transformation qui s'est opérée de 'faisceau' en 'monceau,' 'bosse,' s'explique assez facilement.

CHAT, mot obscur, se trouve dans l'expression 'chat d'argent vif,' et sous sa forme latine dans 'pro cato argenti vivi.' Smirke (*Archaeol. Journal*, XVI, p. 345) l'a rattaché à 'chatus,' 'casatus' = 'ponderis species,' que Du Cange cite d'après un ancien glossaire. Peut-être faudrait-il lire 'chant' et dans le texte latin 'canto' ou 'canta,' et le faire remonter à une source germanique ('kanta,' 'kante,' variante de 'kanna,' angl. 'can,' voir Kluge, *Etymol. Wörterbuch*, art. 'kanne')? Ou bien, puisqu'il est question de mercure, aurions-nous ici un mot d'origine espagnole?.

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COIGNE s'employait couramment en anglo-norm. et en moyen angl. au lieu de 'coing,' 'coin' (<'cuneum'). Mais le texte exige plutôt un nom de poisson, et déjà Smirke (*Archaeol. Journal*, XVI, p. 347) l'avait rattaché à 'coin de mer' = 'a kind of mullet fish,' que Cotgrave signale dans son Dictionnaire. Cependant ni Godef. ni le *New Engl. Dict.* ne relèvent cette signification.

CONYNGE, variante de 'coning,' 'conin,' forme parallèle de l'anc. fr. 'conil,' 'connil' (*New Engl. Dict.*, art. 'cony'); 'e' inorganique se développe souvent à la fin des mots anglo-norm., cf. 'cordewane,' ci-dessous; notre MS. offre encore d'autres exemples de ce phénomène, ainsi 'clowe' pour 'clou' (<'clavum').

CORDEWANE (en réalité un adj. formé de 'Cordova,' 'Cordoue'), voir *New Engl. Dict.*, art. 'cordwain,' angl. 'cordwainer,' fr. 'cordonnier' sont des dérivés de ce mot.

COUPLE ('de la couple des ffyges et Reysyns,' dans le texte latin, 'pro coupl' ffiki et reysin'') dénote une mesure et me paraît devoir représenter l'anc. fr. 'copele,' 'coupelle' (lat. 'cuppella' < 'cuppa') avec déplacement d'accent. Godef. relève ce vocable comme désignant une petite mesure de froment, et Du Cange, sous 'cupa' 3, mentionne 'cupellus = mensura frumentaria.' Par contre cette signification n'est pas relevée en angl. dans le *New Engl. Dict.* Généralement les figues et les raisins étaient transportés dans des 'frael,' 'frayel' ou 'frail,' voir ce mot dans le *New Engl. Dict.* Ce n'était cependant pas le cas à Southampton. J'ai relevé dans les *Water Bailiffs' Accounts*, conservés aux archives de la ville, les expressions suivantes: cl sport de figues, ccij sport de Resins, Cust. [= Custome] xiiijs. viijd. (année 1428, fo. 21 b); xvij pec. de Resins (id., fo. 19 b); iiij pec. de figue, Cust. ijd. (id., fo. 30 a); j pipe plein de fig (id., fo. 52 a); xl qrt [= quarter] de Resins, Cust. xd. (id., fo. 52 b); vij sport de fig', Cust. vijd.; iiij sportin de Resin, Cust. ijd.; iiij sport de Resin, Cust. iiijd. (année 1436, 2e partie, p. 15). A supposer que les droits sur cette marchandise n'aient pas varié, ce qui est très probable, 'la couple' serait l'équivalent de 'sport,' fr. 'esporte' (sporta), et représenterait un poids de quatre quarters, soit d'un quintal.

DOWLES, voir POLDAWIS, ci-dessous.

FEYNZ, plur. de 'feyn' (= 'feyne'), forme anglo-norm. de 'fayne' (*'fagina')—voir Du Cange, art. 'faina.' La forme fr. 'fouïne' est dérivée de 'fou' ('fagum'), voir *Dictionn. Hatzf.-Darmst.-Thomas.*

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FLOTES (dans l'expression 'de chescun Cent des fflotes'), équivaut à flottes de liege,' que Godef. relève dans le Complément. Dans les textes anglo-norm. je n'ai pas rencontré l'expression entière, mais soit 'flote,' soit 'lege' (='liege') employé indépendamment. Dans le *Domesday of Ipswich*, vol. II, pp. 192, 194, on distingue même entre 'flote' ='large float' et 'lege' ou 'corkel' ='small float.'

FOTHER ('del ffocher [= ffother] de plombe,' 'pro ffocher [ou ffother] plumbi'), vocable angl., voir 'fotmel,' ci-dessous. Au lieu de 'fother' l'anglo-norm. employait de préférence le terme équivalent 'karre' ('carre,' 'charre'), voir *Domesday of Ipswich*, vol. II, p. 190.

FOTMEL ('de ffotmel de plombe,' dans le texte lat., 'pro fotmell'), vocable angl. 'fotmal' (voir ce mot, *New Engl. Dict.*), valait généralement 70 livres ou la trentième partie du 'fother.'

GEYDE, WEYDE, WAYD, WOLDE, exemple frappant de l'inconstance de l'orthographe anglo-norm.: le vocable est employé quatre fois dans notre texte, et chaque fois il est écrit différemment. Les trois premières graphies se rattachent à l'anc. fr. 'gaide' et 'waide,' la dernière au moyen angl. 'wod,' 'wad.'

GOBETTE paraît être une variante féminine de 'gobet'; seulement ce vocable, du reste assez répandu en moyen angl. et anc. fr., et qui s'est même conservé dans l'usage actuel, signifiait toujours 'morceau, pièce, fragment, bouchée,' tandis que le contexte n'admet guère une telle signification. Il est assez probable que 'gobette' ou 'gobet' ait été employé comme nom local de poisson, peut-être, comme le pensait déjà Smirke (*Archaeol. Journal*, XVI, p. 347), pour désigner le 'lumpfish,' fr. 'lompe.' M. Barbier, professeur à l'Université de Leeds, a eu l'obligeance de me signaler l'italien 'gobetto,' que Florio traduit 'somewhat buncht or crookback'd; also a little hunchback'd man; also a lump-fish.' Il est donc possible que 'gobet' (gobette), comme nom de poisson, ait même été d'un usage assez général (bien que le *New Engl. Dict.* n'en cite pas d'exemple), d'autant plus que le terme moderne 'lumpfish' paraît être d'introduction récente (XVI^e^ siècle, d'après le *New Engl. Dict.*).

GRASPOIS, variante de 'graspeis' (voir ce mot dans Du Cange). On trouve aussi en anglo-norm. et en angl. 'grapais,' 'grapays' (par ex.: *Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. Twiss, vol. I, p. 152, texte anglo-norm. du XIV^e^ siècle), remplacé au XVI^e^ siècle par 'graundepose,' 'grampoys,' mod. 'grampus,' 'grampas' (voir ce mot, *New Engl. Dict.*).



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GREINZ, graphie anglo-norm. de l'anc. fr. 'graine' = 'cochenille.' En général 'e' final s'est maintenu dans ce vocable, par ex.: 'greyne' dans le *Domesday of Ipswich*, XIV^e^ siècle, ed. Twiss, vol. II, p. 188; 'i balet de greine pur drap' (*Water Bailiffs' Account*, A.D. 1428, fo. 18 b, Archives de Southampton). Cependant dans un MS. de la même époque j'ai trouvé, 'bala...grani pro pannos tingend,' (*Black Book of Southampton*).

LATH, graphie angl. qui au XIV^e^ siècle a remplacé la forme plus ancienne 'latt' (anc. angl. 'lætt'), *New Engl. Dict.*, art. 'lath'; *Dictionn. Hatzf.-Darmst.-Thomas*, art. 'latte.' La graphie 'lathes' se trouve aussi dans le *Domesday of Ipswich*, vol. II, p. 200.

LEENG représente le moyen angl. 'lenge,' 'lienge,' angl. mod. 'ling,' voir *New Engl. Dict.*, art. 'ling'; *Dictionn. Hatzf.-Darmst.-Thomas*, art. 'lingue,' et Thomas, *Essais de phil. franc.*, p. 328, art. 'lingue.'

LOKERAM, voir POLDAWIS, ci-dessous.

LYKEMOSE me paraît être une forme hollandaise ('leecmos,' 'lijcmos,' mod. 'lakmoes') de laquelle s'est développé plus tard l'angl. mod. 'litmus.' Le *New Engl. Dict.* ne donne pas d'exemple antérieur à 1502. Il est à noter cependant que le *Liber Albus* de Londres (c. 1419), p. 238, contient une graphie 'lytemoise.'

LYNGETELE, composé de l'adj. 'linge' ('linea') et du subst. 'tele,' fr. 'toile' ('tela'). Au lieu de 'tele,' on trouve généralement une graphie plus régulière 'teile,' 'teyle' (*Domesday of Ipswich*, vol. II, p. 196), mais aussi 'tiele,' 'tielle' (Gross, *Gild Merchant*, vol. II, p. 206). Un composé semblable a été formé avec 'lange' ('lanea'), 'laungeteyle' (*Domesday of Ipswich*, vol. II, p. 196). Avec d'autres substantifs, 'linge' et 'lange' suivent généralement le nom; dans l'ouvrage que je viens de citer, on trouvera, p. 132: 'draps tayllez, launges, ne lynges, ne parceles de teux draps...ne fyl launge, ne lynge....'

MACES, variante de 'macis,' qui était la graphie la plus répandue en anglo-norm. et en anc. fr. (voir *New Engl. Dict.*, art. 'mace'; Godef. et Du Cange, art. 'macis'). 'Maces' marque la transition entre 'macis' et l'angl. mod. 'mace,' puisqu'il avait tout à fait l'apparence d'un pluriel.

MAKERELLE, variante féminine de l'anc. fr. 'makerel,' fr. mod. 'maquereau.' 'Muluwelle' pour 'muluel' est un cas analogue, ainsi que 'gobette' pour 'gobet.'

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MARTRINZ ('del Cent des Sabelyns, Matrinz [= Martrinz], ffeynz, Gopiles et chatz, ijd.') était, comme 'sabelyns,' adjectif à l'origine, et désignait la fourrure de la martre (voir *New Engl. Dict.*, art. 'marten'); l'anc. fr. 'martrine' s'employait de la même façon.

MOELE, MEOLE, MOLE, s'employaient à peu près indifféremment en anglo-norm. pour représenter plusieurs mots, entre autres: (1) Le lat. 'mola' = 'meule à moudre': la graphie 'moele' se trouve dans notre texte, aussi dans la *Vie de St Thomas* (Paget Toynbee, *Specimens of Old French*, p. 196, v. 109); 'meole' dans *Domesday of Ipswich*, vol. II, p. 188, où le mot a été traduit à tort 'bale'; 'mole' deux fois dans *Boeve de Haumtone*, ed. Stimming, vv. 238, 336. (2) La racine germanique représentée par l'anc. h. allem. 'malha,' moyen angl. 'male,' angl. mod. 'mail,' anc. fr. 'male.' Du Cange a relevé 'mola' = 'minor sarcina quam summa' dans les *Capitulaires de Charlemagne*, à côté de la forme plus courante 'mala.' La forme anglo-norm. 'meole' (traduite 'male' dans la version anglaise du XV^e^ siècle) revient à plusieurs reprises dans le *Domesday of Ipswich*, vol. II, pp. 180, 196, etc. (3) Le lat. 'musculus,' fr. 'moule' (f.): anglo-norm. 'mole' = 'muskelys,' angl. mod. 'mussel' dans le *Domesday of Ipswich*, vol. II, p. 160. (4) Lat. 'medulla,' fr. 'moelle': 'meole' dans Marie de France, *Fable* 57, v. 14, ed. Warnke.

MULUWELLE, voir MAKERELLE, ci-dessus; pour le sens voir Godef., 'moruel,' et *New Engl. Dict.*, art. 'melwell.'

NUCIS MUGUE, ou MUGE ('pro qualibet bala gyngiberis, Canele... nucis mugue, Croci...'), au lieu de 'nucis muscate,' est une forme refaite sur l'anglo-norm. '*nois mugue, muge' (anc. fr. 'nois mugede') qu'on n'a pu relever jusqu'ici, mais qui est nécessaire à l'explication de l'angl. 'notemugge,' mod. 'nutmeg' (voir ce mot dans le *New Engl. Dict.*).

OLZINE est une forme douteuse que je n'ai pas rencontrée ailleurs. Le *New Engl. Dict.* cite 'allron,' 'olron,' 'oldryn,' etc., comme variantes d'"oleron,' auxquelles il donne le sens de 'toile grossière fabriquée à Oléron.' M. Antoine Thomas m'a obligeamment fait remarquer que ce n'est pas Oléron mais Olonne qui fabriquait des toiles. En effet, dans les *Water Bailiffs' Accounts* de Southampton j'ai relevé à plusieurs reprises (par ex.: année 1428, fo. 1 b, 3 a, etc.) le vocable 'oulone' (= 'étoffe de toile'), qui ne figure pas au *New Engl. Dict.* Il n'est pas invraisemblable qu'"olzine' ne soit qu'une erreur pour 'olonne.'



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PELECE, variante de 'pelice,' 'pelisse.' Les MSS. français et anglais de Southampton, du XIV^e^ au XVI^e^ siècle, offrent des exemples, souvent nombreux, de la confusion de 'e' et de 'i,' surtout devant une sifflante. Le même phénomène se retrouve dans notre texte dans 'maces' pour 'macis,' 'pointelle' pour 'pointille.'

PELIRE, variante de 'pelure' ou 'pellure' (cette dernière était la forme la plus répandue en anglo-norm., *New Engl. Dict.*). Le changement de 'u' > 'i' n'est pas inconnu en anglo-norm., cf. 'alym' pour 'alum' dans notre texte.

PIONIUS ('pro bala pionii'), forme latine tirée de l'anglo-norm. 'pione' (< '*peonia,' 'paeonia'), voir *New Engl. Dict.*, art. 'peony.'

PITZ ('de chescun Barille de tarre et de pitz') a subi l'influence de l'angl. 'pitch' (moyen angl. 'pich,' anc. angl. 'pic'), car par l'intermédiaire du français, le lat. 'picem' aurait donné en anglo-norm. 'peis' ou 'pes.'

POINTELLE ('de la pointelle de wolde'), variante de 'pointille'—Cotgrave (*A French-English Dictionary*, 1650) relève ce mot au sens de 'a pricke or prickle, a little nice point, the smallest or sleightest matter that may be'—forme parallèle de 'pointet' = petite quantité, voir Godef. Pour ce changement de suffixe cf. 'char(r)etil' et 'char(r)etet.' J'ai aussi trouvé l'expression 'pointel de Wolde' dans un autre MS. de Southampton (*Water Bailiffs' Accounts*, année 1428, fo. 50 a).

POLDAWIS, DOWLES, LOKERAM (ajoutés après coup au texte, mais avant la fin du XIV^e^ siècle) sont des substantifs dérivés de noms propres de lieux (situés en Bretagne) désignant les étoffes grossières qu'on y fabriquait, voir *New Engl. Dict.*, art. 'poldavis,' 'dowlas,' 'lockram.'

POMADRE = 'cidre,' se rattache sans doute à une forme méridionale pomade' (voir Roquefort, aussi Du Cange, art. 'pomata'), qui cependant a souvent supplanté l'équivalent 'pomede,' 'pomee' (voir ces mots dans Godefroy). Kelham mentionne 'pomadre' = 'powder.'

PORPAYS, graphie anglo-norm. (et anglaise du moyen âge) de l'anc. fr. 'porpeis' (bas lat. 'porcus' + 'piscis'), alterne avec 'porpeys,' dont notre texte offre un exemple et que l'on trouve aussi dans le *Domesday of Ipswich*, vol. II, p. 198.

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POYS ('pensum'), dans l'expression 'fformage de poys,' alterne dans les textes anglo-norm. avec 'peyse' (bas lat. 'pensa')—'peyse de formage' se trouve dans un autre texte du MS. fo. 18 b—quelquefois même avec 'waghe' ('waghe de formage' dans le *Domesday of Ipswich*, vol. II, p. 192) et représente l'anglais 'weigh' ou 'wey,' qui pesait alors 256 livres avoirdupois.

QUIBUSKS ('de la bale de Peyuere..., Maces, Quibusks, Clowes,...') est une corruption de 'quibibes,' qui était la graphie généralement usitée en anglo-norm. et en moyen angl., mais qui a été supplantée dans l'usage moderne par une forme plus récente 'cubeb' (fr. 'cubèbe' < bas lat. 'cubeba'), voir *New Engl. Dict.*, art. 'cubeb'; Godef. Compl. et *Dictionn. Hatzf.-Darmst.-Thomas*, art. 'cubèbe.'

SABELYNS, en réalité un adjectif employé substantivement, dérivé de 'sable,' 'sabel' (bas lat. 'sabelum,' 'sabellum')—voir *New Engl. Dict.*, art. 'sable'; Du Cange, art. 'sabelum.'

SAYE, SAIE ('de chescun draps de Saye, iiijd.') en anglo-norm. et en moyen angl. représente (1) l'anc. fr. 'seie,' 'soie' ('seta'), par ex. dans *Boeve de Haumtone*, ed. Stimming, v. 738; (2) l'anc. fr. 'saie' ('*saga,' 'sagum'), étoffe de laine, voir *Century Dict.*, art. 'say.' Les droits considérables prélevés sur cet article, en comparaison de ceux qui sont perçus sur les autres étoffes, portent à croire qu'il s'agit dans notre texte d'un tissu précieux, probablement d'un tissu de soie.

SCLATE, variante de l'anc. fr. 'esclat,' paraît avoir ici le sens moderne de l'angl. 'slate' (voir ce mot, *Century Dict.*).

SEEL en anglo-norm. représente généralement le lat. vulg. '*sigellum' (c'est d'ailleurs aussi la graphie de l'anc. fr.) et parfois le lat. 'sal,' notre texte en fournit un exemple, on trouvera la même graphie dans Bozon, p. 107. Mais aucune de ces significations ne convient à l'expression 'de la Rule de Seel et de tref.' Ici nous avons sans doute le moyen angl. 'seil' (anc. 'seȝ(e)l,' angl. mod. 'sail') représentant la même racine germanique que 'sigle' (*Alexis*, v. 79, Wace: cf. Du Cange, art. 'sigla') et 'single,' fr. 'cingler.'

SEDEWALE et CEDEWAL, variantes anglo-norm. de 'citoual' (='citouar' <'*zedoarium,' 'zedoaria'). En moyen angl. les formes anglo-norm. ont remplacé l'ancien sideware,' voir *Century Dict.*, art. 'setwall.'

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SEGE ('de la sege de vn Nef, ijd.'), variante anglo-norm. de 'siege,' se rapporte ici aux droits perçus sur les bateaux pour la permission d'ancrer dans un port. Du Cange a relevé cette signification du mot 'siege' (voir art. 'sedes' 4, 'sedes navium,' 'segiagium').

SEU ('sebum'), cette forme se retrouve en provenç. tandis que dans le Nord de la France on employait 'siu' ou 'sui' (*Dictionn. Hatzf.-Darmst.-Thomas*, art. 'suif'). En anglo-norm. la forme la plus répandue paraît avoir été 'sieu' ou 'siew' (voir Gross, *Gild Merchant*, vol. II, p. 206 et gloss.; La Curne; Godef. Compl.), cependant j'ai rencontré 'su' dans un texte du XIV^e^ siècle (*Domesday of Ipswich*, vol. II, p. 192) et 'suy' dans un autre du XV^e^ (*Water Bailiffs' Account*, année 1428, fo. 9 a, Archives de Southampton).

SEYM (bas lat. 'sagimen' < 'sagina') alterne avec 'seyme.' Des formes doubles existaient aussi en moyen angl. ('saim, sayme, seme,' etc. *Century Dict.*, 'seam') et en français (Godef., art. 'sain,' 'saime').

SKYREUX représente l'anc. fr. 'esquirel' + s. L'emploi de 's' au lieu de 'es' devant consonne n'est pas rare en anglo-norm.; autre exemple, 'sclat' pour 'esclat.'

TARRE (voir PITZ, ci-dessus), angl. 'tar,' au XIV^e^ siècle ce mot paraît avoir été employé comme synonyme de 'geme' (voir ce mot dans Godef.), on lit en effet dans le *Domesday of Ipswich*, vol. II, p. 184: 'De chescun baryl de pyz ou de jemme, jd.' traduit dans une version du XV^e^ siècle 'Off every barell of pych or of terre, jd.'

WAYD, WEYDE, voir GEYDE, ci-dessus.

WHICE ('de chescun Whice, jd.'), graphie due à l'angl. (moyen angl. 'whicche,' anc. angl. 'hwicce'), et qui peu à peu tendit à disparaître pour faire place à la forme française 'huche'—*New Engl. Dict.*, art. 'hutch.' Godef. relève les graphies 'wiche' et 'uiche' (Godef. Compl., art. 'huche').

WOLDE, voir GEYDE.

P. STUDER.

SOUTHAMPTON.

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# EIN HISTORISCHES LIED VOM SCHMALKALDISCHEN KRIEG[1].

MEINES Wissens ist das Lied, das ich im folgenden Abdrucke, bis jetzt noch nicht ans Licht getreten. Die Eigenart seiner Überlieferung möchte darauf deuten, dass es in mündlicher Tradition herumlief und aus dieser vielleicht nur dieses eine Mal zur schriftlichen Aufzeichnung kam, die ein Zufall uns erhalten hat. Ich fand das Lied auf dem British Museum, eingetragen auf vier Papierblätter (18 cm. hoch, 14·3 cm. breit), die dem Drucke: *Auff das Christliche absterben... Doctoris Martini Lutheri durch M. Johannem Stigelium MDXLVI Vitebergae* nachgeheftet sind. Druck und Manuskript, die beide leider stark beschnitten worden sind, bilden mit anderen Drucken des 16. Jhd. den Sammelband 11517. c. 59 (1—11); die handschriftlichen Blätter sind darin als siebentes Stück gezählt. Zwei Hände des 16. Jhd. haben das Lied, kaum lang nach seiner Entstehung und vielleicht aus dem Gedächtnis hier niedergeschrieben in flüchtiger deutscher Kursive, in abgesetzten Versen (ausgenommen Strophe 1) und die Strophen am linken Rande von 1—22 numerierend, wobei jedoch Strophe 20 zweimal gezählt wurde. Der ersten Hand gehört Strophe 1—18; der Rest sowie einzelne Korrekturen in den voraufgehenden Strophen rührt von Hand 2 her. Orthographische Eigentümlichkeiten der beiden Hände, wie die Wiedergabe des anlautenden *b-* durch *p-* (*pesten*, *ptrogenn*, *puwin*, *pöttlein*, *poswicht*, etc.), des in- und auslautenden mehrmals durch *w* (*erwe* 2. 5, *puwin* 7. 2, 4, *huw* 5. 2), des anlautenden *k-* durch *kh*, des *j-* durch *g* in *gagt* 20. 2, 3, ferner der häufige Zusammenfall von *im* (dat.) und *in* (acc.) vgl. Str. 1. 4; 6. 4; 7. 3, 5; 9. 4; 15. 5; 17. 1, können nach Obersachsen oder Thüringen weisen, für den südlichen

[1] Vgl. über den Verlauf desselben Liliencron, *Die historischen Volkslieder der Deutschen*, IV, S. 290 ff., 351 ff., 386 f., 418 ff.; F. von Bezold, *Geschichte der deutschen Reformation*, Berlin, 1890, S. 772 ff.; A. von Druffel, *Des Viglius van Zwichem Tagebuch des Schmalkaldischen Donaukrieges*, München, 1877.

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Teil des letzteren Gebietes spräche der apokopierte Infinitiv *bleyb* 12. 5. Die ähnliche Erscheinung in den Reimen *zu* : *thun* 4. 1, 16. 1; *schande* : **zergangen* 7, 3; *erfaren* : *tage* 10. 3, vielleicht auch *streyt* : **reyten* 21. 2 möchte den Dichter ebenda lokalisieren d.h., in dem Lande, das dem alten sächsischen Kurhaus nach der Katastrophe bei Mühlberg noch allein vom ernestinischen Territorialbesitz geblieben war. Ein herzoglich-(sächsischer) 'Hauptman,' der dem Kurfürsten (Johann Friedrich) manches Jahr gedient, ist es, der uns das Lied gesungen hat, und die Strophe, deren er sich bedient, ist die bekannte Lindenschmid-Strophe (Liliencron, *Hist. Volkslieder*, 2, No. 178 und Nachtrag, S. 68 f.). Mit jenem Lied hat das seinige jedoch auch die Eingangszeilen 1. 1—2 gemein, ausserdem stimmen 2. 4 und 9. 1, zu Lindenschmid 7. 1 und 3. 1, genug um zu sehen, dass dieses Lied ihm in den Ohren summte.

Der 'herzogische' Hauptmann sieht natürlich die Ereignisse, deren Augenzeuge er offenbar war, die wichtigsten Etappen des Schmalkaldischen Krieges in protestantischer Beleuchtung und gibt so ein Gegenbild zu der katholischen, aus dem siegesgewissen kaiserlichen Lager stammenden Auffassung, wie sie sich in so vielen Liedern bei Liliencron (z. B., den No. 536, 538, 540, 548—53) widerspiegelt, wennschon keines derselben, wie das seinige, den ganzen Verlauf des Krieges zeichnet. Alles Licht—darauf weist schon die Überschrift des Liedes—fällt auf seinen Herrn, den Kurfürsten Johann Friedrich. Verrat allein hat ihn ins Unglück gestürzt; Verrat braut schon im Lager zu Ingolstadt; Verrat übt des Kurfürsten Verbündeter der Landgraf Philipp von Hessen; ein Judas[1] ist Herzog Moritz von Sachsen; durch Verrat fällt Johann Friedrich in die Hände des Kaisers, der selbst ein Verräter an Gott und seinem Wort ist; allein die Zeit wird kommen, wann der Herr die 'gross undreyw' strafen wird. Und so durchzieht unser einfaches Liedlein in folgerechter Weise eine weit mehr poetische denn geschichtliche Wahrheit, und sie ist die uralte: das Gute, das Edle muss fallen vor böser List und Tücke.

[1] So heisst er auch in dem Lied no. 572 bei Liliencron, auch wohl no. 561, Str. 11. 4; vgl. ferner *Neu. Archiv f. sächs. Geschichte*, 28 (1900), S. 215 ff. *Eyn new liedt von Moritz Hertzogen zu Sachsen*, etc.

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# EIN LIDT ZU LOEB DEM CHURFURST[EN].

1.

Es ist nicht lang, do es geschae
das ma[n den] churfursten[1] zien sag,
er zog aus seine[m] landee,
es zog in manger frumer lanzknecht zu
auf wasser und auff lan[de].

2.

Und do sye ins peierlant[2] kamen,
die lantzknecht stis ein hunger an,
sie tetten das land verderben.
die lantzknecht getachten in iren mut:
Hie w[irt] des lantz ein erwe.

3.

Sie zogen zu dem wirttenberger[3] ein,
der wirtenperger hiß sie got wilkum sein,
er thedt sye gar schon enpfangen,
er schancke inn ein den aller pesten wein,
dar nach stund der lantzknecht verlangen.

4.

Der wirtenperger sprach uns freuntlich zu,
er woltt uns hilff und beistandt thun,
er woltt nicht unß verlassen,
er woltt uns leyhen stedt, landt und leutt,
den keiser helffen straffenn.

5.

Und da wir kamen fur Ingelstatt[4],
do huw sych ein grosse unthreu ann,
des churfursten hauppttleutt tetten sych sterken.
die haubtleuth tetten der unthreu so vil,
der frum furst woltz nicht merken.

2. 4 lantzknecht] *darnach* gethachen getho *d.h. zwei verunglückte Versuche* getachten *zu schreiben, ausgestrichen.* 5 des] *etwas verschmiert und daher auf dem linken Rand wiederholt.*

3. 3 *Hs.* enpfaen. 4 *Hs.* dem.

5. 1 *Hs.* ingelstatt. 3 sterken] *am Zeilenschluss steht nur* ste, *das ganze Wort ist aber am linken Rand nachgetragen.*

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6.

Und da wir khamen fur Thunawherd[5],
sein unthreu hube sich im̄er mher:
der lantgraff[6] hatt in ptrogenn,
er gab in der guttenn wordt so vil,
sye waren halbig derlogen.

7.

Der lanttgraff ein oberster haubtman w[as],
er woldt Maria die puwin[7] nicht schla,
Er sprach, es wher in ein schande.
unnd ehr die puwin zum keysser kho[m],
der streyt whar inn zergangen.

8.

Unnd do wir nhun fur Gengen[8] khamen
ein schlacht ordunnug wir fingen an
nach dem keysser stundt unser verlang[en].
do woltt kein hertzogischer haubtman d...[s],
der keisser plieb vor in allen.

9.

Dem churfursten khamen neue mher,
wie herzog Moritz[9] treuloß wehr,
er lög im in seinen landee.
ehr nhamb in ein die dorffer und die stedt
und treib ein große schande.

10.

Der churfurst woltz glauben nicht,
er schiktt ein reittens pöttlein hin,
die mher recht zu erfharenn.
und eher der herwider kham,
die warheitt waß am tage[10].

6. 1 *Hs.* thuna wherd = *Donauwörth.* 4 guttenn] *über ein ausgestrichenes* falschen *geschrieben.*

7. 4 *zwischen* ehr *und* die *ist* do *über der Zeile ergänzt, aber wieder ausgestrichen.* 5 zergangen] *Hs.* genumen.

8. 1 gengen = Giengen. 2 wir *über die Zeile gesetzt.* 4 hertzogischer] *Hs.* hertzischer *oder ist* hessischer *gemeint? s. unten Anm.* 8. 5 in] *Hs.* im.

9. 5 ein] *darüber vom zweiten Schreiber* viel *geschrieben, doch wieder ausgestrichen.*

10. 2 reittens] = reitends. hin] *davor* da *von der zweiten Hand nachgetragen.* 4 *zwischen* der *und* herwider *von der zweiten Hand* pot *übergeschrieben.*

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11.

Wolauff, wolauff! und es ist zeitt
wir komen daheim umb landt und leut
herzog Judeaß[11] leidt uns in lande,
er nimbt uns ein die dorffer und die stedt[12],
er treibt ein grose schande.

12.

Herzog Moritz ist ein treuloß mhan
der seinee wordt nicht haltten khan
wie er mir hatt versprochen,
und hilfftt mir gott mal wider heim,
sol bleyb nit ungrochen.

13.

Do er nhun vor Eisenachtt[13] kahm,
do hett er noch viel tausendt man
"der lanttgraff hatt mich verlas[sen]"[14],
er woldt in das landt zu Sachsen [nicht varn]
wolt seinen eidem nicht straffen.

14.

Der churfurst sprach: "es ist ein los a[rt],
der die rutten an seinen kindern spartt,
sie bleiben doch unerzogen."
und wie der lanttgraff geschworen hatt,
den fursten hatt er btrogen.

15.

Da wir nhun fur Leipzig[15] khamen,
hertzog Moritz sas auff und ritt dorvon,
er ritt aus seinen lande;
wer im der keisser nicht komen zů hylff,
es wher in nit wol ergangen.

12. 4 mal] *von Hand* 2 *zu* ein mal *ergänzt.*
13. 5 eidem] heidem *aber das von der zweiten Hand gesetzte* h *ist ausgestrichen.*
14. 1 los] *die zweite Hand fügt ein* -e *an.* 2 kindern] -n *rührt von Hand* 2.
5 den] *Hs.* dem. btrogen] *darauf von der zweiten Hand* und belogen *hinzugefügt.*

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16.

Der Margraff[16] kham sich auch darzu,
woltt herzog Judas beistandt thu,
darnach stundt sein verlangen.
er kham gen Roglitz fur die statt,
darin wartt er gefangenn.

17.

Der keyser zog in hinderhernach
und nach dem churfursten whas im gach,
die unthreu thett er stercken.
der churfurst hett der verretter so vil,
der frumb furst woltz nicht mercken.

18.

Sie nhamen da des keiser geschenck
und verritten den churfursten in seiner hent:
der churfurst wardt gefangen[17].
Sye getachten gottes wordt in einen sack zu stoßen
und an ein nagel zu hangen.

19.

Der keysser zeugt durchs deutsch land,
er spricht, Gott und sein worth ste in seiner handt,
die pauer sprechen, es sey erlogen.
es wirt sych mancher mutter kindt
sein leib und lewen dran wagen.

20.

Der keysser zeugt durch alle straß,
er fegt die hirtten und gagt die schaff,
er gagt in ab die wollen.
Inn kloster und in kuchen seindt der kelch so viel
der keysser nimbtt sie alle[18].

16. 1 sich] *von Hand* 2 *wohl mit Recht eingefügt.* 2 Judas] *das* -s *von Hand* 2. 4 *zwischen* die *und* statt *von Hand* 2 werda (= werte) *übergeschrieben.*
18. 1 da] *von Hand* 2 *übergeschrieben.*
19. 2 ste] *Hs.* sthett. und sein worth] *über der Zeile nachgetragen.* 4 lewen] *über das* w *ein* b *geschrieben.*
20. 4 kuchen] ch *aus* g *korrigiert; ursprünglich wohl* kirchen.

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21 (20).

Der keyser furet ein wehlichen streyt,
Es kan kein hirtzogischer haubtman mehr [reyten ?],
sie sitzen do heynen auff dem pfull.
Vnnd wen die pauern pet stewer[19] ge[ben ?]
so reyten die poswichtß hauptman [dorumb ?].

22 (21).

Also hat dieseß lied eine endt,
Gotß worth stehet got in seiner [hendt],
Got wil sein worth nicht verla[ssen].
und wan got wirt ein haupt[man seyn ?]
die groß undreyw wirt er st[raffen].

23 (22).

Der unß dieseß liedlein sa[ng]
daß hatt ein hirtzogisch hauptman g[etan]
er hatts so frey gesungenn,
er hat dem Churfurst manch jar ge[dient],
der keyser hat in verdrungen.

23. 4 *Hs.* Churf: 5 *darunter steht noch* : Daß thut in whee in seiner....

## ANMERKUNGEN.

[1] Am 20. Juli 1546 hatten sich die Truppen der norddeutschen Protestanten unter der persönlichen Führung des Kurfürsten Johann Friedrich und des Landgrafen Philipp von Hessen bei Meiningen vereinigt ; am 3. und 4. August stiessen sie bei Donauwörth (in Baiern nahe der Würtembergischen Grenze) zu den oberländischen Bundestruppen unter Schärtlin und Schankwitz.

[2] Herzog Wilhelm von Baiern bewahrte eine etwas zweifelhafte Neutralität, augenscheinlich abwartend, auf welche Seite das Kriegsglück sich wenden würde.

[3] Herzog Ulrich von Würtemberg.

[4] In Johann Reinharts noch ungedruckten *Reichsakten*, II (s. Priebsch, *Deutsche Hss. in England*, Bd. II, S. 297 ff.) heisst es f. 243[b]: *Den dritten Augusti ist key. M˜t von Regēnspurg aus zu felde gezogen vnnd auff Donnerstag nach Bartholomei 26. Augusti bey Ingelstat an komen.* Dorthin waren die Protestierenden, die schon auf dem Wege nach Regensburg waren, in Eilmärschen zurückgekehrt. Vom 30. Aug.—2. Septbr. *schossen die protestirenden gegen kay^r M˜t hefftig mit hundert vnd XI buchsen grosse stuck, dagegen sich aber sein M˜t vergraben...Als nun Sachs vnd Hess mit irem hefftigen schissen gegen dem Kaiser nichts aus richten mochten zogen sie auff Sambstag nach Egidii den 4. Septembris ab.*

[5] Der Abzug der Protestanten von Ingolstadt ging über Neuburg und Donauwörth (s. Liliencron, no. 535 Str. 20—21) nach Wernding ; doch kehrte man am 13. September nach Donauwörth zurück.

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[6] Philipp von Hessen; sein verunglückter Versuch, das kaiserliche Hilfsheer unter Graf Büren (s. Str. 7) zu treffen und zu schlagen, wird ihm also als Betrug (Verrat) ausgelegt.

[7] Königin Marie, Statthalterin der Niederlande; bezeichnend für den protestantischen Dichter ist der Beisatz *die puwin* (Bübin; Grimm, *DWB*, II, 466). Unter der Führung des in Liedern oft erwähnten Grafen von Büren (s. Liliencron No. 535, 17. 2; 536, 14. 6; 538, 43. 1; 540, 41. 1—3) vereinigte sich dieses Heer unangefochten mit dem Kaiser vor Ingolstadt am 15. September.

[8] Giengen. Hier lagen die Protestanten vom 14. October—23. Nov.; es kam wohl zu zahlreichen Scharmützeln mit den kaiserlichen Truppen (einen protestantisch gefärbten Bericht über solche zwischen dem 15. und 20. October gibt ein Sendschreiben *Warhafftige Zeitungen aus dem Feldlager bey Gengen Anno MDXLVI* (Brit. Mus. 2167 (12)), aber zu keiner entscheidenden Aktion. Bezeichnend ist folgende Stelle aus Reinharts *Reichsakten*, f. 250r: *Auff vorgemelten XVI tag Nouembris* [der Tag, an dem die Protestanten durch Adam Trott, '*des Landgrafen Obersten Leutenant*,' einen zweiten Friedensversuch gemacht hatten] *ist der Hess mit seinem leger vffgeprochen vnnd vber die Prentz gezogen vnnd gegen der kay. M˜t ein hohe eingenomen, aus vrsachen, dan er sterbens halber im alten läger nit pleiben mogen, vnnd das er sein volck mehr zu samen precht. als er die knecht vber das Wasser fürn wollen | haben sie alle dermassen vmb geld geschrien, das er inen verhaissen müssen innerhalb dreyer tag gelt zu geben, dergleichen etlichen vill reutern, so auch nicht hinüber gewolt, innerhalb* 6 *tagen gelt zu geben.* Sollte sich Str. 8. 4 *do wollt kein hessischer* (?) *haubtman d*[*oran* ?] auf diese Verhältnisse beziehen? Da die Protestanten am 23. Nov., am Tage *Presentation Mariae heimlicher flüchtiger weyß in der nacht* aufgebrochen sind, entspricht Zeile 5: *der keisser plieb vor in allen* den Tatsachen.

[9] Herzog Moritz von Sachsen, der Schwiegersohn Philipps von Hessen.

[10] Wahrscheinlich durch einen aus Sachsen gekommenen Boten. Einen solchen fingen die Kaiserlichen am 23. Nov. ab: *do hort man die kleglichesten brief, wie Saxen gar verloren...in Summa, man nimbt mer aus der feindt brief, dann aus unsern aignen* (s. Druffel, a. a. O., S. 193, Note 49).

[11] S. oben S. 2 Anm. 1.

[12] Fast das ganze Kurfürstentum war von seinen und den böhmischen Truppen eingenommen worden, nur Wittenberg und Gotha widerstanden.

[13] In dem Bericht des bairischen Gesandten Bonacorsi Gryn (s. Druffel, a. a. O., S. 242, Note 77) heisst es unterm 25. Dec.: *Herzog Jo. Friedrich von Sachsen ist auf Eisenach in Türingen mit des Grafen von Aldenberg und Reifenbergers zwaien regiment, darunder über vier tausend* (ist 13. 2 demgemäss *viel* in *vier* zu ändern?) *knecht allenthalben nicht sein, gezogen.*

[14] Spottend meinte man, er sei zu seinen Weibern heimgezogen. Johann Reinhart stellt die Trennung der Verbündeten und den weiteren Zug des Kurfürsten bis Eisenach f. 250b so dar: *Zu Amerbach ist der Hess mit seinen reuttern* 250 *pferde vom Sachsen ab, vnd vff Frankfurt geriten daselbst in die Sancti Andree apti mit grossen eren empfangen, furter sich anheims vnnd gehn Castell gethan daselbst wie man sagt schweine gejagt vnnd mitt kriegen sich nit vill mehr bekümert. Aber der Sachs het bey sich* 3000 *pferd vnnd* 30000 *knecht mit denen zog er heruber auff Brunbach, vnnd als er dasselbig gantz verwüstet het, fiel er in Stifft Meintz auff Miltenberg vnnd Aschenburg, die er listiglich vnnd betrieglich erobertt, schatztt das oberland des Stiffts Meintz vmb* 45000 *gulden, zog darnach an der Synn hinauff, in den Stifft Fulda schatzt denselben vmb* 30000 *gulden, vnnd als er auf sein, vnnd den Stifft reumen wollen, hat er den Stifft noch ferner vmb* 8000 *gulden geschatztt. Auf Thome apti theten die arme leut im Stifft Meintz dem Sachsen bezalung zu Fulda geben ire* 45000 *gulden damit prach er auff vnnd zog auff Ysenach.*

[15] Die Belagerung währte vom 5.—27. Jan. 1547 und endete dank der tapferen Gegenwehr des Stadthauptmanns Sebastian von Walwitz für den Kurfürsten sehr schmählich. Joh. Reinhart, der, a. a. O., f. 261 f. recht ausführlich, doch wie es scheint, auf Grund des Liedes Liliencron No. 550, über die Belagerung und Beschiessung der Stadt berichtet, bemerkt zum Schluss folgendes: *In dem kam ein geschrey in des Sachsen läger, Hertzog Moritz, so nit in Leipzigk in der besatzung*

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*pliben* (vgl. oben Str. 15. 2), *were vor handen, wöllt ine, den gewesten Churfürsten, von der belagerung abtreyben, des wolt er* (Joh. Friedrich) *aber nitt erwarten, sonder auff den sibenzehendesten (!) tag des Jeners, liess er seine leger, gezelt vnnd hutten verprennen, zog mit spot vnnd schaden wider von der belagerung ab. Aus der Statt schuss man ime mitt fraiden nach vnnd sang ime das liedle Hatt dich schympff gerawen so zeug du wider haym, vnnd klag es deiner frawen* (s. Liliencron, No. 550, 37. 3—5).

[16] Markgraf Albrecht III, von Brandenburg. Über seine Gefangennahme in Rochlitz berichtet Reinhart f. 262[b]: *Nun war Margraue Alberht von Brandenburg auch mit einem guten Kriegsvolck...in Sachsen, lag vber nacht in eim Stetle Rakoltzem genant / vnnd Hertzog Moritz von Sachsen nitt bey ime, deshalben vberfiel ine Hertzog Hans Friderich auff Mittwochen nach Jnvocavit vnmenschlich frue vmb drey hore / lieff das Stetle mit sturmen an, aber Margraue Albrecht vnnd seine kriegslewt wereten sich, etlich schlugen sie zum dritten mal vom sturmen hynwegk. Darnach vmb 9 hore fiel er mit seinen reitern hynaus, mit den feinden zu scharmützeln, der gegenteil war aber zu starck unnd er der Margraue, gefangen.*

[17] In der Schlacht bei Mühlberg, Sonntag den 24. März, 1547. Hier ging allerdings das Gerücht, Verrat sei im Spiele gewesen (vgl. Liliencron 4, S. 419. 35 ff).

[18] Vgl. Liliencron No. 541 *Ein Psalm*, v. 27—30: *Der groß Carolus ist in teutschem land, alles das er will, das wirkt er mit seiner gwaltigen hand. Bilder, kelch, monstranzen, sie weren guldin oder silberin, haben sie gemacht zü talern und guldin ringen.*

[19] Ist *Gebetsteuer* (=*Religionssteuer*) gemeint? Das *poswichtß* der nächsten Zeile geht natürlich auf den Kaiser.

ROBERT PRIEBSCH.

LONDON.

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# EINE ÄLTERE FASSUNG DER PETRARCAODE VON CARL FRIEDRICH CRAMER.

Am 6. August 1772 schrieb Boie an Bürger: 'Kramer hat nach meinen Ideen endlich sein petrarchisches Lied verbessert; es kostete gewaltig Mühe, eh ich ihn zu einer Aendrung brachte. Ich glaub, es wird auch Ihnen nun gefallen. So bald ich ihm was sage, und Biester denkt nicht just eben so, glaubt er mir nicht mehr. Er hat sicher viel Genie[1].' Das nach Boies Ideen verbesserte petrarchische Lied Cramers erschien als 'Petrarca's Wiedererinnerung in Vaucluse' im *Göttinger* Musenalmanach für 1773, S. 49 bis 54. Die ältere Fassung dieser Ode teile ich hier aus einer Originalhandschrift Cramerscher Jugendgedichte mit, die sich in Kopenhagener Privatbesitz befindet. Zum Vergleich stelle ich die beiden Fassungen nebeneinander: A ist die ältere, B die unter Boies Ägide im Sommersemester 1772 in Göttingen entstandene und im Musenalmanach gedruckte endgiltige Gestalt der Ode.

## A.

### Ode.

*Petrarch an Laura.*

Da wo rieselnd und schön, unter balsamischem Duft
Durch die Gräserchen hin, murmelnde Fluthen wälzt
(In dem heiligen Haine
Der das reizende Vauclus schmückt)
Mein geliebtester Bach, saßen im Schimmer des Monds
Ich o Laura und du! War um uns weit herum
Ganz die horchende Gegend
Still! Es rauschte kein Blättchen nicht.

## B.

### Petrarca's Wiedererinnerung in Vaucluse.

*Dolce nella memoria! Petr.*

Nicht im Traume getäuscht, welchen der lächelnde,
Blumenschwangere Lenz, oft in Hesperiens
Dornbesäeten Pfaden,
Meinem thränenden Auge schuf;
Grüß' ich froher euch itzt, Myrtenumschattungen
Meines heiligen Hains, grünender Wiesen-Schmelz,
Dich, mit rinnendem Silber,
Liebemurmelnder Bach, dich auch!

[1] Strodtmann, 1, 62.

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9 Wo, bey einsamer Nacht, durch die Natur geweckt,
In der glühenden Brust keimender Lieder Saat
Schneller reifte, wo bebend
Dich, o Laura! die Laute sang.

13 Laura, kennst du ihn noch, kennst du den Wonnetag,
Wo mir leise dein Mund, (Engel umschwebeten
Uns in festlicher Stille,)
Ewig zärtliche Liebe schwor?

17 Schöner sah ich ihn nie! Heitrer und heiliger,
Im umdufteten Hain, athmet' ich nie die Luft;
Niemals fächelte sanfter
Zephyrs lispelndes Wehen mich!

9 Denn des Tages Gestirn war schon versunken im Meer
Nur ein röthlicher Strahl, floh von dem Berg zurück
Der mit Trauben beladen
Weit umher das Gefild beschaut

13 Und von Osten auf, stieg, sanft in dem weiblichen Schmuck
Gleich der zärtlichen Braut, die von dem edelsten
Besten Jüngling geliebt wird,
Und in seine Umarmung flieht.)

17 Cynthia!...Liebendes Herz! Ach was empfandst du da
Mit der Laura im Arm! War o Petrarch dir nicht
Dieser Schattenwald Tempe?
Und das Thal dir Elysium?

21 Ueber unserem Haupt, winkte der Rosenbaum schön
Ganz von Blüthen beschneyt, sah er sich in der Fluth
Wo ich Laura dich einstens,
Traf im Bade des heitern Quells.

25 Plözlich kam ein Orkan, eben so schnell als er kam
Floh er wieder zurück, denn er verirte sich
Nur, und braußte vom Meere
Wo er ängstliche Schiffer schrekt.

29 Und kein Nebel umzog, traurig Elysium.
Nur die Nachtigall schwieg, und von dem Rosenbusch
Weht' er Blüthen herunter
Ambra duftende Blüthen weg.

21 Welligt strömte dein Stral, zitterndes Abendroth!
Am vergoldeten Saum bläulicher Wolken hin;
Denn schon waren der Sonne
Flammenräder herabgerollt;

25 Und von Osten auf stieg, stiller, im weiblichen
Im bescheidneren Schmuck, gleich der verschämten Braut,
Die, mit sinkenden Blicken,
Zu des Jünglinges Armen eilt,

29 Luna. Zärtliches Herz, ach! was empfandest du
Da, von Laura geliebt! War er dir damals nicht,
Dieser Schattenwald, Tempe,
Dieses Hainthal Elysium?

33 Ueber unserem Haupt wölbte zur Laube sich
Von dem schlanksten Jasmin, blüthebeschneyt ein Busch,
Und mit Rosen verwebet,
Ihren glühenden Wangen gleich.

37 Plötzlich brauste der Nord!—doch er verstummte bald,
Fernte bald sich zurück zu dem empörten Meer,
Wo der muthige Schiffer
Auf der thürmenden Woge tanzt.—

41 Und kein Nebel umzog dämmernd den Myrtenhain;
Nur die Nachtigall schwieg, nur von dem Mutterbusch
Riß des Boreas Fittig
Jedes blühende Kind herab.



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33 Willig nahm sie der Bach freute der Bürde sich
Wallte schneller als sonst, nicht wie das Silber weis
Sondern roth von den Rosen
Die sein spielender Rücken trug.

37 Wo mein Aug' es nicht sah, schwammen die Blüthen hin
Wo kein Schäfer geweint, buhlende Winde nicht
Treue Seufzer verwehen
Die ein liebendes Mädchen seufzt.

41 Ach da traf der Gedank, mich, wie ein Flammenbliz
Daß du Laura auch seyst, gleich einem Rosenbusch
Von der Blüthe der Jugend
Und dem Reize der Rosen schön.

45 'Himmel! soll ein Orkan, diese Rosen verwehn?
Soll ein grausamer Sturm, unerbittlich für mich
Diese Lilien tödten?
Reißt dich Laura das Schicksal fort?'

49 Dieses dacht ich, und sank, Laura, in deinen Arm
Ganz vor Traurigkeit stumm...Doch ich ermannte mich
Einen edeln Gedanken
Dacht ich, Laura! und sprach zu dir.

53 'Liebe, Freundinn, mich stets! Liebe von Tugend beseelt.
Liebe deinen Petrarch! Dann wird im Alter als Freund
Der dich lieben, der ehmals
Als ein Jüngling um dich geweint.

57 Dann komm stürmscher Orkan! raube den Wangen nur
Diese Rosen! Ja, komm! Willig o Sturm kannst du
Diese Lilien tödten!
Denn ich liebe der Laura Herz

45 Zu der Schäferinn Schooß senkte die Blüthe sich,
Zu der Blume der Flur schwebete jede hin.—
Wie, im prächtigen Regen,
Sie mit inniger Demuth saß!—

49 Auf das leichte Gewand flatterte der Jasmin;
Ihres goldenen Haars seidenen Lockenschmuck
Wählten duftende Blätter
Kaum entknospeter Rosen sich.

53 Andre deckten das Gras, andre des Bachs Krystall:
'Liebe herrscht hier im Hain!' flüsterten einige
In den kreiselnden Irren,
Bis der Wirbel des Bachs sie nahm.

57 Zärtlich lächelte da meiner Empfindung Blick,
Doch er trübte sich schnell: ist Sie nicht auch, dacht' ich,
Eine Blume des Tages,
Von dem Reize der Jugend schön?—

61 Wenn ein Nachtsturm nur braust, welket die Blume hin.—
'Ach! Soll denn ein Orkan unter den Rosen wehn?
Diese Lilien tödten?
Reißt dich, Freundinn, das Schicksal fort?'

65 Sagt's und senkte das Haupt traurig in ihren Arm,
Doch ermannt' ich mich gleich, dachte, mit edlem Flug,
Einen hohen Gedanken,
Dacht' ihn ernstvoll, und sprach zu Ihr:

69 'Freundinn, liebe mich stets! Reinere Liebe blüht,
Deckt auch silberner Reif unsere Scheitel einst;
Wenn die Hülle veraltert
Lebt der göttliche Funke noch.

73 Komm denn! Wüte nur her! Raube den Wangen nur
Diese Rosen! Ja komm! Mögen sie doch, o Sturm,
Diese Lilien welken!—
Nicht verschimmernde Stralen nur,

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61 Nicht den Schimmer allein...Sprich
o Geliebte, sprich!
Ist nicht im Alter dann, wenn die
Schönheit verwelkt
Dieser Schattenwald Tempe?
Dieses Thal uns Elysium?

65 Reißt die tödtende Zeit, dich mir o
Freundinn weg
Oder muß ich vor dir, nach dem
Olymp hinauf
O so weine nicht Laura
Deinem zärtlichen Freunde nach!

69 Denn Allvater nimmt uns, wenn der
Tod uns vereint
Auf im strahlenden Hain, dann wird
uns wieder einmal
Dieser Schattenwald Tempe,
Diese Thäler Elysium.'

77 Nein, der Tugenden Glanz, welcher
dich, Laura, schmückt,
Flammt zur Liebe mein Herz! Auch
in dem Alter bleibt
Dieser Wald uns noch Tempe,
Dieses Hainthal Elysium.

81 Raubt die tödtende Zeit, meine
Geliebteste—
Nein! Nein! Muß ich von dir nach
dem Olymp hinauf,
O, so weine nicht, Laura,
Deinem scheidenden Freunde
nach!

85 Die du himmlisch hier warst, himm-
lischer wirst du einst
Mir, im Thale des Lichts, nimmt uns
der Vater auf,
Dort im besseren Tempe,
Dort im bessren Elysium!'—

Cramers ursprüngliches Gedicht, wie es in A vorliegt, enthält zwar einige vage Erinnerungen an die Gedankenwelt Petrarcas, aber im übrigen ist es nach Form und Inhalt kein 'petrarchisches Lied,' sondern eine Ode im Stil Klopstocks, wie das von dem jugendlichen Cramer nicht anders zu erwarten war. Das Versmass, eine asklepiadeische Strophe nach Horaz (*Oden*, I, 5 u.ö.), das Klopstock zwischen 1748 und 1752 mehrmals angewandt hatte[1], war dem jungen Cramer allerdings noch nicht in Fleisch und Blut übergegangen: nicht weniger als vierzehn Verse fügen sich dem Metrum nicht[2]; sie sind sämtlich in B beseitigt oder verbessert. Aber in die Sprache und Darstellungsweise und in das Denken und Empfinden der Klopstockischen Jugendlyrik hatte er sich vollständig eingelebt. Von den charakteristischen Anklängen an diese sind dann einige in der Göttinger Fassung verschwunden: A 10 bis 12 der rötliche Strahl am traubenbeladenen Berg (vgl. 'Der Zürchersee' 5 ff. und 15 f., M.-P. I, 83), A 14 die zärtliche Braut (vgl. 'Die Braut' 5, M.-P. I, 80), A 41 der Gedanke, der den Dichter wie ein Flammenblitz trifft, (vgl. 'Ode an den Herrn Ebert' 19 bis 30, M.-P. I, 38 und 40). Andere hingegen erscheinen in B pointierter als in A. Die Anlehnung an 'Die Braut' 44 (M.-P. I, 81) ist in B 77 deutlicher als in A 60. 'Selmar und Selma' (M.-P. I, 58) schwebte Cramer bei der vorletzten Strophe seines Gedichtes vor. In B ist diese nicht nur logisch gebessert; die ganze Situation und

[1] Vgl. Klopstock an J. A. Cramer, 4. Juli 1748. Lappenberg S. 5. Muncker-Pawel, *Klopstocks Oden*, I, 52, 79, 83, 91, 93, 94, 102, 107.
[2] A 1, 5, 9, 13, 17, 21, 25, 45, 46, 53, 54, 62, 69, 70.



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Stimmung der Klopstockischen Elegie tritt bei dem 'Nein! Nein!' vors Auge. B 82 *von* ist wohl ein Druckfehler des Musenalmanachs und aus A 66 in *vor* zu verbessern. Als besonderen Schmuck hat der jugendliche Klopstockverehrer die Schlusszeilen der Ode 'Der Zürchersee' in ihrer älteren Fassung (M.-P. 1, 85) dreimal in seine Ode verwoben. In A 19 f. fügen sie sich zwanglos ein; in A 63 f. schon weniger gut: hier hat B 78 eine glücklichere Überleitung geschaffen; in A 71 f. aber passen sie am allerwenigsten, und erst ihre Parodie in B 87 f. führte zu einem 'bessern Tempe' und einem 'bessern Elysium.' Der poetischen Mode der Zeit[1] huldigte Cramer, indem er A 21 f. den Rosenbaum, der sich in der Flut sieht, (vgl. [Bardale] älteste Form 45 f., M.-P. 1, 54, Cramer *Klopstock. Er; und über ihn* las 'Rosenbusch,' wie auch A 30 und 42) in eine Laube von Jasmin und Rosen verwandelte (B 33 ff.).

Durch zwei Erweiterungen—am Anfang und in der Mitte—ist die Ode in der Göttinger Fassung um vier Strophen vermehrt worden. Der Eingang musste geändert werden, denn A 5 'sassen im Schimmer des Monds' und A 13 ff. 'Und von Osten auf stieg...Cynthia!' konnten nicht nebeneinander stehen bleiben, und das Meer mochte wohl aus A 27 in B 38 hinübergenommen werden, wo es in einiger Entfernung gedacht war, wie es der Lage von Vaucluse bei Avignon entspricht, aber es gehörte nicht in das engere Landschaftsbild am Anfang des Gedichtes (A 9). Cramer hat sich nun nicht damit begnügt, die beiden Eingangsstrophen von A metrisch und inhaltlich zu verbessern, sondern er hat sie durch fünf neue Strophen ersetzt, deren Phraseologie von Anfang bis zu Ende aus Klopstockischen Oden stammt, aber aus anderen als den in A nachgeahmten. A verrät nur Kenntnis solcher Oden, die unmittelbar nach ihrer Entstehung in der *Sammlung Vermischter Schriften, von den Verfassern der Bremischen neuen Beyträge zum Vergnügen des Verstandes und Witzes*, Leipzig 1748—1757, gedruckt worden waren. Dahingegen sind die an die Stelle von A 1 bis 8 getretenen neuen Verse B 1 bis 20 der begeisterte Widerhall der Darmstädter und Hamburger Ausgaben der Oden Klopstocks. In der Darmstädter Sammlung allein erschien im Frühjahr 1771 'Petrarka und Laura' (M.-P. 1, 48. Vgl. 3 f., 29 ff., 47 f. mit B 1 bis 4; 61 mit B 15 bis 18). Die Hamburger Ausgabe brachte im Herbst desselben Jahres 'Aganippe und Phiala' (M.-P. 1, 158. Vgl. 19 mit B 19 f.) und 'Thuiskon' (M.-P. 1, 171. S. bes. 1 bis 8).

[1] Vgl. L. Krähe, *Carl Friedrich Cramer bis zu seiner Amtsenthebung* (*Palaestra*, 44), Berlin 1907, S. 35, Anm. 2 und Anhang.

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Die uns vorliegende ältere Fassung der Petrarcaode Cramers ist demnach entstanden vor dem Bekanntwerden der im Frühjahr 1771 erschienenen Darmstädter Sammlung Klopstockischer Oden.

Inhaltlich bedeutender als die neuen Eingangsstrophen ist die Änderung und Erweiterung, die die Ode in der Mitte erfahren hat: an die Stelle der Verse A 33 bis 40, wo der Wind die Blüten in den Bach weht, der sie hinwegträgt, und der Dichter ihnen im Geiste folgt, wie sie davonschwimmen, ist die Schilderung der Geliebten im Blütenregen getreten (B 45 bis 56) im engsten Anschluss an die vierte Strophe der Kanzone Petrarcas 'Chiare, fresche e dolci acque':

Da' be' rami scendea
(Dolce nella memoria)
Una pioggia di fior' sovra 'l suo grembo:
Ed ella si sedea
Umile in tanta gloria,
Coverta già de l' amoroso nembo.
Qual fior cadea sul lembo,
Qual su le trecce bionde,
Ch' oro forbito e perle
Eran quel dí a vederle;
Qual si posava in terra, e qual su l' onde;
Qual, con un vago errore
Girando, parea dir: Qui regna Amore.

Während Klamer Schmidt in seiner ebenfalls 1772 erschienenen Phantasie 'An die Quelle zu Vaucluse[1]' nur aus Meinhards[2] Übersetzung schöpfte[3] und deshalb, wie diese, den Vers *Qual si posava in terra e qual su l' onde* ausliess, legte Cramer den vollständigen Text des Originals zugrunde. Aus dem zweiten Vers machte er die neue Überschrift und das Motto von B. Wenn A die Fassung des Gedichtes ist, die Cramer 1772 nach Göttingen mitbrachte, dann hat erst der Herausgeber des Musenalmanachs den jungen Mitarbeiter zu dieser direkteren Anlehnung an Petrarca vermocht. Solche Nachahmung eines fremden Musters war durchaus im Sinne Boies, dessen poetische Erzeugnisse meist Übertragungen aus dem Französischen und Englischen sind[4]. 'Das arme Crämerlein' aber ward als verunglückter Nachahmer Petrarcas von einem zeitgenössischen Kritiker 'gezwiebelt' und 'gewurstelt'[5].

[1] *Phantasien nach Petrarka's Manier*, von Klamer Eberhard Karl Schmidt, Halberstadt und Lemgo 1772, S. 35 bis 43.

[2] Joh. Nic. Meinhard, *Versuche über den Charakter und die Werke der besten Italiänischen Dichter*, Braunschweig 1763—64. (In der neuen Auflage, Braunschweig 1774, Erster Teil, S. 198—202.)

[3] Vgl. Feigel, *Vom Wesen der Anakreontik*, Cassel 1909, S. 77.

[4] Vgl. Weinhold, *H. Chr. Boie*, S. 240 Anm. 2, S. 278 und die Quellennachweise zu Boies Gedichten, S. 287 ff.

[5] Im *Deutschen Merkur*, Februar 1773, S. 167 bis 170. Vgl. Bürger an Boie, Strodtmann 1, 105, und Cramer an Bürger, ebenda 118.

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In der letzten Strophe der Ode ist der aus Gerstenberg[1] übernommene Allvater im Hain (A 69 f.) in den himmlischen Vater (B 86) verwandelt und dadurch der Missklang des Skaldentons im Petrarcaliede beseitigt worden. Mit starken Entlehnungen aus Gerstenbergs Schilderung der badenden Göttin Blakullur hat Cramer in einer anderen Petrarcaode, auf die er in A 23 f. anspielt, Laura im Bade besungen. In der nächsten Nummer dieser Zeitschrift hoffe ich diese Ode nebst anderen Jugenddichtungen Cramers mitzuteilen.

JULIUS FREUND.

SHEFFIELD.

[1] *Gedicht eines Skalden*, s. Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts, 29/30, Stuttgart, 1890, S. 360.

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# MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

## The Old English 'Genesis,' ll. 1145 and 1446—8.

Him æfter heold, þa he of worulde gewat,
Enos yrfe, siððan eorðe swealh
sædberendes Sethes lice. (*Genesis*, ll. 1143—5.)

'Sædberende' is *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον* in Old English poetry. Grein's explanation is: 'incrementum (in deo) ferens, gottesfürchtig?...vgl. 'godsæd,' und *H. Z.* x, 356[1].' Dietrich, in *Haupt's Zeitschrift*, x, 355, 356, explains 'godsæd' in the passage, *Daniel*, ll. 88—90:

Þa hie þær fundon to freagleawe,
æðele cnihtas & æfæste,
ginge & gode in godsæde,

as meaning 'gotteswachstum, gottesfurcht,' which interpretation Grein follows in his *Sprachschatz*.

It is difficult to see how 'godsæd' in the sense of 'gottesfurcht' can establish 'gottesfürchtig' as the meaning of 'sædberende.' Owing to the presence of the element 'god' in the one case, and its absence in the other, there is no safe path from the first to the second. The difficulty is increased by the fact that, in the only other case in which the dictionaries record its appearance, 'sædberende' is used in a literal, not a figurative, sense. Aelfric's *Genesis*, i, 29, has 'eall gærs and wyrta sæd berende ofer eorðan,' translating the Latin 'omnem herbam afferentem semen super terram[2].' And even if 'gottesfürchtig' should be accepted as a *possible* meaning of the word, it would by no means follow that it was the true meaning in this passage. For if it means no more than this, it would be appropriate, not to Seth merely, but to any of the patriarchs dealt with in the poem, from Adam to Abraham. Why then is it applied only to Seth? Why is it used nowhere else in Old English poetry, of any one of the numerous persons for whom

[1] Grein, *Sprachschatz*, II, 394 f.
[2] *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa*, I, 27. The editor prints 'sæd berende, as two words, but it seems rather to be a compound, as Bosworth-Toller, *s.v.*, prints it.

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'godfearing' would be an appropriate epithet? These considerations make it probable that 'sædberende' in this passage is used in a literal sense, and that it is applied to Seth as an individual, not merely as a good man. To establish this, we must show why the epithet should be applied to him and not to other persons. Is there anything in Seth's history that would make 'sædberende' an appropriate epithet for him?

In Scripture, of course, there is nothing to suggest such a description[1], but in the well-known legend of the Holy Cross before the time of Christ, Seth *is* a seed-bearer. The story is most conveniently cited in the Latin text first made completely accessible by Wilhelm Meyer in 1882[2], which will hereafter be briefly referred to as the *Legend*. When Adam at the age of 932 years grew sorrowful and weary of life, he sent Seth to Paradise to inquire of the Cherub in regard to the oil of mercy that God had promised. Seth at the command of the Cherub looks in at the gate and sees the tree which was the occasion of his parents' sin, and in the summit of the tree a newborn child wrapt in swaddling clothes. This Child, said the Cherub, is the oil of mercy promised to Seth's parents. Then, continues the *Legend*:

> Seth ita edoctus ab angelo cum uellet discedere, dedit ei angelus tria grana pomi illius, de quo manducauerat pater eius dicens ei: Infra triduum cum ad patrem tuum redieris ipse exspirabit. haec tria grana infra eius linguam pones, de quibus surgent tres uirgulae arborum. una arbor erit cedrus, alia cypressus, tertia pinus...Regressus vero Seth prospero cursu uenit ad patrem...obiit autem Adam infra triduum, sicut predictum est ab angelo. Quem Seth sepeliuit in ualle Ebron et grana iam dicta sub lingua in os eius posuit. ex quibus tres uirgulae in breui surrexerunt unius ulnae longitudinem habentes. In ore Adae steterunt uirgulae illae ab Adam usque ad Noe, a Noe usque ad Abraham, ab Abraham usque ad Moysen, numquam crescentes numquam uiriditatem amittentes[3].

That this story was in existence early enough to be known to the author of the *Genesis* cannot be proved, for the earliest extant version of the *Legend* dates from about the end of the thirteenth century[4]. It is well known, however, that this part of the *Legend*, the history of the Cross-wood from Adam to Moses, is merely a variant of the *Vita Adae*

[1] It might seem at first sight possible to get from 'sædberende' some such meaning as 'transmitter of life from one generation to the other.' But if this were a possible meaning it would be open to the same objection as the interpretation 'gottesfürchtig,' for it has no special applicability to Seth. He was only one among many sons begotten by Adam after Cain and Abel: 'Et facti sunt dies Adam, postquam genuit Seth, octingenti anni: genuitque filios et filias,' Gen. v, 4. Cf. *Genesis*, ll. 1121—4.

[2] *Die Geschichte des Kreuzholzes vor Christus*, *Abhandlungen der philos.-philol. Klasse der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Band xvi, Abteil. 2, München, 1882. The text of the *Legend* proper occupies pp. 131—149.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 137 f.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 130.

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*et Evae*, a document which is perhaps as early as the fourth century[1]. The chief difference from our point of view is that in the *Vita*, Seth, when sent to the gate of Paradise by the dying Adam, receives from the angel, not 'tria grana,' but 'odoramenta hoc est nardum et crocum et calaminthen et cinamomum[2].' Considering the fact that we have in English a highly developed form of the history of the Cross-wood (from Moses to St Helena), translated from a Latin original in either the eleventh or the twelfth century[3], there is no improbability in supposing that some form of a history of the Cross before Christ was current three or four centuries earlier. As soon as such a legend did become current it would almost inevitably attach itself to and modify for its own end the already existing *Vita*. The two legends seem made for each other. These considerations justify us in holding that the author of the *Genesis* may well have known and alluded to some story of Seth journeying to Paradise and bringing away seeds from the forbidden tree. This possibility being granted, such an allusion seems to me the most probable explanation yet proposed for *Genesis*, l. 1145.

Him seo wen geleah;
ac se feond gespearn fleotende hreaw:
salwigfeðera secan nolde. (*Genesis*, ll. 1446—8.)

In this passage, a part of the account of Noah's sending the raven out of the ark to find land, the word 'feond' causes difficulty. Thorpe translates it as 'exulting'; Grein as 'freudig'; in his *Bibliothek* Grein queries 'feonde?' in his note, glossing it under 'feohan,' 'gaudere, laetari' in the *Sprachschatz*. Bouterwek, however, in his glossary gives

[1] Also edited by Wilhelm Meyer, *Abhandlungen der philos.-philol. Klasse der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Band XIV, Abteil. 3, München, 1878; on the date of the Latin *Vita* see Meyer's introduction.

[2] Meyer, *Vita*, p. 236. The *Vita* and the *Legend* do not, of course, agree exactly in incidents. In the former Eve accompanies Seth on his journey, in the latter she does not, etc. But the situation of Adam and the main outlines of the two narratives are the same. It is of interest to note that some form of the *Vita* was probably used by the original author of the material contained in *Genesis B*. See F. N. Robinson, *A Note on the Sources of the Old Saxon Genesis*, in *Modern Philology*, IV, 389 ff.

[3] Edited by Napier, *History of the Holy Rood-Tree*, E. E. T. S., 1894. The MS. is of the twelfth century. For the editor's argument in favour of regarding the text as a copy of an eleventh century Old English version, see the Introduction, pp. lviii, lix. According to Napier's theory of the genesis of this material, the texts of the *Rood-Tree* group are derived from a common original, *X*; and *X* and the *Legend* (or rather the features common to the two) have a common source. His theory differs considerably from Meyer's, because Meyer did not know this text, the earliest complete document that has been preserved. 'This important fact,' says Napier, 'that a fully developed Cross-legend, treating the history of the Cross-wood from Moses to Christ, existed in the first half of the twelfth century, perhaps early in the eleventh—in point of time, as early as, or earlier than, Meyer's first and simplest stages—will have to be taken into account by future reconstructors of the history and development of the Cross-wood legend.' *Ibid.*, p. xli.

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it the ordinary meaning, 'hostis, inimicus.' The former of these interpretations is highly uncertain; 'feond' as a participial noun corresponding to 'feohan' does not occur, and to emend to *feonde* is undesirable. It seems best then to take the word in the latter sense, if we can do so. Can we find any explanation for the poet's regarding the raven as 'the enemy,' or 'the hateful one'? The following legend from Dr Louis Ginzberg's recently published *Legends of the Jews* does seem to afford an intelligible explanation:

> Noah had experienced difficulty all along in ascertaining the state of the waters. When he desired to dispatch the raven, the bird said: '*The Lord, thy Master, hates me, and thou dost hate me, too. Thy Master hates me*, for He bade thee take seven pairs of the clean animals into the ark, and but two pairs of the unclean animals, to which I belong. *Thou hatest me*, for thou dost not choose, as a messenger, a bird of one of the kinds of which there are seven pairs in the ark, but thou sendest me, and of my kind there is but one pair. Suppose, now, I should perish by reason of heat or cold, would not the world be the poorer by a whole species of animals? Or can it be that thou hast cast a lustful eye upon my mate, and desirest to rid thyself of me?' Whereunto Noah made answer, and said: 'Wretch! I must live apart from my own wife in the ark. How much less would such thoughts occur to my mind as thou imputest to me!'
>
> The raven's errand had no success, for when he saw the body of a dead man, he set to work to devour it, and did not execute the orders given to him by Noah[1].

Dr Ginzberg has courteously informed me that the material of the first paragraph just quoted is contained in *Talmud Sanhedrin* 108[b] and that the material of the second, of which I give only a part, is from *Pirke Rabbi Elieser*, Chap. XXIII. I am informed by Professor George F. Moore of Harvard University that the former piece of material is derived, according to the *Talmud* reference, from Rabbi Simeon ben Lakish, c. 250 A.D. The *Pirke Elieser*, he tells me, is a hagadic work of the first half of the ninth century, containing a great deal of older material[2]. If, therefore, my explanation of the occurrence of the epithet 'feond' in this context commend itself to the judgment of scholars, no chronological difficulties are in the way of its acceptance.

SAMUEL MOORE.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

[1] *Legends of the Jews*, Phila., 1909, I, 163, 164. The italics are mine. Of this work two volumes have already appeared. The notes and account of sources will be contained in vol. IV.

[2] This particular piece of material is certainly older than the ninth century, for it occurs in Isidorus Hispalensis, of the seventh century: 'Quod post dies quadraginta emissus corvus non est reversus, aut aquis utique interceptus, aut aliquo supernante cadavere illectus, significat,' etc. *Quaestiones in Genesin*, Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, LXXXIII, 238; cited by Hönncher, *Über die Quellen der angelsächsischen Genesis*, in *Anglia*, VIII, 64.

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## A Note on Spenser's 'Amoretti.'

In the *Modern Language Review*, July, 1910, p. 273, Mr J. C. Smith rests some part of his argument on Spenser's description of his love's person in 'Ye tradefull merchants, that with weary toile,' etc. (*Amoretti*, xv). Apparently Mr Smith has not noticed this sonnet of Philippe Desportes (*Diane*, I, xxxii):

Marchands, qui recherchez tout le rivage more
Du froid septentrion, et qui, sans reposer,
A cent mille dangers vous allez exposer,
Pour un gain incertain, qui vos esprits devore,
Venez seulement voir la beauté que j'adore,
Et par quelle richesse elle a sçeu m'attiser;
Et je suis seur qu'apres vous ne pourrez priser
Le plus rare tresor dont l'Afrique se dore.
Voyez les filets d'or de ce chef blondissant,
L'eclat de ces rubis, ce coral rougissant,
Ce cristal, cet ebene, et ces graces divines,
Cet argent, cet yvoire; et ne vous contentez
Qu'on ne vous montre encor mille autres raretez,
Mille beaux diamans et mille perles fines.

Barnabe Barnes, *Parthenophil and Parthenophe*, XLVIII, also uses this sonnet. I think it is clear from this that Spenser (if he wrote all the *Amoretti*) is one more of those who 'filch from Portes'!

H. Littledale.

Cardiff.

## Ambassador La Boderie and the 'Compositeur' of the Byron Plays.

In his interesting article on *Court Performances under James the First*[1] Mr E. K. Chambers gives curious particulars on the incident which nearly cost Chapman his liberty, and on the intervention of the French Ambassador, Antoine Lefèvre de la Boderie, who wanted both the 'compositeur' of the *Conspiracy...of Byron* and the comedians to be committed to jail. Mr Chambers quotes the ambassador's dispatch of 8 April, 1608, from the text printed in the *Ambassades de Monsieur de la Boderie*, 1750, besides referring the reader to the original text in MS. Fr. 15984 at the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Happening recently to be in Paris, I made a copy of the original and, as the printed text is far from faultless (giving for example 'leur

[1] *Modern Language Review*, Vol. IV, p. 158 (Jan. 1909).

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en ordonner la permission,' which means nothing, instead of 'leur en redonner'), the readers of the *Modern Language Review* many find some interest in having before them the text of the dispatch as signed by the Ambassador concerning the Chapman incident. It will be remembered that the letter is directed to Mr de Puisieux (Pierre Brulart de Puisieux, marquis de Sillery), then Secretary of State, and that its author was a man of parts, belonging to a literary family, two brothers of his being famous as orientalists, one of them, Guy, being moreover a poet and the author of a prologue for Jodelle's *Cleopatra*.

Here is the extract; a passage was in cipher in the original; it is printed here in italics:

Environ la micaresme ces certains comédiens à qui j'avois fait deffendre de jouer l'histoire du feu mareschal de Biron, voyant toutte la cour dehors, ne laissèrent de le faire, et non seulement cela, mais y introduisirent la Royne et Madame de Verneuil, la première traitant celle-cy fort mal de paroles, et luy donnant un soufflet. En ayant eu advis de-là à quelques jours, aussi-tost je m'en allay trouver le Comte de Salsbury et luy fis plainte de ce que non seulement ces compaignons-là contrevenoient à la deffense qui leur avoit esté faicte, mais y adjoustoient des choses non seulement plus importantes, mais qui n'avoient que faire avec le mareschal de Biron, et au partir de-là estoient toutes faulses, dont en vérité il se montra fort courroucé. Et dès l'heure mesme envoya pour les prendre. Toutteffois il ne s'en trouva que trois, qui aussi-tost furent menez en la prison où ilz sont encore; mais le principal qui est le compositeur eschapa. Un jour ou deux devant, ilz avoient dépêché leur Roy, sa mine d'Escosse et tous ses Favorits d'une estrange sorte; *car apres luy avoir fait dépiter le ciel sur le vol d'un oyseau, et faict battre un gentilhomme pour avoir rompu ses chiens, ilz le dépeignoient ivre pour le moins une fois le jour. Ce qu'ayant sçu, je pensay qu'il seroit assez en colère contre lesdits commédiens, sans que je l'y misse davantage, et qu'il valoit mieux référer leur châtiment à l'irrévérence qu'ilz lui avoient portée, qu'à ce qu'ilz pourroient avoir dit desdites Dames*, et pour ce, je me résolus de n'en plus parler, mais considérer ce qu'ilz firent. Quand ledit Sieur Roy a esté icy, il a tesmoigné estre extrèmement irrité contre ces marault-là, et a commandé qu'ilz soient chastiez et surtout qu'on eust à faire diligence de trouver le compositeur. Mesme il a fait deffense que l'on n'eust plus à jouer de Comédies dedans Londres, pour lever laquelle deffense quatre autres compagnies qui y sont encore, offrent desja cent mille francs, lesquels pourront bien leur en redonner la permission; mais pour le moins sera-ce à condition qu'ilz ne représenteront plus aucune histoire moderne ni ne parleront des choses du temps à peine de la vie. Si j'eusse creu qu'il y eust eu de la suggestion en ce qu'avoient dit lesdits comédiens, j'en eusse fait du bruit davantage; mais ayant tout subjet d'estimer le contraire, j'ay pensay que le meilleur estoit de ne point le remuer davantage, et laisser audit Roy la vengeance de son fait mesme. Touttefois si vous jugez delà, Monsieur, que je n'y aye fait assez, il est encore temps.

The first words of this passage: 'ces certains comédiens' (instead of 'des comédiens,' as in the printed text), clearly imply that the Ambassador had already written about them. I failed to discover La Boderie's other letter, perhaps because it has not been preserved, as we find more than once in his correspondence allusions to dispatches which we have no more; perhaps because, for lack of time, I could not make a thorough search.

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All I can add (and being away, I now quote from the printed edition) is the answer of Mr de Puisieux who, in a letter of 25 April, 1608, after having informed the Ambassador of 'l'heureux accouchement de la Reine d'un beau fils, sur les 9 heures du matin' (the notorious Gaston d'Orléans), tells his correspondent that he did well and need not take more trouble about the comedians and their 'insolence':

> Vous avez bien fait de vous moquer de l'insolence de ces Comédiens, avec la mesure que vous y avez tenu, puisque le Roi de la Grande Bretagne n'y a pas été en plus grande considération. Vous n'en devez pas faire plus grand ressentiment, encore, je vous assure, qu'on ait trouvé de deçà cette procédure bien audacieuse[1].

La Boderie answers Puisieux on the 7th of May without alluding to the comedians, the comedy, or the 'compositeur' thereof: for him was *finita la commedia.*

J. J. JUSSERAND.

WASHINGTON.

## NOTES ON 'THE TWO NOBLE KINSMEN.'

> Raise me a devill now, and let him play
> *Quipassa* o' th bels and bones.
>
> III, 5. ll. 97, 98.

'Quipassa' is not explained in *The Shakespeare Apocrypha*, edited by C. F. Tucker Brooke. Littledale, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, I, 147, calls it 'an unexplained line.' In C. H. Herford's edition (Temple dramatists) there is the following note on p. 148: *Qui passa*: 'here passes'; but the point is unexplained. 'Qui passa' is the name of a dance tune, variously spelt 'Que passa,' 'qui pascie,' and even 'kypascie.' In Clement Robinson's *A Handfull of pleasunt delites*, 1584 (Arber's Reprints, p. 46), there is 'A sonet of two faithfull Louers, exhorting one another to be constant. To the tune of Kypascie.' In Joseph Lilly's *Seventy-nine Black-Letter Ballads* (London, 1867) there is on p. 138 'A proper newe Ballad sheweing that philosophers learnynges are full of good warnynges. And songe to the tune of my Lorde Marques Galyarde, or the first traces of Que passa.' From this it appears that it belonged to the galiards.

In IV, 1. 142 the Jailer's Daughter sings 'O faire, oh sweete, etc.' This is the first line of Song VIII in the first volume of Grosart's edition of Sir Philip Sidney's *Complete Poems*, p. 200, to the tune of 'Se tu

[1] *Ambassades de Monsieur de la Boderie en Angleterre*, Paris, 1750, Vol. III, p. 233.

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señora no dueles de mi.' Cp. Littledale, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, I, 152. In ll. 133, 134 she says: 'I can sing the Broome, And Bony Robin.' For 'Bony Robin' Herford refers the reader to *Hamlet* IV, 5. 187. The reader will find the tune and many details in Chappell's *Old English Popular Music*, 1893, Vol. I, pp. 153—4. It is mentioned in the *Roxburgh Ballads* I, 241 (edition of 1869), and the music is given in *Het Luitboek van Thysius*, edited by Land, Nr 76. The song usually goes by the name of 'Bonny sweet Robin' or of 'My Robin is to the Greenwood gone.'

For an account of the somewhat complicated history of 'Brome, Brome on hill,' 'The Broom of Cowdenknows,' and 'The Broom blooms bonnie and so is it fair,' I refer the curious reader to Chappell, *Old English Popular Music*, edition of 1859, Vol. II, 458—461, Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, Nos. 15[b], 16[a, e], and 217, and to *Robert Laneham's Letter*, edited by F. J. Furnivall, 1907, pp. cxxvii—cxxix. That the tune long retained its popularity is evident from the fact that the eighteenth air of the first act of *The Beggar's Opera* is written to the melody of 'O the Broom, etc.,' and that to this day the song 'set to several different airs, has been picked up traditionally in Devonshire, Yorkshire, Northumberland, and Norfolk' (*The Minstrelsy of England*, edited by Alfred Moffat, Notes by Frank Kidson, 1901, p. 234).

A. E. H. Swaen.

Groningen.

## 'L'Allegro' and 'The Passionate Shepheard.'

It is perhaps a trifle daring—in view of the minute and sustained scrutiny to which Milton's minor poems have been subjected—to suggest that one source of the inspiration of at least a portion of *L'Allegro* has been overlooked. But that seems pretty certainly to be the case.

In Nicholas Breton's *The Passionate Shepheard*, published in 1604[1], occur, at the beginning of the third 'passion[2],' the following lines:

[1] *The Works in Verse and Prose of Nicholas Breton*, Chertsey Worthies Library, ed. Grosart, I, xxiii. The exemplar of *The Passionate Shepheard* is unique. See Dr Grosart's prefatory note.

[2] The full title of the book is as follows: The | Passionate | Shepheard, | or | The Shepheardes Loue: set downe in | Passions to his Shepheardesse | Aglaia. | With many excellent conceited Poems and plea | sant Sonnets, fit for young heads to passe away | *idle houres.*

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Who can liue in heart so glad,
As the merrie countrie lad?
Who vpon a faire greene balke
May at pleasures sit and walke?
And amidde the Azure skies,
See the morning Sunne arise?
While hee heares in euery spring,
How the Birdes doe chirpe and sing:
Or, before the houndes in crie,
See the Hare goe stealing by:
Or along the shallow brooke,
Angling with a baited hooke:
See the fishes leape and play,
In a blesséd Sunny day:
Or to heare the Partridge call,
Till shee haue her Couye all:
Or to see the subtill foxe,
How the villaine plies the box:
After feeding on his pray,
How he closely sneakes away,
Through the hedge and downe the furrow,
Till he geets into his burrowe.
Then the Bee to gather honey,
And the little blacke-haird Cony,
On a banke for Sunny place,
With her fore-feete wash her face:
Are not these with thousandes moe,
Then the Courts of Kinges doe knowe?[1]

It is not necessary to print here the well-known passage of *L'Allegro* which begins with l. 41. The remarkable thing about Breton's lines, of course, is the way in which they combine with a strikingly similar sequence of ideas the very cadences and even grammatical constructions of a portion of the later poem. Both include the morning walk on the green balke, or on green hillocks, the sight of the rising sun, and the hounds in cry; and both proceed to an enumeration of still other sights and sounds of the furrowed[2] fields. These particular sights and sounds, to be sure, are not identical; but the structural parallel is significantly close. Moreover, Breton's cadences are almost startlingly the cadences of *L'Allegro*. The last ten lines that have

[1] Ed. Grosart, p. 6, col. 2. I have added line numbers for convenience of reference. These lines are singled out for special praise in Dr Grosart's Memorial-Introduction, I, xlvi; and they are also quoted, with recognition of their 'peculiar grace' by Edmund Gosse, in his Essay on English Pastoral Poetry, prefixed to the third volume of the Grosart *Spenser*, p. xxix. Mr Gosse's characterization of the four 'passions' with which *The Passionate Shepheard* begins (to the third of which the lines just quoted belong) is worth repeating here: 'The "passions" are written in octosyllabic verse, so fresh and light and leaping, that the sound of them is like the babble of a rivulet descending a sunny meadow.' And he proceeds to speak of 'the knowledge of English landscape displayed, the gracious unaffected manner of its presentment, and the joyous laughing air of the speaker' (p. xxix).

[2] Compare *L'Allegro*, l. 64, *P. S.*, l. 21.

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been quoted, especially, might slip in anywhere between lines 41 and 68 of *L'Allegro* (for example) with scarcely an appreciable break in the rhythm—or, for that matter, in the sense. It would be easy to point out specific parallels, both for single verses[1] and (even more notably) for similar sequences of rhythms[2]. But since the measures of *L'Allegro* are part and parcel of everybody's metrical subconsciousness, the final test is after all simply to read aloud Breton's lines.

Even the grammatical constructions of the two passages are curiously similar. Both are extremely free in their use of infinitives; and the famous 'Then to come' of *L'Allegro* (l. 45) finds its parallel in the equally suspended 'Then...to gather' (l. 23) of the pastoral—not to speak of 'Or to heare' of l. 15. Indeed, the similarity of rhythm already noted arises in many instances from the similarity of sentence structure—from the parallel use, in particular, of initial 'while,' 'till,' 'then,' 'how,' and 'or.' Once more, however, close reading is a more effective test than mechanical analysis.

If we turn now to the preceding 'passion' (*Past.* 2), it is only necessary to read a few lines to see that we are dealing with a *context* also that is not without significance:

> *Come abroad* you blessed Muses,
> Yee that Pallas chiefly choses,
> When shee would commend a creature,
> In the honour of loues nature...
> *Haste yee* therefore, come away...
> *Call the siluan Nimphes together*,
> *Bid them bring* their musickes hither...
> So with all your sweetest powers,
> Entertaine her in your bowers[3].

Compare the familiar invocation to Mirth:

> *But com* thou Goddes fair and free,
> In Heav'n ycleapt Euphrosyne...
> *Haste thee Nymph, and bring with thee*
> Jest, and youthful Jollity...
> And in thy right hand lead with thee,
> *The Mountain Nymph*, sweet Liberty;
> And, if I give thee honour due,
> Mirth, admit me of thy crue,
> To live with her, and live with thee[4],
> In unreproved pleasures free.

[1] Compare, for an example which involves a line farther on in *L'Allegro*, l. 14 above—'In a blessed Sunny day'—with *L'Allegro*, 98, 'On a Sunshine Holyday.'

[2] Compare, for instance, *L'Allegro*, ll. 45, 46, and *P. S.*, ll. 21, 22.

[3] *P. S.*, p. 6, col. 1.

[4] *L'Allegro*, ll. 11 f., 25 f., 35—40.

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Moreover, the *succeeding* context has its interest. The third 'passion,' which begins with the descriptive lines in question, ends as follows:

*So might I but liue to bee,*
*Where I might but sit to see,*
Once a day, or all day long,
The sweet subiect of my song:
In *Aglaiae's* onely eyes,
All my worldly paradise[1].

Compare, this time, not only the close of *L'Allegro*—

These delights, if thou canst give,
Mirth with thee, I mean to *live*—

but also that of *Il Penseroso*:

*Where I may sit* and rightly spell...
These pleasures Melancholy give,
And I with thee will choose to *live*.

In a word, it is obvious that the descriptive lines under consideration occur in a *setting* which also offers manifest parallels with the setting of the corresponding passage in *L'Allegro*[2].

I do not mean to suggest that in the lines from *The Passionate Shepheard* we have necessarily the *fons et origo* of *L'Allegro*. That would be too large a claim. But it does seem to be entirely clear that Breton's lines, with their authentic freshness and charm, clung to Milton's memory, and that, to a larger degree (it would seem) than any one other influence, they left in *L'Allegro* their stamp upon his own expression. If that be true, our debt to Nicholas Breton is no small one.

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## SHAKESPEARE, 'KING LEAR,' IV, vi, 70—72.

May I be allowed to say that the note on this passage by Mr W. H. Williams was anticipated by me? Whoever will kindly refer to the new edition of my *Etymological Dictionary* issued last year will find at p. 710, s.v. *Whelk* (1), the following note. 'Hence prob. *welked*,

[1] *P. S.*, p. 7, col. 1.

[2] It is interesting to compare with Milton's 'Where more is meant then meets the ear' (*Il Penseroso*, l. 120) Breton's line: 'Dante's *best obscur'd intention*' in the following 'passion' (p. 7, col. 2). But I do not wish to lay too much stress on this—nor on the equally interesting phrasing of a couplet in the second of the so-called 'sonnets' which immediately follow the four 'passions':

Her necke should seeme a *piller* fit,
*For to vpholde the state* of wit (p. 11, col. 1).



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*K. Lear*, iv. 6. 71, spelt *wealk'd*, i.e., convoluted, in the first folio; cf. "welked horns" in Golding's Ovid, pp. 60 b, 107 b, 122 b.' Mr Williams refers to only one passage in Golding, the first of these; but the expression occurs at least thrice.

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## THE ETYMOLOGY OF 'DISMAL.'

As the reviewer of the new edition of my *Etymological Dictionary* in the January number of the *Modern Language Review* especially mentions the etymology of 'dismal' as one of my discoveries, perhaps I may be allowed to mention that the discovery in this case was due to Mr Paget Toynbee, who communicated to me the facts, from an Old French source, nearly twenty years ago. The theory that the derivation of 'dismal' is from O.F. *dis mal*, was offered by me *as a guess* on Nov. 4, 1887, in a paper printed for the Philological Society in 1888 and reprinted in my *Notes on English Etymology*, pp. 69, 70. I explained at that date (1887) Chaucer's use of 'in the dismalle,' and I said that it represented O.F. *dis mal* = Lat. *dies mali*. But I had no proof; and the proof was supplied by Mr Toynbee in 1891, and communicated by me to the *Academy* at that date. When, however, I printed my *Notes* in 1901, ten years later, I had forgotten this fact, and I find, to my deep regret, that I *then* appended a few lines, at p. 70, to this effect. '*Add*—This conjecture turned out to be correct. Shortly afterwards I observed the occurrence of A.F. *dis mal*,' etc. So I did; but it must have been wholly due to the fact that Mr Toynbee supplied the reference. Of course this misled your reviewer. I beg leave to apologise for this oversight, which will, I trust, be ascribed to my forgetfulness. I have received so much assistance from so many kind friends that I fail to remember whence my ideas have come. May I say, once for all, that I claim to be no better than a compiler; and though some of the contributions have come from my own stores, I cannot always say which they are.

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## The Etymology of 'Pun.'

Abraham Cowley's comedy *The Guardian* (acted 1641, and printed 1650) and the revised version of the same play, *Cutter of Coleman-Street* (acted 1661, and printed 1663), perhaps throw some new light upon the date and the original meaning of 'pun' and its derivatives. As the *N.E.D.* informs us, the word 'pun' is of unascertained origin and appeared first shortly after 1660. The first example that it gives us of this word (or of any of its derivatives) is from Dryden and belongs to the year 1662.

'Pun' itself does not occur in either the 1641 or the 1661 version of Cowley's play, but in both versions there is an important character named Puny. In the *dramatis personae* he is 'a young Gallant, a pretender to Wit'; or, as he is described in the second play, 'pretending to extraordinary wit.'

In the revised version of 1661, but not in the original play, there occurs the adjective 'Punish' in describing a kind of wit similar to that of Puny's (this derivative of 'pun' is not found in the *N.E.D.*). Aurelia, the admirer of Puny, uses this word in speaking to Puny's companions, who are imitating his peculiar affectation:

> *Aurelia:* ...well, wretched Lovers, come along with me now, (but softly upon your lives,...)
> *Cutter:* As softly as Snow falls.
> *Worm:* Or Vapors rise.
> *Aurelia:* What are you Punish too with your Similitudes?[1]

Mr Grosart explains this word as meaning 'given to puns or jokes.' But it evidently has a direct reference to Puny, as is shown both by the context and by the fact that it is written with a capital letter. In view of this connection of 'Punish' with Puny, it may be that 'pun,' first recorded in 1662 as used by Dryden, who we know was present at the first performance of *Cutter* in 1661[2], is related to Puny. Downes[3] is authority for the statement that *Cutter of Coleman-Street* was a popular piece, 'being Acted so perfectly well and exact, it was performed a whole week with a full audience'; and Genest tells of subsequent revivals. Cowley, whom Dryden considered the first wit of his day, had certainly prestige enough to popularise a new word, especially where it concerned the characterisation of a kind of wit in fashion.

[1] *Cutter of Coleman-Street*, Act ii, Sc. 5.
[2] Genest, Vol. I, p. 40.
[3] *Roscius Anglicanus*, reprinted 1886, p. 25.



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Puny's wit is punning only in the sense of 'hammering at forced similitudes,' according to Professor Skeat's definition. It is not the punning where 'two like words make up one noise[1],' but where the effort is made 'upon all things to obtrude, And force some odd similitude[1].' Cowley's Puny is, furthermore, a 'pretender to wit,' whose witticisms are characterised as 'sottish affectations.' It remains for Aurelia to reveal to us the real character of his wit[2]:

> Here comes...a young rich, fantastical Fop, that would be a Wit, and has got a new way of being so; he scorns to speak anything that's common, and finds out some impertinent similitude for everything.

In the version of twenty years earlier this description is in the mouth of another character, but it rings much the same[3]:

> Yet you forsooth, because you see some Gentlemen and Poets of late, a little extravagant sometimes in their similitudes; because they make a pretty kinde of sound to those that mark 'um not; make that your way of wit, and never speak without comparisons. But never were comparisons so odious as thine are.

Other early examples of the use of 'pun' would assist in determining whether Cowley's character was of influence in the early history of this word.

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## The Composition of the Pléiade.

In his excellent edition of Binet's *Vie de Ronsard*, pp. 219—225, M. Laumonier has carefully investigated the question as to who were the seven members of the Pléiade, and his conclusion practically is that the name of Peletier should be substituted for that of Dorat in the traditional and accepted list. As the point is one of considerable interest, I propose to examine his argument in detail. In the first place he agrees with M. Chamard, as against Miss Evers, that from 1549 the word *Brigade* was used as a distinctive term for Ronsard and his poetic school. But as his followers became more and more numerous, he found it necessary to distinguish from the crowd a select band. This, thinks M. Laumonier, he first did in the well-known elegy addressed to Jean Bastier de La Peruse, written in 1553 (*Œuvres*, ed. Blanchemain, VI, 43), in which he mentions the names of Du Bellay, Thiard, Baïf, Des Autels, Jodelle, and La Peruse. The last

[1] Cowley's Ode, *Of Wit*.
[2] *Cutter of Coleman-Street*, Act ii, Sc. 3.
[3] *The Guardian*, Act iv, Sc. 3.

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of these died in 1554, and his place, says M. Laumonier, was taken by Belleau. Then in 1555 after the publication of Peletier's *Art poëtique* (June) the latter's name was substituted for that of Des Autels. With this part of M. Laumonier's argument I do not altogether agree. It seems to me that the mention of six names in the elegy to La Peruse is accidental, and that Ronsard's object is merely to mention in chronological order the chief productions of the new poetic school. Further it is unlikely that Ronsard should have sacrificed Des Autels, 'qu'il estimait,' says M. Laumonier, 'd'une façon toute particulière,' for Peletier. Lastly the well-known lines addressed to Belleau in August, 1556,

> qui vins en la brigade
> Des bons pour accomplir la septiesme Pleïade[1];

surely imply that the Pléiade was not completed till the admission of Belleau. In fact this would seem to be the view originally held by M. Laumonier, for in *Ronsard poète lyrique*, p. 110, n. 4, he says that the Pléiade was hardly formed before 1555. Rather, it was not formed at all till this year, and when formed it consisted—here I accept M. Laumonier's view—of Ronsard, Du Bellay, Baïf, Thiard, Jodelle, Peletier and Belleau. The evidence for this M. Laumonier finds in eight lines of the *Hymne de Henri II*[2], which Ronsard afterwards suppressed and which did not reappear till M. Laumonier reprinted them in the *Rev. d'hist. litt.* for April—June, 1905, p. 256:

> Non je ne suis tout seul, non, tout seul je ne suis,
> Non je ne le suis pas qui par mes œuvres puis
> Donner aux grands Seigneurs une gloire éternelle:
> Autres ce peuvent faire, un Bellay, un Jodelle,
> Un Baïf, Pelletier, un Belleau et Tiard,
> Qui des neuf Sœurs en don ont reçu le bel art
> De faire par les vers les grands Seigneurs revivre
> Mieux que leur bastiments, ou leur fontes de cuivre.

These lines were first published in the second half of 1555, and Peletier's admission to the select band was justified by the recent publication not only of his *Art poëtique*, but also of his *L'amour des amours*, *Vers liriques*. Belleau had not yet published a volume, for his translation of 'Anacreon' did not appear till 1556, but some of his poems were already in print, an ode and a sonnet in Denisot's *Cantiques* (1553), a sonnet in Magny's *Amours* (1553), and his *Papillon* in Ronsard's *Bocage* of 1554. Moreover in 1554 he had begun to translate 'Anacreon' in friendly rivalry with Ronsard.

[1] A Christophle de Choiseul, en la louange de Belleau (VI, 202).
[2] *Œuvres*, V, 64 ff.

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To this piece of evidence adduced by M. Laumonier I would add another from Du Bellay's *Regrets*. Sonnet CLII (written after his return to France in the autumn of 1557) is addressed to Ronsard, CLIII to Jodelle, CLIV to Baif, CLV to Thiard, while in sonnet CLVI mention is made of Belleau, Baïf, Peletier, Ronsard, and Jodelle. Does not this confirm the view that the six poets named in sonnets CLV and CLVI, together with Du Bellay himself, formed the select band to which the term Pléiade was applied?

But the term was not in general use, nor did it originate with Ronsard, at least as a distinctive appellation. This is clear from a passage quoted both by Miss Evers in her edition of Binet's *Life*[1], and by M. Laumonier. To his attack on Ronsard (*Seconde Response*, 1563) Florent Chrestien had prefixed a sonnet in which he speaks of *la Plëiade enyvrée*. Commenting on this in the *Epistre au lecteur* at the head of his *Recueil des Nouvelles Poësies*, published in October, 1563, Ronsard says, 'Il me souvient d'avoir autrefois accomparé sept poëtes de mon temps à la splendeur des sept estoilles de la Pleïade, comme autrefois on avait fait des sept excellens poëtes grecs qui florissoient presque d'un mesme temps,' evidently referring to the passage quoted above from the poem in praise of Belleau[2]. In 1566 and again in 1578 we find another Protestant, Henri Estienne—I am following M. Laumonier—using the word Pléiade as a distinctive and accepted term, and in the same year 1578 a poet named Imbert, who had been a fellow-student with Ronsard and Baïf at the Collège de Coqueret, says in a sonnet addressed to Dorat,

> Car je sçay que ne suis de ta docte brigade,
> Et qu'encor moins je suis de ceux de la Pleïade.

But the term did not become common, for it is not found, points out M. Laumonier, either in any of the funeral orations pronounced in honour of Ronsard, or in Brantome, or in D'Aubigné, or in De Thou, or in Pasquier, or in the first two editions of Binet's *Life* (1586 and 1587). It is only in his third edition (1597) that Binet for the first time says that Ronsard gave the name of the Pléiade to Baïf, Du Bellay, Thiard, Jodelle, Belleau, Dorat and himself. What was Binet's authority for including Dorat in the list? Evidently neither Dorat nor Ronsard. Otherwise, why did he not give the information in the earlier editions of the *Life*? For he was in fairly close relations with Dorat from 1570,

[1] *Critical Edition of the Discours de la vie de Pierre de Ronsard par Claude Binet*. Philadelphia, 1905.
[2] *Œuvres*, VII, 147.

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and it was probably in that year that the latter introduced him to Ronsard. M. Laumonier suggests (*Vie*, p. xxxv) that he consulted Florent Chrestien, with whom he was on friendly terms, for the third edition. If this was the case, what is more likely than that he got from him his information about the Pléiade and its members? For, as we have seen, it was Chrestien who used the term in the sonnet prefixed to his *Seconde Response*. It is possible therefore, as M. Laumonier says (p. 224), that Dorat passed among the Huguenots for the seventh star of the Pléiade. But if the Pléiade was never a recognised term with Ronsard and his friends, there is no reason for supposing that the place in the select band of seven which became vacant by the death of Du Bellay was ever filled up. Dorat's place, however, has become established by tradition, and has been consecrated by the inclusion of his poems in Marty-Laveaux's edition of the *Pléiade française*. He was an excellent Greek scholar, and in a sense he inspired the whole movement of the new school, but in his own tongue, at any rate, he was a very poor poet.

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## GIBBON AND DANTE.

In my *Dante in English Literature* (Vol. I, pp. 441—2) I was only able to give one reference to Dante by Gibbon. This was from Chapter LXX of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*: 'In the apprehension of modern times, Petrarch is the Italian songster of Laura and love. In the harmony of his Tuscan rhymes, Italy applauds, or rather adores, the father of her lyric poetry; and his verse, or at least his name, is repeated by the enthusiasm, or affectation, of amorous sensibility. Whatever may be the private taste of a stranger, his slight and superficial knowledge should humbly acquiesce in the judgment of a learned nation; yet I may hope or presume, that the Italians do not compare the tedious uniformity of sonnets and elegies, with the sublime compositions of their epic muse, the original wildness of Dante, the regular beauties of Tasso, and the boundless variety of the incomparable Ariosto' (ed. 1855, vol. VII, pp. 391—2).

My attention has been drawn recently by a correspondent (Mr H. M. Beatty) to two other passages in the works of Gibbon in which he makes mention of Dante. The first of these is a mere passing reference

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in a note of Gibbon's to his account of John Hawkwood in Chapter LXVI of the *Decline and Fall*:

'After two-and-twenty victories, and one defeat, Hawkwood died, in 1394, general of the Florentines, and was buried with such honours as the republic has not paid to Dante or Petrarch' (ed. cit. vol. VII, pp. 211—12).

The second reference, which occurs in Gibbon's *Antiquities of the House of Brunswick* (1790), is of special interest, as showing that he was acquainted with Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, a treatise with which Gray was well acquainted, and of which Tyrwhitt, the editor of Chaucer, and Thomas Warton, had some knowledge, but which was otherwise apparently almost unknown in England in the eighteenth century. In the passage in question Gibbon writes:

'The father of the Tuscan muses, the sublime but unequal Dante, had pronounced that Ferrara was never honoured with the name of a poet' (*Miscellaneous Works*, ed. 1796, vol. II, p. 693).

Dante's statement occurs in the first book of the treatise:

'Ferrariensium...nullum invenimus poetasse' (*V. E.*, I. 15, ll. 21—2).

PAGET TOYNBEE.

FIVEWAYS, BURNHAM, BUCKS.

## LESSING AND MARMONTEL.

Notwithstanding the careful investigations that have already been made into the sources of Lessing's *Laokoon*, more especially those of H. Blümner in his edition of that work (2nd edition, Berlin, 1880)[1], there is still something to be done in laying bare what might be called the 'literary' sources and antecedents of that work, as opposed to those dealing in the first instance with the theory of painting and sculpture, to which investigators have hitherto chiefly directed their attention. As far as I am aware, no one has yet noticed the remarkable anticipation of Lessing's theories in Marmontel's *Poétique Françoise*, which appeared in two volumes at Paris, in 1763. This book was well-known in Germany; a long review of it with a copious summary of its contents, appeared in the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freien Künste*, Vol. XI, i, pp. 13 ff., ii, pp. 289 ff. and Vol. XII, i, pp. 42 ff. (1764–65), and it was translated into German by B. von Schirach,

[1] The English reader will find the matter excellently discussed by Professor W. G. Howard in his recent edition: *Laokoon, Lessing, Herder, Goethe*. Selections edited with an Introduction and a Commentary. New York, 1910.

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Bremen, 1765–66. It did not, of course, escape Lessing's notice; he quotes the second volume in Section XVII of the *Laokoon*, and translates a passage from it in the fourteenth number of his *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*.

The following passages have, as will be seen, a very immediate bearing on the main problem of the *Laokoon*:

Vol. I, p. 39: Si je dis, comme Simonide, que la Peinture est une Poësie muette, je crois la definir complettement; si je dis que la Poësie est une peinture animée et parlante, *aurium pictura*, je suis encore bien au-dessous de l'idée qu'on en doit avoir.

Pp. 40 f.: La Peinture saisit son objet en action, mais ne le présente jamais qu'en repos. En exprimant ces vers de Virgile:

> Illa vel intactae segetis per summa volaret
> Gramina, nec teneras cursu laesisset aristas,

le Peintre représentera Camille élancée sur la pointe des épis, mais immobile dans cette attitude; au lieu qu'en Poësie l'imitation est progressive et aussi rapide que l'action même. La Poësie n'est donc plus le tableau, mais le miroir de la Nature.

Dans un miroir les objets se succedent et s'effacent l'un l'autre; la Poësie est comme un fleuve qui serpente dans les campagnes, et qui dans son cours répete à la fois tous les objets répandus sur ses bords. Il y a plus: cet espace que parcourt la Poësie est dans l'étendue successive comme dans l'étendue permanente: ainsi le même vers présente à l'esprit deux images incompatibles, les étoiles et l'aurore, le présent et le passé:

> Jamque rubescebat stellis aurora fugatis.

Dans les exemples du tableau du miroir et du fleuve, on ne voit qu'une surface; la Poësie tourne autour de son objet comme la Sculpture, et le présente dans tous les sens.

P. 85: Le tableau superficiel de la Nature est lui seul d'une richesse, d'une variété, d'une étendue à occuper des siècles d'étude. Mais tous les détails n'en sont pas favorables à la Poësie; tous les genres de Poësie ne sont pas susceptibles des mêmes détails. Ainsi le Poëte n'est pas obligé de suivre les pas du Naturaliste.

P. 169: La mort de Laocoon dans l'Énéide est un tableau; l'incendie de Troye est une description; la description differe du tableau, en ce que le tableau n'a qu'un moment et qu'un lieu fixe. La description peut être une suite de tableaux; le tableau peut être un tissu d'images; l'image elle-même peut former un tableau: nous en allons voir des

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exemples. Mais l'image, comme je l'ai définie, est le voile matériel d'une idée; au lieu que la description et le tableau ne sont le plus souvent que le miroir de l'objet même.

P. 342: Aussi la Peinture et la Sculpture préferent-elles la Nature en repos à la Nature en mouvement, et cependant elles n'ont jamais qu'un moment à saisir et à rendre; au lieu que la Poësie doit pouvoir suivre la Nature dans ses progrès les plus insensibles, dans ses mouvements les plus rapides, dans ses détours les plus secrets.

Pp. 349 f.: Or les vues dans lesquelles opere la Poësie ne sont pas celles de la Nature: la bonté, la beauté poëtique n'est donc pas la bonté, la beauté naturelle. Ce qui même est beau pour un Art peut ne l'être pas pour les autres: la beauté du Peintre ou du Statuaire, peut être ou n'être pas celle du Poëte, et réciproquement, selon l'effet qu'ils veulent produire. Enfin ce qui fait beauté dans un Poëme, ou dans tel endroit d'un Poëme, devient un défaut, même en Poësie, dès qu'on le déplace et qu'on l'employe mal-à-propos.

These passages are, I think, of sufficient interest to warrant their being reprinted here, more especially as the *Poétique Françoise* is not included, in its original form, in editions of Marmontel's works, and is consequently not easily accessible. It might be rash to claim for the passages the importance of being immediate sources for the *Laokoon*: but a certain suggestive value they undoubtedly had for a mind so keenly receptive towards the ideas of his contemporaries as Lessing's was. Marmontel had probably more understanding than any other of Lessing's predecessors in this field for the peculiar problems which Lessing set himself to solve. Although there is no attempt in the French work to limit the sphere of the poet as regards allegorical and descriptive poetry, such limitation was a reasonable inference from the suggestions thrown out in the two last of the passages quoted.

J. G. Robertson.

London.

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# DISCUSSIONS.

## John Lyly's Relations by Marriage.

My friend Mr J. D. Wilson deserves the gratitude of all students of Lyly for his most interesting note published in the October number of *The Modern Language Review*[1], for he is, I think, quite right in believing that Richard Browne, Lyly's father-in-law, was uncle to Robert Browne the separatist. Not that I am ready to accept his argument as perfectly convincing. The 'allegation' he quotes, if I remember aright, is a rough draught, evidently written from dictation; this being the case, an error in transcribing is out of the question. But this is of little importance, for a better argument can be found in the very document which Mr Wilson has adduced in support of his hypothesis. Reading again a transcript I made several years ago, I find that John Browne is described as 'of Bury' only once, viz. in that part of the document which reproduces the endorsement of the will written in 1605; but in all the rest of the allegation (written in 1611 or 1612) the same John Browne is invariably described as 'of Stamford[2].'

Taking this point as granted, Mr Wilson is right in laying stress upon the importance of Lyly's marriage. If Richard Browne was uncle to Robert Browne the separatist, he was the son of Francis Browne and, therefore, nephew by marriage to Joan Cecil; and Beatrice Browne was distinctly a better match than I have supposed. But I cannot follow Mr Wilson when he imagines that the alliance between Lyly and Beatrice may have 'been arranged by the respective families while the partners were still children,' or when he says: 'If this was the case, the friendly interest that Lord Burghley took in the young Lyly's career is at once explained.' We have not the least tittle of evidence that such an alliance was ever contemplated at so early a date; on the contrary, the late date of the marriage—the bridegroom was thirty years of age—seems to be strongly against the probability of such an arrangement. At any rate, it is safer to reason from indubitable data, and then it seems hardly possible that a marriage concluded in 1583 should have been the cause of an interest which manifested itself in

[1] Vol. v, p. 495.

[2] It is unlikely that there should have been a John Browne known as of Stamford, and another John Browne, alderman of Stamford, both living at the same time. We may say, at least, that the probability is very great that one and the same person is referred to, though of course one should not be too positive in identifying a man whose surname is Brown and whose christian name is John!

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1574 and perhaps before. Certainly it would be more rational to reverse the proposition and to say that the interest which Lord Burghley took in Lyly explains the marriage; either by supposing that Queen Elizabeth's Minister brought about the match, or by supposing that Lyly sought an alliance with the Brownes because he saw that he would thus be enabled to claim a sort of relationship to his patron.

There is another point on which I should like to make a few remarks. Mr Wilson declares that the actual disinheriting of Beatrice Lyly by her father 'does not seem to have taken place until after Lyly's death.' Whoever reads the document already referred to will see plainly that the sentence in which Richard Browne said that he disinherited 'his daughter Mrs Stanton' was pronounced by the old man on his death-bed, that is, from internal evidence, in 1611 or 1612; but the will alluded to in that sentence—and from the document it appears indubitably that this was the only testament made by Richard Browne—was sealed and delivered to John Browne in 1605 'on the viijth day of May anno regni Jacobi Anglie &c. tertio et Scotie xxxvij° in anno domini 1605,' that is at a time when Lyly was still alive. This is a fact which cannot be overturned by conjectures, however interesting these may be. Mr Wilson supposes that a son was born to Richard Browne in his old age. But the William Browne who, according to the Mexborough registers, was baptized on the first day of November, 1601, was entered as being the son of 'Richard Browne'; whereas Lyly's father-in-law is always described in the same registers as 'Richard Browne *esquire*.' The most natural inference, therefore, is that the father of the said William was a different man from the influential Mexborough squire. Those who have gone through Paver's Collections and who know what a number of Brownes one meets with in Yorkshire at that period will not be astonished at this statement. I may add that this interpretation seems to be the only possible one, when we remember that, *circa* 1601, Richard Browne's wife must have been, by the most charitable computation, over sixty years of age! Again, Mr Wilson thinks that the disinheriting affair took place because Beatrice 'brought discredit upon the family name by marrying a citizen of London.' No evidence allows us to say that Mr Stanton, the second husband, was 'a citizen' of London, and in the two documents we possess relating to him he is styled esquire. Lastly, Mr Wilson advances as a proof that Richard Browne bore no grudge to the Lylys the fact that Robert-Browne Lyly was later on in prosperous circumstances. One cannot help remarking that the reason Mr Wilson has brought forward to explain why Richard Browne, himself a disinherited grandchild, was in the end a wealthy man, holds good in this case also: to quote Mr Wilson's own words, since Robert-Browne Lyly married into a good family, 'it is probable that his possessions came to him through his wife.'

ALBERT FEUILLERAT.

RENNES.

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## Suckling and Desportes.

In my review of Mr Tilley's *From Montaigne to Molière*[1] I ventured to assert that 'Suckling a imité et même fréquemment traduit Desportes.' Professor Kastner challenges the accuracy of this statement[2] and takes great pains to explain what he considers an error on my part; I think I shall be able to prove that it was not an error.

Professor Kastner assumes—quite rightly—that my accusation of plagiarism rests chiefly upon the evidence furnished by Suckling's poem *Proffered Love Rejected*, and, as the same piece in a different form figures among the poems of Charles Cotton, under the rubric *Epigramme de Monsieur Desportes*, he seems to have concluded, somewhat hastily, that Cotton was my *only* authority for ascribing the French original to Desportes. Even assuming the existence of a French pattern on which Suckling and Desportes may have worked independently, 'that pattern,' says Professor Kastner, 'was not Desportes. I have searched...the collections of miscellaneous pieces published throughout the seventeenth century but can find no lines of Desportes which could have served as a model for Suckling's or for Cotton's composition.'

If Professor Kastner will refer to *Les Satyres et aultres œuvres folastres du sieur Mathurin Régnier, dernière édition revuë, corrigée, et augmentée de plusieurs pièces de pareille estoffe tant des sieurs de Sigogne, Motin, Torment, Bertelot, qu'aultres des plus beaux esprits de ce temps*, published in Paris in the year 1617—six years only after the last edition of Desportes' works—he will find, under the name of Desportes, the following poem which I quote in extenso:

Il y peut avoir quatre années
Qu'à Philis j'ai voulu conter
Deux mille pièces couronnées,
Et plus haut j'euisse pu monter.

Deux ans après elle me mande
Que pour mille elle condescent.
Je trouvai la somme si grande,
Je n'en voulus donner que cent.

Au bout de six à sept semaines
A cent écus elle revient.
Je dis qu'elle perdait ses peines
Si elle prétendait plus que vingt.

L'autre jour elle fut contente
De venir pour six ducatons.
J'ai trouvé trop haute la vente
Si elle passait quatre testons.

Ce matin elle est arrivée
Gratis voulant s'abandonner,
Où je l'ai plus chère trouvée
Que quand j'en voulus tant donner.

[1] *Mod. Lang. Review*, Vol. v, p. 251.
[2] *Ib.*, p. 497.

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For the English versions by Suckling and Cotton I must refer our readers to Carew Hazlitt's edition of Suckling, vol. I, p. 59, and to Chalmers, *English Poets*, vol. VI, p. 722.

A comparison of the English adaptations with the original of Desportes will make the following points clear. (1) The plagiarism is indisputable. (2) Suckling and Cotton must have worked on the same pattern. Cotton's lines keep much closer to the original, and cannot have been derived from Suckling. (3) The 'easy grace,' if easy grace there be, is entirely on the side of Desportes. The only original element contributed by the English imitators is coarseness.

One more point remains to be proved, i.e., that the collection mentioned above (*Les Satyres et aultres œuvres* etc.) must have been the channel through which Suckling became acquainted with Desportes' text. If this can be shown, one is entitled to conclude that, whether the poem is by Desportes or not, Suckling at any rate must have believed that he was imitating Desportes—and that is what really matters.

The 1617 collection contains many pieces by little known French writers, and of these, several were undoubtedly adapted by Suckling. For instance, one of the most characteristic of Suckling's poems—the famous song in *Aglaura*:

Why so pale and wan, young lover,
Prithee, why so pale?
Will, when looking well can't win her,
Looking ill prevail?
Prithee, why so pale?

bears a close resemblance to a poem ascribed to Motin, beginning:

Pourquoi perdez-vous la parole
Aussitôt que vous rencontrez
Celle que vous idolâtrez... etc.

Another piece by Suckling:

'Tis now, since I sat down before
That foolish fort, a heart,
Time strangely spent a year and more,
And still I did my part, etc.

was obviously inspired by a poem given in our collection:

Amour, héraut de la beauté
Qui a ravi ma liberté,
Sonnant les vertus de ma dame
De sa trompette à haute voix,
Est venu sommer plusieurs fois
La citadelle de mon âme.

Space forbids my quoting more. But if Professor Kastner will refer to the 1617 collection, I think he will agree that Suckling must have known it.

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It only remains for me to 'give honour to whom honour is due'; I cannot claim any credit for the above discoveries. My information was derived from the recent researches of M. Georges Bernard, who, a couple of years ago, submitted to the Sorbonne a very interesting thesis on Suckling and his French sources.

H. E. Berthon.

Oxford.

Thanks are due to M. Berthon for pointing out that M. Georges Bernard had identified the original of the poem by Suckling, entitled 'Proffered Love Rejected' (ed. A. Hamilton Thompson[1], p. 55), which poem, by the way, was printed and ascribed to Desportes for the first time, I find, in the second volume of *Le Parnasse des plus excellens poètes de ce temps* (1607), ten years before it appeared in the miscellany quoted by M. Berthon (cf. F. Lachèvre, *Bibliographie des recueils collectifs de poésies publiés de* 1597 *à* 1700, I, p. 163). Even if it be supposed that the poem in question is really by Desportes, one swallow does not make a summer, as the saying goes, and the fact remains that M. Berthon has still to make good his original claim, to which I objected, that 'Suckling a imité et même *fréquemment traduit*[2] Desportes.'

As to the secondary question—whether the poem cited in the above note was really composed by Desportes—I still have grave doubts, since it does not appear to figure in any of the editions of Desportes' works published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, or in Michiels' modern edition (1858). M. Berthon attempts to meet this objection by stating that, provided Suckling can be shewn to have become acquainted with the text attributed to Desportes through the medium of the 1617 collection, 'one is entitled to conclude that, whether the poem is by Desportes or not, Suckling at any rate must have believed that he was imitating Desportes—and that is what really matters.' I confess I am unable to understand by what process of reasoning M. Berthon comes to this conclusion. M. Bernard has proved satisfactorily that Suckling knew the miscellany of 1617, but the fact that Suckling adapted a piece there ascribed to Desportes surely does not shew that he did so consciously because it was the work of the once famous Abbé de Thiron. The piece is in no way typical of Desportes' manner. Obviously it was not the supposed author's name, but rather the character of the piece which attracted the Cavalier poet, much of whose verse is notoriously coarse or frankly indecent. For the same reason it found a place in the miscellany of 1617, alongside other typical compositions by such choice spirits as Bertelot, Motin, and the infamous Sigogne.

[1] It is to be regretted that Mr A. Hamilton Thompson, Suckling's latest editor, has not made any mention of the Cavalier poet's foreign sources.

[2] The italics are mine.

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On further reflection, I am inclined to think, though I offer this explanation with due reserves, that the poem under discussion is an adaptation and expansion, by one of the 'libertine' poets of the group of Mathurin Régnier, of the following lines of Desportes, which appear under the rubric 'Quelques Epigrammes' in his collected poems (ed. Michiels, p. 443):

Je voulus baiser ma rebelle,
Riant, elle m'a refusé;
Puis soudain, sans penser à elle,
Toute en pleurs elle m'a baisé:
De son dueil vint ma jouyssance,
Son ris me rendit malheureux;
Voilà que c'est, un amoureux
A du bien quand moins il y pense.

Leaving aside the unsavoury details, the central idea of the two compositions is very similar; and thus we are probably in presence not of an epigram by Desportes, but of an adaptation by an uncertain hand of one of Desportes' 'épigrammes.'

It remains to be seen whether MM. Vianey and Vaganay will be able further to elucidate this small point in the critical edition of Desportes' works which, I understand, they have in preparation.

L. E. Kastner.

Manchester.

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# REVIEWS.

*Oxford Lectures on Poetry.* By A. C. BRADLEY. London: Macmillan. 1909. 8vo. viii + 395 pp.

Among critics Professor Bradley holds a place by himself. It is not only that he combines two qualities which are seldom found together, a keen and delicate sense of literary beauty, and a trained mastery of philosophical methods and ideas. It is not even, though this is manifestly true, that he possesses each of these in an uncommonly high degree. It is rather that in his mind the two are absolutely blended into one, that the one works instinctively at the bidding of the other, that each is at every point inter-penetrated by the other.

His work therefore differs strangely from that of others who have brought philosophical ideas to bear upon literary criticism. They are apt to be more interested in their philosophy than their literature. They tend to fly off at a tangent, to make their criticism a stepping-stone to a moral or metaphysical discourse. Of this tendency there is no trace in Professor Bradley. He never forgets that criticism is the task he has undertaken, and that, having undertaken it, he cannot fairly leap over the bounds which it manifestly lays down. He has to interpret a given poem; to explain its bearing upon the poet's vision of things as a whole; to explore the poet's spirit, as reflected in the more inspired and therefore the more characteristic portion of his work; to trace his character and his general attitude towards life and all that life offers to him or demands of him; to ask what are the imaginative experiences summed up in certain familiar words—'the sublime' is the instance taken in this volume—or implied in certain forms of imaginative art. This is what he sets himself to do, and not to use the poem, the poet, or the imaginative experience as a mere peg on which to hang an 'Encyclopaedia of the Philosophical Sciences,' or even a 'Critique of Judgment, Practical and Imaginative.' But if Professor Bradley has the courage to shut the door against philosophy as a 'thing in itself,' he makes amends by opening it, and opening it wide, to her as the handmaid of criticism. And it is significant that the subjects which form the bulk of this volume—even the lecture on 'The Letters of Keats' may fairly be included—are such as lend themselves with peculiar readiness to this treatment. Wordsworth, Shelley, the 'Long Poem in the Age of Wordsworth,' were saturated with reflection, with ideas



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which lie on the border of philosophy, even when they do not actually cross it. So again are the letters, to say nothing of the poetry, of Keats. And in such subjects as 'Poetry for Poetry's Sake,' or 'The Sublime,' or 'Hegel's Theory of Tragedy,' the connection with philosophy is even closer.

It may be objected that in the latter instances the line which parts criticism from philosophy is actually passed; that the theme here is in truth rather philosophical than literary. This, however, as the theme is handled by Professor Bradley, is not the case. And that is precisely what makes these more abstract lectures so good a test of the soundness of his method. Here, if anywhere, he might be expected to thrust literature into the second place. But this is just what he does not do. And his results are valuable for the very reason that he refuses to do it.

In all three lectures, even in that on 'Hegel's Theory of Tragedy,' he persists in starting from the 'imaginative experience'; and it is by this same experience, perpetually recalled to our memory, that he tests the soundness of the theory at every step of the argument in which it is unfolded. Compare this lecture or that on 'Poetry for Poetry's Sake,' with other works on the same or kindred subjects; and we can hardly fail to be struck with the difference of method. The philosophers—Kant and even Hegel,—the critics—Lessing and even, in his weaker moments, Coleridge—are too apt to bring a theory, ready made and largely coloured by considerations quite other than literary, to the matter, itself avowedly literary, which they have in hand. Lessing for instance, above all things a critic and a very great one, is much more concerned to determine what are 'the rules demanded by the nature of' the Fable in general, than to record what his imagination has experienced in following the movement of any Fable in particular. The tests he applies are purely abstract tests, such as logical coherence and compactness. They are tests that have manifestly more to do with the pure intellect, if such a thing exists, than with the imagination. And the rules obtained in this rough and ready fashion are applied without ceremony to all Fables whatsoever. The result is that the Fables of La Fontaine are ruled out at one stroke; and it is hard to see how that of the Cock and the Fox, as told by Chaucer, can be saved from the same fate.

Of this method Professor Bradley will have nothing. If there is one point on which he is never weary of insisting, one principle which he seldom or never falters in practising, it is that the foundation of all criticism is the 'poetic experience'; that the first function of the critic is to realise, and to realise with all the intensity of which he is capable, the exact and complete effect made upon his imagination by the single poem, or by that which is inspired in the work of the poet, taken as a whole. It is the function not only of the critic, but of every reader worthy of the name. The former may realise more consciously what is precisely the process through which his imagination passes when it is under the spell of the poem; he may be able to analyse

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it more fully and more exactly. But, whenever the poem is read aright, the experience is the same in kind; it differs, so far as it does differ, only in degree. To enter, so far as we may enter, into the poet's mind and temper, to feel, so far as without genius it is possible for us to feel, as the poet felt when he saw his vision and, in seeing, made it visible to others, that is the first step both in the more and the less skilled appreciation; that is the raw material with which both critic and ordinary reader have to deal.

Acting on these principles, Professor Bradley finds himself barred out at every turn from those loose generalisations which are the bane of the opposite method. He is forced, as Wordsworth would have said, to 'keep his eye steadily on the object,' to follow every turn and winding of the process which he has set himself to trace. Hence the closeness of his reasoning; and still more, the firmness with which, at each point, it grips the facts that are there to be explained. This is the first, and perhaps the greatest, advantage offered by his method. But there is another which, at any rate as he handles the matter, is drawn in its train. And that is the close understanding which, from the outset, he establishes between the critic and the man who reads or listens solely to enjoy. The one, as has already been said, is bound on exactly the same errand as the other. The only difference is that the former brings, or claims to bring, a wider range, a more disciplined power of observation to the task in question than the latter. He is able, or ought to be able, to interpret the experience of the moment more accurately. And, as this experience is also that of the plain reader, the latter, in following him, is enabled to interpret his own experience more precisely and fully to himself.

As applied to the more general subjects, those treated in the three lectures above mentioned, these methods and principles are fruitful in results. They ensure—at least in the hands of one who follows them out as consistently as Professor Bradley—that all the crucial facts are loyally reckoned with, that the critic shall not do violence to any of them, that he shall not allow one group of considerations to throw all the rest into the shade. Thus, in 'Poetry for Poetry's Sake,' he is as firm against those who reduce all poetry to 'pure form,' as against those who see in it nothing but a given matter taking shape in a certain form, and existing, possibly with no great lessening of its brightness, as a thing separable, in the mind both of poet and reader, from the form in which it is clothed. Each of these explanations is rejected by him on the ground that it is a mere abstraction. They are 'things in the analytic head' of the critic, 'not in the poem.' 'In a poem the true content and the true form neither exist, nor can be imagined, apart.... Its value lies neither in the one nor in the other, nor in any addition of them, but in the poem, where they are not.' (pp. 17, 18.)

In the same way with 'Hegel's Theory of Tragedy.' That theory, according to Professor Bradley—and he had already stated his views by implication in *Shakesperean Tragedy*—is defective because it is



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drawn from little more than half the facts. It gives a true and most penetrating account of the poetic experience through which we pass in reading or witnessing the plays of Aeschylus and Sophocles. But it hardly even professes to reckon with modern tragedy; nor even with Euripides, who is considered by Hegel, and in many respects with justice, to have deep affinities with the moderns. To Hegel tragedy is a conflict between two of the substantial forces which dominate man's life; each of which in itself is sacred; but each of which in the tragic collision—for instance, that of Antigone and Creon—is pushed to the total exclusion of the other, and therefore becomes a wrong. It is the anguish with which we witness this strife of mighty opposites, each of which we feel to be sacred, that constitutes the tragic sense. No one can say—Hegel himself explicitly denies—that this definition squares with the facts of modern tragedy, with its comparative neglect of 'substantial forces' and the overwhelming stress it lays upon individual personality. And the inevitable inference is that modern tragedy is a declension from the perfect model; that it represents a type which, however high, can never be reckoned with the highest. Against this inference Professor Bradley naturally—and, as most readers will think, justly—rebels. And, while taking Hegel's conception for the basis of his own theory, he proposes to widen it, so as to bring modern tragedy within its scope. Deep as Hegel has gone, can it be said that he has gone deep enough? The essential thing is not that the conflict should be between ethical forces, however 'substantial,' but that it should carry with it waste or destruction of that which is supremely noble, surpassingly heroic. And it is just such a waste of nobility and heroism that makes the core of what is most characteristic in modern tragedy; the essence, for instance, of the tragic experience which comes to us in reading *Othello*, or in watching it acted on the stage. Is it not also, he asks, the essence of Greek tragedy? the inner soul of that conflict between forces, themselves almost external to the tragic figures, which it may readily be admitted is the specific form that the Greek spirit instinctively approved? In Greek, as in modern tragedy we are concerned, at any rate in the first instance, not with abstract forces, but with beings of flesh and blood. In both alike our first thought is for the men and women who have done and suffered before us. It is not for any ethical force, however irresistible; not for any institution, however sacred. It is for Antigone or Orestes. It is for Hamlet, or Lear, or Othello.

It is quite true that, behind these tragic figures, the Greek dramatist makes us feel the presence of powers which, in a certain sense, are more sacred and mightier than they. It is true that modern tragedy, if it does this at all, does it in a very different way. But that proves nothing against the latter. On the contrary, it may prove that modern tragedy, which has disengaged itself from the specific form dear to the Greeks, stands, in its highest examples, for something not less but more 'substantial,' not less but more close to the inner spirit of tragedy than the Greek masterpieces themselves. For the Greek masterpieces

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tend to present the tragic issue in a more external, and therefore a more abstract, shape. In modern tragedy, on the contrary, all is inward, concrete, individual.

The explanation thus offered by Professor Bradley has a further advantage. It yields a more adequate account of that sense of reconciliation which, as Hegel insists, is part, and no small part, of our imaginative experience at the close of a Greek tragedy, and which is so perhaps still more manifestly in the case of Shakespeare. If the ultimate theme were really the strife of two forces, both of which (on Hegel's own shewing) are baffled and brought to nought, how could we feel anything but the pity, or even the emptiness, of it all? If, on the other hand, it is the strife of two personalities, the conflict of a heroic figure with another, or with itself, room is left for exultation at the heroism we have witnessed; at the nobility which by the unalterable law of things can never rise to its full height save at the call of consuming passions and at the cost of anguish, devastation and despair. And that, as a matter of experience, is one of the two feelings which struggle for mastery within us, when we are under the spell of a great tragedy. Our heart is torn at the sufferings we have followed step by step. But, when we recall the nobility, the heroic energy, which shines through those sufferings, we are thrilled with what can only be called triumph or exultation. And this is as true of Antigone as of Othello.

So brief an account of a tangled question must necessarily be imperfect. But enough has perhaps been said to shew the skill of Professor Bradley in applying philosophy to criticism; or rather, of setting his critical faculties to work in the light, and by the methods, of philosophy. He does not bring philosophy to criticism from without. On the contrary, he allows the imaginative experience, as illuminated by philosophy, to unfold itself from within. His one quarrel with Hegel is that his theory is too abstract; that it is drawn from too narrow a range of imaginative experience; that he neglects, or puts aside, some of the most crucial facts. His one purpose is to correct the one-sidedness of this theory, to bring into view the facts which it ignores, and then to let the whole mass of experience, thus restored to its integrity, speak once more for itself. 'Patience,' it was once said, 'is the secret of Hegel.' It is also, and in this instance it is still more, the secret of Professor Bradley.

We have lingered so long on our author's treatment of more general subjects that no time is left for considering the application of his method to individual poems, or the works of particular poets. Yet here too, where allowance has been made for the difference of the matter, exactly the same qualities are displayed. There is the same patience, the same persistence in following every winding of the poetic process, the same penetration in fastening upon the crucial points; in a word, the same disciplined instinct—at bottom, it is the philosopher's instinct—for bolting the facts to the bran, and then welding them together again in the strength of the inner principle which his own analysis has laid bare.

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After one fashion, this is shewn in the lectures on Wordsworth, on 'The Long Poem in the Age of Wordsworth,' on Shelley's view of Poetry, and on the Letters of Keats. After all that has been said on these subjects, he has found something original to say, and something which the best of those who have previously written upon them will be the readiest to admire. And he has done all this without ever striving to startle or surprise the reader; by his sheer skill in grappling with all the complexities of the matter, and letting the facts—the experience of a keen and clear-sighted imagination—speak for themselves.

After another fashion, it is shewn in the two lectures on 'The Rejection of Falstaff' and on *Antony and Cleopatra*. After yet another, in those on 'Shakespeare the Man,' and 'Shakespeare's Theatre and Audience.' Of all the lectures, that on Falstaff is perhaps the most open to question. It might be argued that here, as in a few passages of his earlier volume, Professor Bradley is too eager to make his favourite author consistent and conscientious, too slow to admit that his creations, with all their vitality, are also figures in a stage-play and, as such, liable to be swept summarily aside at the bidding of theatrical necessity or convenience. Is it not probable, it might be asked, that Shakespeare, finding it necessary to get rid of Falstaff, made up his mind to do so without ceremony and without blushes? that his rejection, so far from serving to shew the seamy side of the King's character, is dictated mainly, if not solely, by theatrical convention? that it is an expedient on a level with the marriage of Isabella and the Duke, so 'scandalously' huddled up—the word is Professor Bradley's own—at the close of *Measure for Measure*?

But, where so much is supremely good, it is ungracious to hint doubts. Indeed, were they much stronger than they are, they would be nothing but small dust upon the balance. And it is only right that this notice should end, as it began, with an unstinted acknowledgement of the author's unique position as a critic, and to add the hope that this volume, which, if not more excellent, is certainly more varied than its forerunner, will be followed by many more. He has won his own results by mother wit and hard thought. It is to be wished that he may long continue to give the benefit of them to others.

C. E. VAUGHAN.

LEEDS.

*Essai sur les Principes de la Métrique Anglaise.* By PAUL VERRIER. 3 vols. Paris: H. Welter. 1909–10. 8vo. xi + 354, 232, 344 pp.

According to M. Verrier the raw material of metrics is 'le vers correctement prononcé.' After this, it is surprising to find that the English speakers on whose reading of verse he relies for the bulk of his experiments are, on his own showing, unlikely to pronounce correctly.

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'M. La est philologue et s'occupe plus de grammaire que de poésie. M. Le n'est pas grand amateur de vers' (III, p. 214). Verse is an art-form: to rely on the pronunciation of the man in the street, where verse is concerned, is to show incapacity for scientific investigation. Where M. Verrier leaves the perilous guidance of these two incompetents, he falls back on M. Beljame. 'Ma thèse devait être lue par M. Beljame, qui s'intéressait à mon travail, et pour éviter toute discussion oiseuse sur l'accentuation je préférais pouvoir me référer sur ce point aux indications qu'il a données dans son édition de ce poème [Enoch Arden]' (III, p. 271). The 'vers correctement prononcé' turns out to be, then, not the interpretation of an educated and artistically competent Englishman, but the garbling of two Toms or Dicks and the rendering of a distinguished foreigner.

Thus arises the fundamental and hideous error that disfigures M. Verrier's whole work: namely, that all English verse is correctly pronounced when it is pronounced in the style of everyday conversation —as the most pedestrian of prose. M. Verrier will deny that he believes this: but his scansions prove it. This fundamental misconception of verse as an art-form leads M. Verrier into the further confusion of two entirely different kinds of English verse, *alternating* and *non-alternating* (or accentual). No one with the least ear or with the slightest feeling for form in verse could possibly, for a single moment, apply the same principles of scansion to, say (I, p. 190):

What fields, or waves, or mountains?
What shape of sky or plain,

and (I, p. 188):

Suddenly flashed on her a wild desire,

And yet M. Verrier does so. He does not understand that the second example, a heroic verse, is not only, compared to the first, like 'une mélodie savante auprès d'un air populaire,' which is true (III, p. 259), but that, with its greater artistic complexity and sophistication, it belongs to a metrical form totally different and further removed from prose, a form in which the isochronism of prose and of accentual verse is subordinated to the higher artistic principle of alternation.

We need not follow M. Verrier step by step through his phonetic prolegomena. The 'groupe accentuel' constituted by the 'accent grammatical' (I, p. 41) and modified by the 'accent expressif' or by 'une tendance manifeste à l'alternance' (p. 53) is a familiar conception. Professor Lewis, in his remarkable *Principles of English Verse* (1906), has accustomed us to the idea that prose falls into isochronous segments and that this isochronism is increased in oratorical and poetic diction. M. Verrier holds also, like Prof. Lewis, that the difference between verse and prose 'consiste essentiellement dans la forme des segments' (p. 70) and in their combinations (p. 86). But throughout his book, M. Verrier lays stress, not so much on these characteristic differences of verse and prose but, illogically, on the very isochronism which is, in his opinion,

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common to both and cannot therefore differentiate them. He would have spent his space more profitably in clarifying the expression of his own ideas than in abusing his predecessors in metric research[1].

We now reach M. Verrier's specific treatment of verse as verse. His insistence (p. 148) on stress as the sole exteriorisation of ictus, and his assertion that 'on ne doit pas employer comme forte une syllabe moins accentuée que les syllabes voisines, en tout cas que *la suivante*' seem to me to be particularly dark spots in a tissue of errors.

M. Verrier does not distinguish verse that is alternating from verse that is not. And, consequently, since the distinction of *rising* and *falling* exists only in alternating verse, he insists on confusing these two species of rhythm[2]. Of falling rhythm, his dictum as to the relation of 'forte' and succeeding syllable is no doubt true. In rising rhythm the reverse is certainly the case, as e.g. in the line,

Was master: then would Philip, his blue eyes...

the word 'his' is certainly more accented than the second syllable of 'Philip,' but it is *less* accented than the succeeding syllable 'blue.' Of course M. Verrier, who does not consider the heroic verse strictly alternating, scans this line

Was máster: thén would Phílip, his blúe éyes,

—a scansion to me absolutely absurd[3].

In non-alternating verse, it is no doubt true that the 'temps marqué' always corresponds to an increase of intensity. In alternating verse, it is as certainly false. The 'temps marqué' is frequently (in

[1] E.g. A long list of metrists including Mr Omond, Mr Thomson and Prof. Lewis are (p. 145 note) deficient in 'une connaissance suffisante du rythme en général, de la phonétique, de la physiopsychologie et de l'histoire de la versification anglaise,' and (on p. 200 note) the present reviewer is misrepresented as finding Shelley 'peu harmonieux' in certain verses of *Epipsychidion* and considering that he has 'mal rythmé ses vers.' What he *did* say: 'Shelley ne soigne pas trop sa versification, qui échappe à toutes les règles,' M. Verrier repeats himself in other words and more fully (pp. 206, 300).

[2] Of course on pp. 153 sqq. he speaks of 'La marche du rythme' as being 'croissant,' 'décroissant,' 'croissant-décroissant,' 'décroissant-croissant,' and gives several marvellous examples, telling us, for example, that the line: 'And the sheen of their spears was like stars on the sea' is 'croissant,' but the line: 'And his cohorts were gleaming in purple and gold' is 'croissant-décroissant.' But all that is apparently in the air, for, when he comes to scansion, he rejects (pp. 196 sqq.) any except the 'décroissant' as being useless and inexact.

[3] M. Verrier is not even consistent. In Vol. II, p. 315, *à propos* of the line,

But néver mérrily beat Ánnie's heárt

(which he prefers to scan as shown—for once happily and convincingly) he declares that '*beat* est moins accentué que la forte suivante' and seems to urge this undoubted fact as a proof of his scansion. This is inconsistent. Since the scansion is (to him) falling, the relation of 'beat' to the following syllable should be (to him) of little or no consequence. He should have asked, on his own theory, whether 'beat' was more or less accented than the last syllable of 'merrily.' To justify his scansion, 'beat' would have to be *less* accented than the last syllable of 'merrily.' It obviously is *not* so. Either M. Verrier's theory or his scansion is wrong. And the scansion is certainly right.

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the case of so-called inversions) marked by an increase of what M. Verrier calls 'acuité,' i.e. pitch, e.g. in the lines,

> Suddenly flash'd on her a wild desire,
> Take your own time, Annie, take your own time,
> From the dread sweep of the down-streaming seas.

Examples abound. All these lines are strictly alternating, but the prose-stress does not in all cases correspond with the verse ictus, which is, once in the first line, three times in the second, and twice in the third, marked by a rise of pitch. This pitch accent exists potentially and is used occasionally in prose to bring out some particular ethos, but is much more frequently met with in verse, especially in alternating verse, a very high art-form, in which very delicate shades of emotion are brought out (cf. Saran, *Deutsche Verslehre, passim*). Read such verses as unemotional prose and their full meaning disappears. Read them as strictly alternating verse, with the proper pitch accents, and the emotional values are at once brought out.

The facts seem to be these: (1) Under certain circumstances of emotion, dissyllables normally accented on the first syllable, with a short second syllable which is capable of lengthening, tend to an equalisation of length, and possibly of stress also, over both syllables, with a rise of pitch on the second syllable; (2) proparoxytonic trisyllables behave in similar circumstances in the same way, so far as the first two syllables are concerned; (3) groups of two closely related monosyllables[1] fulfilling the same conditions behave similarly. This rise of pitch, or pitch-accent, may then serve, instead of the normal stress-accent, to mark the verse ictus. Indeed, when such a pitch-accent arises in this way, in English alternating verse, it is usually preferred as ictus-marker to the stress-accent immediately preceding it[2]. (4) In lines like

> Felt the light of her eyes into his life

or

> This precious stone set in the silver sea,

I have no doubt that a somewhat similar process affects the groups 'felt the,' 'light of,' 'set in,' although these are not dissyllables of the kind mentioned or closely related monosyllables. It is less easy to dogmatize here, but I think that here also there is an equalisation of length as between the two syllables, possibly of stress also, with a rise of pitch on the second, and that this rise of pitch is used by the poet to mark the verse-ictus. All difficulty of nomenclature might be very easily avoided by adopting Saran's term 'weight' for the quality in a syllable (whatever its cause) that makes it capable of marking the verse-ictus. We may ask also, indeed, whether the isochronism of prose and of non-alternating verse, far from being the basis of alternating verse, does not even, to some extent, disappear in such lines as

[1] E.g. the first two words of the line, 'Show me the fair would scorn to spy.'
[2] Cf. Draat, *Rhythm in English Prose*, 1910, pp. 11—12.

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these, whether indeed, this non-isochronism of the 'temps marqués' is not a feature of the supreme verse-form—the alternating? It seems probable that the prose isochronism persists more or less as between stress and stress, but not as between ictus and ictus, in so far as any ictus is marked not by prose stress but by pitch. Isochronism is obviously less necessary in strictly alternating verse than in non-alternating (or *mixed*) verse.

Most, if not all, of M. Verrier's mistakes arise from these fundamental confusions. Nearly all his scansions are vitiated thereby. His whole treatment of 'anacruse' becomes the merest and most pernicious nonsense, if we do not accept his non-differentiation of rising and falling rhythm and his denial (for it amounts to that) of alternating verse in English. In so far as English verse is 'mixed' or non-alternating, i.e. in lyric measures at least, he is, on the whole, correct and illuminating. Here it can with justice be contended that rising and falling rhythms are more or less undifferentiated, and that isochronism is more or less stringently carried through, the 'temps marqués' being accompanied by prose stresses: for, paradoxical as it may seem, lyric measures are much nearer prose than the heroic verse and other alternating forms. Popular verse is never alternating.

In verse M. Verrier calls the 'segments rythmiques' by the name of 'pieds' or feet, which he defines (p. 158) as 'la durée comprise entre deux temps marqués successifs.' He adds: 'En tout cas, c'est seulement la division du vers en intervalles compris entre deux temps marqués qui fournit une scansion rationelle, une *scansion normale*.' And so we are landed in a wilderness of anacrusis and of feet overlapping lines.

M. Verrier's distinction between dissyllabic, trisyllabic and mixed rhythms involves him (I, pp. 314, 318) in the implication that lines like:

> There is a path on the sea's azure floor,

or

> When night makes a weird sound of its own stillness,

are instances of mixed rhythm. It may be asserted that heroic verse is at all times dissyllabic, never mixed in any way at all, save in certain modern imitators of their own false reading of older poets, e.g. of Milton, who wrote no trisyllabic feet in *Paradise Lost*, though he has been credited with many. A few stray trisyllabic feet in some otherwise irreproachable writers may also be due to a lingering taint of Old English accentual versification totally out of place in alternating verse, however suitable to non-alternating measures.

M. Verrier's answer to the question: Qu'est-ce qu'un vers? is not quite satisfactory, the more so as it leads him to malign the verses:

> Had I been any god of power, I would
> Have sunk the sea within the earth or ere
> It should the good ship so have swallowed and
> The fraughting souls within her.—Be collected.

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'C'est là tout simplement une prose rythmée, qu'on persiste à diviser machinalement en groupes plus ou moins égaux de pieds ou de syllabes.' Why this unfortunate passage should be declared devoid even of final melodic cadence (one of his verse-end criteria), and why it should therefore become mere prose, and be hanged forthwith, is very difficult to understand. If it is verse and if its author meant it as verse, as I suppose, it can be read as verse, and this reading will bring out its full ethos and will show the final melodic cadence, and also, if I am not mistaken, a tolerably strong accent on the final syllables.

The whole chapter is not particularly convincing, but its concluding words are the least convincing of all:

> Dans les vers libres de Southey, de Coleridge, de Shelley, de Tennyson, et surtout de Walt Whitman, la division en vers se confond presque toujours avec la division logique et phonétique en phrases, membres de phrases, etc. En pareil cas, les vers se distinguent bien les uns des autres. J'ai fait remarquer qu'en divisant d'après le sens et les silences bien des passages du *Paradise Lost* on obtient des vers analogues à ceux de Whitman.

But surely such lines are *not* verses. A verse is more than this and especially it is not this. A verse is in the first place a *metrical* entity. It may or may not be also a logical or phonetic entity. But the one thing is not necessarily the same as either of the other two. Moreover the rearranged lines from Milton (p. 182) *are* mere rhythmic prose, for the line cadence or whatever it is that constitutes the line, carefully fitted by the poet to the sense, falls in the rearrangement in the wrong place, confusing the whole ethos of the passage.

We come now to the application of the theory to the scansion of actual verses. Here the fundamental errors of M. Verrier work havoc with all sanity. We find a passage from Tennyson's *Vision of Sin* (evidently trochaic) classed with a number of heroic lines (as evidently iambic) as 'Vers commençant par une forte.' 'Les vers de ces deux séries commencent exactement de la même manière et présentent exactement les mêmes formes rythmiques' (p. 187). If M. Verrier's ear cannot distinguish

> Gathering up from all the lower ground,

or

> Woven in circles: they that heard it sighed,

from

> Knowledge enormous makes a God of me,

or

> Suddenly flash'd on her a wild desire,

he must be proclaimed incompetent to judge of English verse, with or without the aid of M. Beljame. The first two verses are alternate-falling while the last two are alternate-rising: there is no getting away from that.

M. Verrier's reasons (I, p. 198) for rejecting rising scansion are no better than his theory. 'Elle creé une distinction inutile et inexacte.... L'anacruse est presque toujours plus ou moins facultative.' The latter

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is particularly false. Alternating trochaics never (or almost never) begin with what he calls an anacrusis: alternating iambics always (or almost always) do. Why, on M. Verrier's theory, is a nine-syllable blank without this supposed anacrusis so very rare as to be, in modern verse, almost an impossibility, while a ten-syllable blank is good and usual whether beginning with an unaccented syllable or with an apparent inversion? Why is the line:

Down in the blue-bells, or a wren light rustling,

a good blank verse, but the same line shorn of its first syllable a very bad one? If the anacrusis is a matter of moonshine, one should be as good as the other.

Moreover I cannot admit, as M. Verrier seems to wish (I, p. 200), that the falling nature of English accentuation is a reason for adopting falling scansion. There is no obvious connection between the two. Metrics and phonetics do not necessarily divide speech into the same groups or in the same way. The derivation of English alternating iambic verse from French, and through French from a certainly rising Latin verse, makes for the rising scansion of iambic alternating verse[1]. But a believer in alternating verse cannot argue convincingly with a non-believer. I fear M. Verrier will only shrug his shoulders at my criticisms and repeat that I am deficient in knowledge of rhythm in general, phonetics, physiopsychology and the history of English versification. So be it: I shall not follow M. Verrier through his forest of false scansions[2]. Suffice it to say that all he has to say about 'coupes' and internal anacrusis is really beside the point. The 'coupes' are in no wise really metrical. They may on his own showing

[1] On p. 201 M. Verrier shows how rising scansion disfigures certain trochaic and dactylic verses. Of course it does. Nothing is proved. No one wants to scan trochaic verse with rising scansion. I do not think his argument (pp. 202—3) from the lines,

So these were wed, and merrily rang the bells,
Merrily rang the bells and they were wed,

is in any way conclusive. The word 'merrily' in the first line is intended to be read as a dissyllable. In the second line the alternation demands just that higher pitch on the second syllable of 'merrily' which a proper reading of the line with due regard for its ethos secures. To scan the two 'merrily's' in the same way as 'mérrily' would make of Tennyson's repetition a mere repetition and nothing more. The case becomes even stronger if the next line is included:

But never merrily beat Annie's heart.

Here 'merrily' has its normal accentuation. Anyone who cannot hear that these three 'merrily's' are *not* mere repetition but have three separate emotional values corresponding to three different accentuations, is devoid of the necessary equipment for writing on English verse.

[2] One further example will suffice: M. Verrier, on p. 218, scans Shelley's line,

Rugged and dark, winding among the springs

as part of a greater asclepiad, because *read as prose*, it matches part of Swinburne's real greater asclepiad,

Áh! thy lúminous éyes! Ónce was their líght féd with the fíre of dáy.

But the ethos of Swinburne's line, because he was a competent if not a great poet, demands just this accentuation and scansion. The line was written as a greater asclepiad. Shelley's line was written as a heroic, and was intended to be read with alternating rhythm. The rhythm of the two verses is very far from being 'identique.'

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occur anywhere in the verse. Of course the silences at the 'coupes' count in the isochronous intervals (if these exist) but the 'coupes' are not, in general, real cæsuras and are not analogous to real cæsuras.

The second volume is, in the main, devoted to a discussion of the nature of rhythm. Much is irrelevant. The most interesting chapter of the relevant part deals with 'l'origine et évolution des mètres poétiques.' Passing over such interesting topics as Persian and Chinese versification, we reach M. Verrier's discussion of French verse, a most important preliminary to any consideration of the origin of English alternating verse.

Old French verse was, he declares, 'incomplètement accentuel... L'accent et le temps marqué ne coïncident forcément qu'à la fin du vers et, dans certains mètres, à un autre endroit' (II, p. 135). And he scans

Gránz fu li dóls fórt marriménz,

the accents 'granz' and 'fort' not corresponding to the 'temps marqués' which fall on 'fu' and the first syllable of 'marrimenz.'

All this is very doubtful. But when (p. 142) M. Verrier asserts that Modern French versification takes no account of the 'temps marqué' except at the end of the line (and in certain verse forms at the cæsura)—there can be no doubt that, in spite of his contemptuous dismissal (p. 142, note 3), Tobler and Professors Wulff, Stengel and Saran are right and M. Verrier (following Becq de Fouquières, Prof. Grammont and most French metrists) is wrong. 'Dans une versification incomplètement accentuelle, comme l'était à l'origine celle du français, il y a souvent conflit entre le temps marqué et l'accentuation ordinaire. C'est celle-ci qui a fini par l'emporter chez nous, malgré sa faiblesse relative, probablement au XVII$^{e}$ siècle. Il en résulte qu'aujourd'hui le rythme de nos vers repose sur l'accentuation; il n'a plus rien à voir avec le rythme primitif.' In other words the alexandrine has to-day the metre (more or less) of

The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold

mingled (to taste) with that of:

Thus, rolling in her burning breast, she strait to Acolia hied,

in other words, is a hash of irreconcilable fragments.

M. Verrier declares that 'M. Saran a tort de tenir compte des accents secondaires, qui s'effacent pour notre oreille; il faut scander,

Je viéns selon l'uságe...
...à péine un petit nómbre.'

Whatever M. Verrier says, these hemistichs *cannot*, even as everyday prose, be pronounced without a slight stress (the least will be sufficient) on one or other of the unstressed syllables between the stresses marked. Rhythmical considerations would suggest the second of the three unstressed syllables as the one to be slightly stressed. It is true that in an everyday prose reading this stress will be very slight indeed.

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But in an emotional reading, a reading calculated to bring out the full ethos of the line, it will be far from negligible. No one will assert that it is as great as that of the syllables which M. Verrier has stressed: but it exists. The word 'petit,' for example, must, to make sense, to bring out the emotional value of the word, be read with the first syllable stressed (I have Rousselot and Passy with me). The 'temps marqué' corresponds in French, as in English verse, frequently to a quite small increase of intensity.

All that Molière did, if, as M. Verrier says, he substituted 'une diction naturelle à la déclamation de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne,' was to introduce into the theatre an unrhythmical and inartistic prose reading of verse—in other words to speak verse as if it were prose, a taint which the French stage has unfortunately preserved not only in light comedy, where it may be in its place, but in the highest forms of tragedy, to such an extent that many (if not most) Frenchmen imagine this merely bad prose to be verse, and are deaf to the finer harmony of the real alexandrine. Many poets have even been led astray into writing alexandrines (so-called) on this basis. All that M. Verrier's attack on Professor Saran and his attempted justification of it prove is that M. Verrier too is tainted with this abomination of desolation that scans

Le soléil le revêt d'éclatántes couléurs.

The third volume is a record of experimental work, devoted to an attempted proof of isochronism in verse. Its value, even granting freedom from error, is doubtful. When M. Verrier has proved, if he does prove, that stresses in verse are separated by equal intervals or approximately equal intervals of time, or has shown how, when this is not the case, various influences militate against the expected and normal isochronism—and M. Verrier is a little too clever at that—nothing is really proved at all with regard to the metre of verse that does not depend entirely on stress. M. Verrier ignores, as in the first two volumes, the possibility of alternation as a principle of verse. His experiments on alternating verse are therefore valueless. Before they can offer any interest, he must prove that the principle of this verse is not alternating but accentual. This he has not tried to do: he has assumed it: for the *petitio principii* of showing that the intervals between the stresses are isochronous and deducing the accentual nature of the verse from that is, of course, no proof. He reads the verses as prose: they will naturally show the isochronism of prose. Even if, read as verse, they were still isochronous, this would be no proof that their metre depends on isochronism.

The experiments on admittedly accentual verse are of considerable value—but even here M. Verrier has done little more than to show that the isochronism of prose persists in them, possibly somewhat strengthened and regularized; and even here, of course, Messrs La and Le's unemotional and incompetent reading of verse must be reckoned with, but the source of error is not so great as in the case of alternating verse.

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When we at last, after many preliminaries, reach the experiments on verse proper, we are brought up (p. 189) by the assertion, in reference to heroic verse: '*Puisque le rythme du vers est accentuel*' (the italics are mine), 'le temps marqué ne saurait correspondre à un phénomène quelconque, mais seulement à un phénomène accentuel, tel que le maximum ou l'accroissement maximum de l'intensité, qui se trouvent toutes deux dans la voyelle'—as fine an example of *petitio principii* as one could meet with.

The line analysed is a perversion of Tennyson:

He pássed his dáys in péace amóng his péople.

M. Verrier gets for this line feet respectively of 61, 54, 56 and 52 cs. 'Il y a une accélération continue. Par suite de cette accélération et du renforcement métrique initial...le premier pied est de beaucoup le plus long.' Dividing by ten M. Verrier gets 6, 5, 6, 5 or by dipodies 11, 11. I must protest against M. Verrier's arithmetic. The dipodies actually give 115, 108, or 11·5, 10·8, which are not correctly represented by 11, 11[1].

An interesting series is that analysed on pp. 231 sqq.:

Show me the fair would scorn to spy,
Close on the hounds the hunter came,
Mountain and meadow, moss and moor,
Pennons and flags defaced and stained.

These all show 'initial inversion,' are alternating, and are completely spoiled by accentual reading. The results for the four lines, calculating from accent to accent, are, respectively,

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 57·4 | 62·5 | 61 | cs. |
| 50·4 | 49·5 | 45·6 | cs. |
| 59·4 | 49·1 | 46 | cs. |
| 68·1 | 53·1 | 64·4 | cs. |

a series which M. Verrier (p. 241) finds 'tout aussi près de l'isochronisme que les plus réguliers de mes chansons.' Possibly. But the isochronism is not obvious to my prejudiced mind.

Did Mr La (the grammarian) read these verses accentually or alternatingly? He probably read them badly in any case. M. Verrier, to whom alternation is an impossibility, supposes them to have been read accentually. I doubt it. In the line,

Show me the fair would scorn to spy,

the second syllable 'me' shows a higher pitch than the first or third (III, pp. 235, 255). It is a pity M. Verrier does not give the pitch analysis for the other lines. It might help to suggest that Mr La

[1] M. Verrier's experiments bear (consistently with his theory) on *intervals* from accent to accent. A five-beat line has only 4 complete intervals, a four-beat line only 3. He measures in millimetres, which he converts, in accordance with his scale, to hundredths of a second.

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read these lines alternatingly. It would not then be very surprising that isochronism is not marked in them.

The next verse analysed is:

A wét sheét and a flówing séa.

With the accentuation indicated the results were (III, p. 244) 42, 58, 54. Then M. Verrier (p. 245) uses the *same reading and the same record* to show that the scansion,

A wét sheet ánd a flówing séa,

gives 40, 50, 40, and is therefore less isochronous! The same record! Surely Mr La read either one way or the other! A fresh reading and fresh record were surely necessary. Nothing whatever is proved except M. Verrier's want of scientific method and common-sense.

I must protest that the series 59, 58, 43, 45 cs., as obtained for a parody of a line of Tennyson's read by Mr La,

He passed his days in peace among his sheep,

cannot, by any conceivable process consistent with scientific accuracy be reduced (p. 260) to 1, 1, 1, 1. The same applies to the line,

He sent abroad a shrill and terrible cry,

which, read by Mr La, gave 53, 60, 51, 59 cs., reduced unblushingly by M. Verrier to 1, 1, 1, 1. The line,

Dárk as a fúneral scárf from stém to stérn,

read thus accentually by Mr La, gave (p. 262) the series 67, 65, 74, 64. Mr Le's reading (he is the man who does not care for verse) gave 80, 77, 77, 70. I fail to see how isochronism can be inferred.

Mr Le's reading of

Énoch was hóst one dáy, Phílip the néxt,

with the accentuation noted, gave 85, 85, 60, 67. M. Verrier has not the courage to reduce this to equality. But he does his best by suggesting (p. 266) that 'le temps change brusquement à la césure.'

All M. Verrier's experiments suggest the observation that, since he has analysed his records as if the lines recorded had been read with Prof. Beljame's accentuation (III, p. 271) and since there is absolutely no certainty that Messrs La and Le read them with that accentuation, the whole series of experiments is entirely devoid of value. 'Il n'y aura de définitive qu'une métrique expérimentale' (III, p. 184). Possibly. But the experimenter must rid his mind of prepossessions, must have his verses read by competent readers, and must analyse his records without reference to the pronunciation prescribed by any one at all.

THOMAS B. RUDMOSE-BROWN.

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*The Works of Thomas Nashe.* Edited by RONALD B. MCKERROW. 5 vols. London: Sidgwick and Jackson. 1904—10. 8vo. xvi + 386, 397, 416, 484, xii + 382 pp.

It is the tendency of contemporary scholarship to leave no figure unframed in the labyrinthine gallery of literary portraits, and, in the fulness of time, we now find Thomas Nashe mounted, encased and hung in a style not likely to be changed for many generations. And yet, after reading carefully through these five volumes, one ends by doubting whether Nashe in any setting can ever occupy more than a most subordinate position in the history of literature. He came to his age with an amazingly versatile brain, a keen interest in human nature, a marked gift for satire and—an author's most precious possession—a knack of infusing his own personality into everything he wrote. But he came, unhappily, just before the literary art was sufficiently developed to give scope to his peculiar talents. The literature of the people—jest-books, ballads, complaints, visions, mock testaments, dialogues, parodies and 'group'-satires—had at last come into contact with academic learning. On the one hand laymen had now both the inclination and the opportunity to penetrate the realm of classical and scholastic literature, and on the other hand those who had caught the enthusiasm for the new learning found that they no longer needed to remain in academic servitude, that a reading public existed to which they could appeal on their own merits, in fact, that they could make a living by their pens. The one problem was to discover what Londoners wanted to read. At first sight the prospect must have seemed pleasing enough to the intellectually emancipated of the new era, especially to a writer like Nashe, who shared the thoughts of the average man, but invented original ways of expressing them. Consequently there sprang up a generation of clever and eccentric youths, not unlike the French romantic school in character, who had escaped from their own class and had entered, without due preparation, into the dangerous possession of knowledge. Hence they became intensely individualistic, in comparison with the average burgher, over-confident in their right to live and think according to the ideals of the past, and mutineers against social and intellectual conventionality. These young men, with more brains than experience, must, however, soon have realised that insurmountable obstacles still stood between them and success. To begin with, the prejudice still existed against men without a recognised status. There was a feeling that each member of society should keep his proper place in his own class, and Robert Crowley, forty years earlier, had stigmatised deviations from this established order as sin against God. Thus, though public opinion had broadened since Tudor times, the professional pamphleteer, who merely wrote to amuse, was still viewed with distrust, and it needed a genius to win the way to the hearts of the people and gain their respect as well as their patronage. Even Robert Greene, for all his idealism and poetry, had remained nothing but an inspired



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Bohemian, relegated to the society of the underworld, till his obscure existence was cut short by a pauper's death.

The popular *littérateur*, besides contending against the curse of the Midianites, had another labour to accomplish. He had to create his profession. Elizabethan culture had no grooves ready made along which popular ideas could spread. The reading public had not yet been educated to expect certain things. Neither the theatres, the Court nor the universities had supplied recognised standards of taste for the middle class. The book-trade was in a state of anarchy; the censorship was arbitrary and tyrannical; plagiarism was unchecked. A code of literary manners had not yet been evolved. Free-lances had no special forms of procedure, ways of thinking and expressing themselves. They had no professional etiquette, none of the characteristics of a class. Each man had to feel his own way, and much of the extravagance, obloquy, wantonness and buffoonery of the tract literature is due to this lack of organisation.

To this struggle for life Nashe brought his peculiar gifts and his peculiar failings. With his power of invective and a tolerable facility in versifying, he might have made his mark as a satirist or epigrammatist, but formal satire was as yet hardly introduced, and was certainly not a sufficiently 'marketable' product for a bread-winner. With his wide reading, his power of applying classical lore to the subject under discussion, his vivacity, his gift of seeing a familiar object in a new light, Nashe might, some thirty years later, have become a unique essayist or character-writer. But even if the literary coteries afterwards made famous by the names of Bacon or Overbury had begun to circulate their effusions in manuscript, no essay or character-sketch had yet reached the larger public. Had Nashe been an original thinker or an earnest moralist, he might have overcome all these obstacles, in a society hopelessly perplexed by its own rapid growth and eager for enlightenment. But he was at best a prophet without a message, and hence he remained an ephemeral pamphleteer. In his efforts to catch the public ear he poured new wine into old bottles. His compositions have generally the form and framework of some old-fashioned type of literature which he attempted to enliven, and frequently overburdened, with anecdotes, invective and comment on his own times. Thus *The Anatomie of Absurditie* begins with a treatise against women quite in the spirit of medieval compositions. *Pierce Penilesse* is cast into the form of a 'complaint' and plays on the pre-reformation theme of the seven deadly sins. *Lenten Stuffe* is a burlesque encomium. *The Unfortunate Traveller* contains the usual escapades and roguery of the jest-books, and the two descriptions of public executions—quite unnecessarily introduced—read like the 'horrible details' of the broadsides. In so turbulent and contentious an age it was not to be expected that literary men would be less quarrelsome than their betters, and Nashe, the writer without a theme, was only too ready to employ his satirical gift in any controversy which came in his way. In one passage of *Pierce Penilesse*, very similar to

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Horace's manifesto in the first essay of the second book of *Satires* (ll. 45 ff.), he deliberately took up the pose of a controversialist, who makes a business of lampooning any adverse critic. Instead of appearing as a reformer, he only became a storm centre. He figured in the Marprelate controversy, he inveighed against the vices of foreigners, he exposed the abominations of the London stews. Two of his most striking productions are purely personal attacks on the Harveys, in which all his wit and learning (after the manner of Renascence scholars) are devoted to sheer vituperation.

Thus with the exception of *The Unfortunate Traveller*, a realistic novel born out of due season, the works of Nashe are little else than literary curiosities, that is to say, compositions in which the author's gifts have found a now obsolete form of expression. As such, he can be of only minor interest to the student of the history of literature. Most of his work bears every trace of hurry; whole pages often seem written merely to fill up space; he deals at length with the most trivial topics, and appears to make a point of startling his readers with colloquialisms and *argot*. All these characteristics render him so much the more valuable to the student of manners and language, and it is from this point of view that Mr McKerrow has written his elaborate commentary. The extant texts have been carefully collated; the bibliographical introductions are models of method, and the notes are admirably concise. Practically every quotation is traced to its source and quoted with its context, and, as has already been shown of Jonson's *Discoveries* and will probably be one day shown with Bacon's *Essays*, many of Nashe's most striking passages are proved to be unacknowledged plagiarisms. But this edition is much more than an explanation and appreciation of Nashe. It is a collection of research notes on the archaisms and antiquities to be found in Nashe's writings. In many cases the editor not only supplies but surpasses our needs for elucidation of obscure passages, as in his notes on 'filthy Thames water' (I, 174), Mother Bunch (I, 174), 'you liue (like sumners) upon the sinnes of the people' (I, 216), 'he will look your head' (I, 242), 'Tittle est amen' (I, 366), Ovid's quotation in I, 375, Mumpsimus (II, 93), Aristotle drowning himself in the Nile (II, 119), 'a sloth of souldioury' (II, 155), 'cryde creake' (II, 34), H. S. (III, 147), Mother Mampudding (III, 200), Orion's discourse on dogs (III, 254), 'the Kid in Aesop' (III, 316). These, and innumerable other pieces of information, are made doubly valuable to the Elizabethan student by a very complete index.

And yet the reader cannot help regretting that so erudite and painstaking a commentator has chiefly confined his attention to philological and bibliographical difficulties. These, the more solid if less showy duties of editorship, should certainly claim his first consideration. But in reading so prolix and vivacious an author as Nashe, we meet with many topics and questions which make up the essence of Elizabethan and Jacobean life, and which are not adequately treated of elsewhere. Why have we no illuminating note on the demonology of *The Terrors of the Night*? Mr McKerrow suspects that the tract is



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largely indebted to some source which he cannot trace. Such is certainly the case, for the whole controversy was based upon authority, and from Sprenger to John Webster there is hardly an argument advanced which was not derived from patristic theologians or scholastic dogmatists. And yet no controversy is more characteristic of the age or more worthy of comment. Why have we no note on literary caricature, which in the satirical description of Gabriel Harvey (III, 93) reaches a point beyond the attempts of previous lampoonists, and rises into the class of the Jacobean pseudo-Theophrastians? Again, why have we no note on Golias (III, 85), on the account of quack doctors (I, 363—6), who were the theme of so many diatribes and exposures in this age, on 'the diuell of late is growen a puritane' (I, 367), on the seven liberal sciences (III, 151), on the 'millers thombe' (III, 153), on Hermes Trismegistus (III, 273)? The vext question of foreign travel (II, 297), which was already dividing moralists into two camps, is not annotated, except for an incomplete summary *à propos* of 'Italinated' (I, 10). The note is insufficient on the fall of Antwerp and its influence on English sentiment (II, 81), and so are the notes on the 'Ship of Fooles' (I, 175), on burlesque encomia (III, 176), on 'Gyllian of Braynfords Will,' and on mock testaments in general (III, 235).

Here and there a few suggestions and corrections present themselves. In I, 256 'sampsound' is probably a reference to Chaucer (*Pardoner's Prol.*, 553 f.). In II, 4 the date should be 16 Sept. 1593. In III, 161 'bruite' is probably used in the same sense as in the phrase 'like bruite beasts' (III, 215): it must be remembered that the Britons and not the Saxons were supposed to be descendants of Brute. In III, 176 Nashe has misunderstood Chaucer's line, in which 'tart' is an adjective. In III, 226 'Meonian' presumably means Homeric, that is, a worthy theme for epic poetry.

As regards the date of *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, the editor takes one set of allusions (e.g. ll. 130 and 1847) to indicate some period previous to 6th Sept., and another set to refer to some later date, say October, 1592, when the Queen had finished her progress in the Midland Counties and was present at the performance. But ll. 130 ff. may well mean that summer ought to have died a month ago but has been kept alive on a sick bed till the Queen's progress should be over, and ll. 1845—9 need not imply that autumn has not begun, but merely that he is to reserve his 'goodliest ripened fruites' for the Queen, and stay his ravages along her route. It seems extremely unlikely that the Queen was among the audience when this piece was acted. No passage implies her presence, and some lines (e.g. 388—403) would hardly have been tolerated by the imperious dame.

The introduction, from start to finish, is scholarly and excellent, so far as it goes. But in avoiding the cheap embellishments of amateur biographers, Mr McKerrow sometimes misses general considerations which even exact scholars should investigate rather than ignore. For instance, if the painstaking commentator can spend so much ingenuity to persuade us that his author probably never visited Italy,—a fact of

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little importance in appreciating his work,—why does he dismiss in one sentence the question of Elizabethan literary professionalism, which was the source and guiding power of Nashe's activity. On two occasions Mr McKerrow leaves research and takes to speculation, and in neither instance can we agree with him. It is perhaps inevitable that a book which supersedes all previous work on the subject should be reactionary. But iconoclasm is none the less misleading because it is pardonable. In the first case, though he proves that Nashe does not quote Rabelais, he fails to convince us that the French humanist had no influence on the Elizabethan, especially as he admits himself that Nashe read many books from which he did not happen to plagiarise, while some of his burlesque, especially in *Have with you to Saffron Walden*, is extremely like the extravagances of Rabelais. Mr McKerrow's other general speculation is devoted to the rehabilitation of the Harveys. Many students of literature, including the present writer, have long felt that Gabriel Harvey was not the vindictive and pedantic monster, whom some have represented him to be, and are grateful to Mr McKerrow for championing him. But it is surely going too far to assert that the quarrel chiefly arose from the 'ancient opposition between the old and the new, between servility and independence, between prejudice and the right of a man to that consideration which his abilities and achievements deserved. And it was the Harveys who stood for the future and Nashe for the past.' How could such have been the case if Gabriel 'was for some fifteen years, one of the most noteworthy and most widely known of the members of his University,' while Nashe had left the same university, apparently without a degree and with a bad record, and was now starving and scribbling in London, persecuted by the authorities, and striving to win in a disreputable profession the recognition which Harvey had gained at the great seat of learning? Mr McKerrow has admirably explained why the sons of the rope-maker should be over-sensitive to criticism, but whatever personal animosity Nashe felt, must in its origin have been akin to Heine's contempt for Professor Saalfeld of Göttingen.

Apart from these few differences of opinion, no student of literature can withhold his admiration for the commentator's industry and acumen. The whole edition is typical of the thoroughness and accuracy of contemporary scholarship since the appearance of the *Dictionary of National Biography* and the *New English Dictionary*. But sometimes one is surprised with the fear that if criticism develops much further along these lines, it may lose touch with the interests of life, and like the post-classical study of Vergil, evaporate amid minutiae and abstractions.

H. V. Routh.

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*The French Renaissance in England. An Account of the Literary Relations of England and France in the Sixteenth Century.* By SIDNEY LEE. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1910. 8vo. xxiv+494 pp.

To those who have not made a special study of the literary indebtedness of England to France during the sixteenth century the magnitude and bulk of Mr Lee's imposing volume will no doubt come as a surprise. Accustomed as they have become to see the topic ignored or unceremoniously dismissed by the authors of authoritative manuals and histories on that period of English literature, they will wonder how and where Mr Lee has found the material to fill so many pages. On closer examination they will discover that one half roughly of the book is taken up with a rapid parallel exposition of French literature during the period concerned. The idea of pursuing the course of the two literatures side by side is not unhappy. An essential condition of success, however, is that the author should possess the rare equipment of a thorough knowledge of each literature. Mr Lee's knowledge of the literature of France during the sixteenth century is remarkable, to be sure, in one who does not claim to be a specialist, but for all that not invariably sound enough to stand the test he has imposed upon himself in that part of his work, which, moreover, could with advantage have been cut down to more modest dimensions, or still better entwined in the warp and woof of the main tissue. It may be urged in opposition and in extenuation that Mr Lee, having in mind the conscientious but rather dry investigation of Dr Upham, his predecessor in the same field, aimed above all things at writing an attractive work appealing to the general student of literature as well as to the scholar, and that to satisfy two very different palates he was constrained to present a varied banquet suited to both tastes. If such was his intention, he may justly claim to have succeeded. His agreeable and original style, as well as his scholarly researches in more than one dark recess of a subject which a few years ago was a barren waste, assured him a large measure of success from the first. But he deserves greater praise, for he is the first English scholar to show the way; and if he occasionally stumbles against hidden obstacles on the unexplored road, all honour is due to him for his lucid and reasoned presentment of a branch of comparative literature which, we venture to think, will in future compel the attention of all serious students of English literature.

The novelty of Mr Lee's topic demands a much more detailed criticism than can be here attempted. I will accordingly confine myself to the discussion of certain features of the picture which I happen to have examined more carefully, and point out on the way any errors of fact which may strike me.

Book I deals, in a general way, with the debt of Tudor culture to France. In this part of the work Charlanne (to whom acknowledgement is made in the preface) has evidently been the guide. Book II, which concerns us more directly, treats of French influence on English

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literature (excluding Scottish literature) from 1500—1550, rather scantily as regards the period preceding Wyatt and Surrey. In speaking of Alain Chartier mention might have been made of the translation by Richard Ros of *La belle Dame sans mercy*, one of the French poet's most popular works, of which there are translations in several European languages, and also of the influence of his *Quadrilogue invectif*. The apocryphal story of the kiss was first printed by Jean Bouchet in his *Annales d'Aquitaine* (1524), and not by Estienne Pasquier, as Mr Lee states. The case for Lord Berners is well put on the whole, but the effect of the Burgundian 'rhétoriqueurs' on his style, which was worth notice, is neglected. On the other hand, the verse 'rhétoriqueurs' are credited with having influenced contemporary English literature to an extent hardly justified by facts. I can discover no evidence that Barclay's *Towre* was 'planned on the model' of Jean Le Maire's *Temple*. The same may be said of Le Maire's *L'Amant vert* and Skelton's *Speke, Parrot*. There is some similarity in the titles, and that is all. The 'jolting gallop' of Skelton's short metres is derived, rightly in my opinion, from similar exercises in Martial d'Auvergne, and in the farces and satires of the early sixteenth century, but I demur when Mr Lee says (p. 107) that Skelton's example was largely responsible for the vogue of short syllabled metres familiar to later generations of Tudor England. Skelton's prosaic doggerel is a very different thing from the tuneful lilting short lyric measures of the Elizabethans, and flowed from other channels. With regard to Hawes, though his allegorical machinery clearly represents the last phase of the Chaucerian school weakened by the continued imitation of diluted French models, no specific French model can be instanced for any of his works. In connexion with *The Pastime of Pleasure*, Mr Lee cites, tentatively, *Le Passe-temps de tout homme et de toute femme* (1480) of Guillaume Alexis, apparently because each composition bears the title 'pastime.' But the *Passe-temps* of Alexis is a fairly close translation of Innocent III's *De contemptu mundi*, and has nothing in common with the subsequent production of Hawes. Alexis cannot even claim to have given the vogue to the title 'Passe-temps'; it had been used several times before he elected to utilise it for one of his works. However Alexis was not unknown in England, and MM. Piaget and Picot have printed, in the admirable edition of the monk's poetry, an English translation of his *Debat de l'omme et de la femme*, issued by Wynkyn de Worde about 1525.

One of the most interesting and ingenious chapters in Mr Lee's book is the one entitled 'Marot and Alamanni: Wyatt and Surrey,' in which the author, basing his argument on the fact that Wyatt and Surrey were in Paris or its vicinity at the time when Clément Marot and Alamanni were poetically active there, attributes to their example the nature and character of much that is novel and exotic in the poetic output of Wyatt and Surrey. In this instance again I am unable to follow Mr Lee all the way. I fully accept the Italian influence on the two English poets (as early as 1815 Dr Nott had made that plain), but I cannot grant that Alamanni had any great share in it. Secondly

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I am of opinion that the debt of Wyatt to Marot is very small; and that by minimising the extent of the French poet's Italian culture and ignoring one side of its development (p. 111), Mr Lee has attributed to his influence certain peculiarities of Wyatt's verse which are naturally explained by reference to Italian models. I may perhaps be allowed to state my reasons fully. Speaking of Surrey's innovation as the first English poet to use blank verse, Mr Lee, struck by the fact that Alamanni had already made large use of rhymeless verse in his *Opere Toscane*, concludes that there are many grounds for ranking Surrey among the Florentine exile's pupils. Though the *Opere Toscane* were not published till 1532—33, H. Hauvette (*Luigi Alamanni, Sa vie et son Œuvre*, Paris, 1903, pp. 215 sqq.) argues that he was the first to make use of blank verse in narrative poetry, on the ground that several of his compositions in *versi sciolti* (particularly the *Eclogues*) go back to the year 1519—20. This may be so. At any rate it remains true that several Italian compositions in blank verse existed in print before the publication of Alamanni's efforts in that direction. Not to mention Trissino's and Rucellai's attempts in the drama, Surrey had at his disposal the latter's *Le Api*, a long didactic poem in *versi sciolti*, on the pattern of the fourth book of the *Georgics*, completed in 1524, and published a few years later. Surrey could also have taken as his model the Italian translations in rhymeless verse of various books of the *Aeneid* published before he tried his hand at blank verse. It is also possible that Surrey invented blank verse himself on the basis of his studies in classical poetry. Moreover Alamanni's reputation as a writer of *versi sciolti* dates from the publication of his *Coltivazione*, issued in 1546 many years after the publication of the *Opere Toscane*. It is his only work in blank verse comparable in extent and general importance to Rucellai's *Le Api*. For that reason it is that Du Bellay (*Deffence*, Bk. II, chap. VII *in fine*) cites the 'non moins docte que plaisante Agriculture' of 'le Seigneur Loys Aleman'; and when he uses the expression 'de nostre tens' he is clearly alluding to the recent publication of the *Coltivazione*, and not to the priority or supremacy of Alamanni in that particular form of poetry. Mr Lee appears to me to have read into Du Bellay's casual remark a meaning which in my opinion it was never meant to contain. Du Bellay is the only member of the Pléiade to as much as mention the name of Alamanni—and that in quite a special connexion. All the evidence tends to show that in the eyes of the poets of the Pléiade he was a very unimportant person. Marot and his disciples are just as eloquently silent. His poetic effusions, though published on French soil with a complimentary preface to the French king, passed unnoticed. These considerations lead me to believe that Surrey was not actuated to undertake his attempt in rhymeless poetry by the earlier experiments, in widely different fields, of Alamanni. What is known of the life of Surrey confirms, I think, my conclusions. E. Bapst (*Deux Gentilhommes-Poètes de la cour de Henry VIII*, Paris, 1891, p. 181 sqq.) has established on documentary evidence that Surrey spent the winter

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of 1532 and the spring and summer of 1533 with the French court, accompanying it in its various peregrinations about France. It was in the years 1532—33 that Alamanni published his *Opere Toscane*. But Bapst also proves satisfactorily that Surrey was born in 1518. Thus he was only fourteen at the time of his visit to the French court—a mere lad, intent on enjoying himself with the Earl of Richmond and the sons of Francis I, and very unlikely to take much notice of the literary activity of Marot or of Alamanni. In later years, when his poetical gifts had declared themselves (Surrey did not compose before 1540, as Courthope points out), we frequently come across him on French soil, in the functions of diplomat or military commander, but far from the court and capital, and bent on business which left little time for literary study. Surrey was an Italianate, but he sought his models in the pages of Italian poets of greater renown than the Florentine exile both as regards form and matter. He has not been shown to owe a tittle to the varied poetic baggage of Alamanni. The same is true of his supposed relation to Marot. We are thus forced to the conclusion that his figure at all events must be omitted from the picture. When Mr Lee comes to discuss Wyatt's debt to Alamanni he is on safer ground, thanks to the researches of Nott and his successors. However he makes a curious slip in stating that Wyatt's 'three satires on a courtier's life...are to a large extent paraphrases of Alamanni's satires.' One only (that dedicated to John Poins) owes anything to these; it obviously reflects Alamanni's twelfth satire ('O vi dirò poi che d' udir vi cale'). The two remaining satires are directly inspired by Horace. Wyatt used the Italian satiric metre (the *terza rima*) for all three, as he did also for his *Penitential Psalms*, which recall Alamanni's *Salmi Penitentiali* in metrical structure, but not in matter or spirit. In making use of the *terza rima* for his satires (written at Allington during the closing years of his life) Wyatt was merely adopting a well-established poetic form for satiric utterance, without special prompting from Alamanni. Regular poetic satire was as yet unknown in France and in England, and it is difficult to see what other metre an Italianate like Wyatt could have chosen. Wyatt's certain debt to Alamanni accordingly reduces itself to the imitation of one of his satires. As regards Alamanni's two hundred odd sonnets there is not the least ground for supposing that they attracted the attention of Surrey or of Wyatt. Few sonnets, it is true, had as yet been penned in France, but the two English poets found stimulus enough in the sonneteering activities of Petrarch and his more immediate disciples. It is in the lyric metrical experiments of Wyatt (here Surrey is made to raise no claim) more especially that Mr Lee discerns an influence of pure French stamp. He sees that unalloyed influence at work most pronouncedly in Wyatt's short-syllabled metres and their various intricacies, and also in his little six-line and eight-line poems which 'repeatedly catch the note of the sixains and huitains of Marot or of his rival, Melin de Saint-Gelais.' Mr Lee has been led astray by overlooking the important fact that Wyatt was a devoted

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pupil of Serafino of Aquila and of the other poets of the Quattrocento, whose vogue during the first quarter of the sixteenth century was at least equal to that of Petrarch. Wyatt's huitains are nearly all constructed on the model (*abababcc*) of Serafino's *strambotti*; and the matter of at least six of them is taken straight from the pages of the poet of Aquila. The few single poems of six, seven, ten or twelve lines are merely metrical variations of the *strambotto* as practised by Serafino and his associates. But Serafino cultivated other popular forms besides this; he was equally deft in handling the rapid and dancing metres of the *barzeletta*. It is in the *barzelette* of Serafino and his followers that Wyatt found the pattern or the suggestion for the lively strophic metres of his lighter lyrics. In the same way as those of Serafino they convey the unmistakable impression of having been written to be sung. Their true lyric character is further attested by the frequent use of the refrain—a device much affected by Serafino and Poliziano in their *barzelette* and in some of their livelier canzoni. In fact one or two of Wyatt's refrains are borrowed directly from Serafino, as is also the trick of repeating the same word at the end of the line ('Hard of belief it doth appear, appear'; 'Claiming of you nothing of right, of right,' etc.). If the shorter and brisker lyric rhythms, and more especially the little six-line and eight-line poems of Wyatt occasionally catch the note of Marot or of Saint-Gelais it is because the two French poets likewise levied considerable loans on the same model as their English contemporary, as J. Vianey has recently shown. The resemblance in subject-matter between certain rondeaux of Wyatt and Marot, where it exists at all, is of such a general character that it is quite inconclusive; it is naturally explained by the fact that they both drew from the same source. The example quoted by Mr Lee (p. 124), in which the fortunes of a lover's heart form the main topic, is a case in point. The conceit employed both by Wyatt and Marot is typical of the poets of the Quattrocento; they positively revelled in the elaboration of such migrations of hearts from one bosom to another. Wyatt's rondeaux are in general very different from Marot's home-spun. There is no semblance of proof, as far as I can see, for the statement that 'Wyatt's refrains are clearly of Marot's invention.' Wyatt's use of the rondeau-form alone may be safely attributed to French example. The form was unknown in Italy, and is essentially a French creation. In his eagerness to fit Marot's rondeaux to those of Wyatt, Mr Lee writes that in the hands of the French poet (Marot) 'the length of the rondeau was sternly reduced to fifteen lines.' The facts are that Marot used the rondeau of twelve lines (called 'rondeau simple' in his day), as well, though not so frequently, as the rondeau of fifteen lines. I do not of course deny that Wyatt had read Marot. It would indeed be strange if he had not. A few passages (very few) in his poems afford proof that he had done so. One of the Englishman's sonnets, not quoted by Mr Lee ('I abide, and abide; and better abide'), is clearly a reflection of one of the Frenchman's charming chansons ('J'attends secours de ma seule pensée'). My point is that Mr Lee

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has greatly exaggerated the indebtedness of Wyatt to Marot; and that such debt as exists dwindles to very little, both as regards form and matter, when exposed to a more searching light. In the case of Wyatt, as in the case of Surrey, I feel compelled to reject Mr Lee's verdict: 'They (Wyatt and Surrey) learned much of the poetic art of Italy from an Italian poet who was domiciled in their day in Paris and was bringing to French notice the new modes of poetic satire, of blank verse and the sonnet; while the English poets' debt to the indigenous poetry of France calls for fuller acknowledgement than has yet been rendered' (p. 110)[1].

Book III, devoted to a study of French influence on Elizabethan prose, I am constrained to pass over for want of space, with the observation that Mr Lee's treatment of Rabelais in England is less full than that of Dr Upham. The same remark holds good of the pages which deal with the effect of Montaigne's *Essays* on Elizabethan writers, particularly as regards Bacon. Probably E. Wolff's exhaustive study on Bacon's sources appeared too late to be utilized.

The subject of Book IV is the French influence in the Elizabethan lyric. It consists of about a hundred pages on various topics, many of doubtful relevance. The best chapter of Book IV, if not of the whole work, is the twelfth, on a theme which the author has already treated on more than one occasion: in the present instance he entitles his essay 'The Assimilation of the French Sonnet.' Next follows a chapter on Shakespeare and the French sonnet, in which Mr Lee strives to demonstrate that the 'thought and expression' of Shakespeare's sonnets 'occasionally resemble French effort closely enough to suggest that the process of assimilation wrought at times on Shakespeare's triumphant achievement in much the same way as on the mass of the sonneteering efforts of his day.' The proposition is improbable *a priori*; and the examples quoted by Mr Lee certainly do not lend to it any greater probability. I doubt whether Shakespeare had ever heard the name of Vauquelin de la Fresnaye, or of Gilles Durant, with whose strains Mr Lee also supposes him to have been acquainted in another chapter ('The Elizabethan Rendering of French Lyric Themes') which in its first part appears to me equally fanciful. A good deal could be said about what Mr Lee writes concerning the metric of the Pléiade, but a few points only can be noted. His account of the development of the metrical scheme of the Pléiade sonnet (p. 264) is incorrect; and he certainly should not have written that a 'common type of tercet in Pléiade sonnets presented four lines alternately rhymed and a closing couplet with a third rhyme *cdc*, *dee*.' The sonnet with a concluding couplet was attempted by Marot, Saint-Gelais and Peletier du Mans, but is never found in the work of the Pléiade. It is misleading to say that Ronsard 'tried his hand at sixty-three metres or strophes' (p. 202), since he essayed more than twice that number. Nor was the four-lined

[1] The long supposed debt of Wyatt to Saint-Gelais (which dies so hard) is admitted by Mr Lee not to be due.

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stanza of Tennyson's *In Memoriam* an innovation of his school (p. 202). Marot, and a host of French poets before him, had made it popular. On page 238 Mr Lee states that 'most of Ronsard's odes have the same heading ("non mesurée") by way of warning that he refused to write in "vers mesurés" in accordance with the classical scheme of quantitative prosody.' It is hardly necessary to correct the blunder. Mr Bullen, and Mr George Wyndham with more assurance, have already suggested that the metrical debt of the Elizabethans to the Pléiade is more considerable than is generally believed. Mr Lee's endeavour to press the suggestion to definite and specific conclusions can hardly be said to be successful. Some of the supposed French parallels which he instances in connexion with certain Elizabethan strophic rhythms could be replaced with more effect by exact parallels. Even then all of them are such common types of lyric stanzas that nothing would be proved. It is only when a particular strophic scheme marked by unquestioned originality, and known to be peculiar to the Pléiade, is found in the pages of an Elizabethan that any safe inference may be drawn. A few such are to be found in the *Odes* of Barnabe Barnes. Another of the same kind by Lodge is parodied in *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory*. Drayton was no doubt aware that the ode had been lifted into sonority and splendour by Ronsard and his companions, yet he makes no mention of his French contemporaries in the preface of 1606; nor can I discern any sign that he 'repeatedly accepts a French cue for both topic and metre' of his *Odes*, or share the view that 'Ronsard's Anacreontic enthusiasm for the rose...is the obvious source of Drayton's Anacreontic ode in praise of the same flower.' Mr Lee thinks that little doubt is possible that the English controversy concerning quantitative verse is a pale reflection of the French. Probably he is right, yet it is at least worth notice that Claudio Tolomei's earlier attempt in Italy is the only one recorded in any of the Elizabethan critical essays.

Book V deals with Huguenot influence in England, and contains chapters on the poetry of D'Aubigné and Du Bartas, and on the latter's Elizabethan disciples, among whom Donne is included on what appears very scanty evidence.

Book VI, which concludes the work, is devoted to French influence on Elizabethan drama. Apart from the efforts of Sidney and his friends to purify the native drama and to mould it on conventional classical lines, no real case of French influence is here made out, except perhaps in some of the 'humbler constituent elements of English drama' (plots, stories, etc.), which, in many cases, may just as well have come from Italy as from France.

Although, in this rapid review we have felt bound to reject more than one of Mr Lee's conclusions, we heartily recommend his valuable work to all who are interested in comparative literature, and feel sure that after reading it they will not hesitate to endorse his closing words: 'None who compare the two literatures are likely to question the justice of the conclusion that a knowledge of the literary activity of con-

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temporary France is essential to a sound conception or estimate of the literary forces at work in England throughout the period of the Tudor sovereigns' rule, from the accession of King Henry VII to the death of Queen Elizabeth, and even through the generation beyond.'

L. E. KASTNER.

MANCHESTER.

*The Plays and Poems of George Chapman: The Tragedies.* Edited by T. M. PARROTT. London: Routledge. 1910. 8vo. xiv + 730 pp.

The need of a satisfactory edition of Chapman's plays has often been felt by students, and the work of which we have here the first instalment seems likely in a great measure to supply what was wanted. Of Chapman's dramatic works there are, as is well known, two modern editions, that published by Pearson in 1873, and that published by Chatto and Windus in 1874, the latter edited by R. H. Shepherd, who is generally thought to have been the editor also of the previous edition. Shepherd's text is not so bad as it has sometimes been said to be[1], but the edition nevertheless is a most unsatisfactory one. The editor gives no account whatever of the principles on which he has worked, and his alterations of the text of the quartos are not in any way indicated to the reader. Professor Parrott is the first to give us a text of Chapman's tragedies as a whole[2] on which we can rely, that is to say, accompanied by full information with regard to the authorities on which it is based and notes of all the variations from them which are admitted by the editor. In addition to this he supplies us with a full account of each play, including a good deal of very sound æsthetic criticism, and a large number of explanatory and illustrative notes, the last a very desirable adjunct to an edition of Chapman. He has not, of course, solved all the difficulties of textual criticism and interpretation which confront an editor of Chapman, but he has at least faced them courageously, and his attempts, though sometimes unsuccessful, will be of use to future workers. Some of the preliminary studies for this edition have been published in the *Modern Language Review*, as for example, the editor's investigation of the date of *Bussy d'Ambois* (Vol. III, pp. 126—140), and his notes on the text of the Byron plays (Vol. IV, pp. 40—64).

As regards questions of date and authorship the editor's judgment is usually sound. His reasons, stated in the *Modern Language Review*, for dating *Bussy d'Ambois* later than the death of Elizabeth have certainly considerable weight, but in this edition he has confined

[1] A good many unnecessary alterations are introduced, but in several instances Shepherd's emendations are good, and must be accepted: e.g. *Tragedy of Chabot*, i, 1. 187; ii, 2. 52; ii, 2. 119. This play had previously been edited by Dyce, but did not appear in the collected edition of 1873.

[2] Of *Bussy d'Ambois* and *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois* we have had satisfactory editions from Professor Boas.

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himself to stating his conclusions, and the reader has no means of judging of their validity except by reference to the above-named article. In the notes, however, attention is called to the least weighty of the arguments, that which is based upon the mention of leap-year (i, 2. 82). It is really time that an effective protest should be made against the kind of reasoning of which this is an example. The author has occasion to introduce into his dialogue a jest of which the point, such as it is, turns upon the assumption that the action of the play takes place in a leap-year; but he cannot do this (it is assumed) except on one of two conditions, either that the action which is presented took place historically in a leap-year, or that it is leap-year at the time when the play is being produced. This is no burlesque of Professor Parrott's argument. 'Only one of two things can have suggested this jest to the author, either that it was a leap-year when the historical Bussy first appeared at court, or that it was a leap-year when the play was being composed for presentation[1].' Of course this is only a repetition of reasoning with which we are familiar. *Romeo and Juliet* must have been produced in 1591, because the Nurse says, ''Tis since the earthquake now eleven years,' and there was a noticeable earthquake in 1580: *The Old Law* must have been produced in 1599, because that is the assumed date of the action represented. (By the same rule it must have been first acted on the 11th of Hecatombaion, for nothing else could have suggested that date to the mind of an Elizabethan dramatist.) The leap-year argument is not essential, however, and we may reasonably accept for *Bussy d'Ambois*, as we have it in the first quarto, a date not earlier than 1604, though possibly the play may have existed earlier in a different form. As regards the revision of which the result is given in the second quarto, the editor is probably right in connecting it with the production of *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois*, and this may reasonably be dated 1610 or 1611. *The Tragedy of Chabot* is regarded by the editor as the result of a thorough revision by Shirley in 1634 of a play composed by Chapman soon after 1611, at which date appeared the earliest edition of Pasquier's *Recherches de la France* which can have been used as its source. Certainly it is improbable that there should have been an actual collaboration between Chapman and Shirley, and it is desirable, if possible, to bring this play into connection with the preceding series of dramas founded on French history. It is shown by the editor that there is a large amount of mixed work in the play, suggesting revision rather than collaboration, and that the contributions of Shirley may be traced in at least eight of the eleven scenes. Professor Parrott rightly refuses to allow that Chapman had any hand either in *Alphonsus Emperor of Germany* or in *Revenge for Honour*; and this being so, it might be considered reasonable that he should have excluded these plays from his edition, or at least printed them in an appendix, with a less elaborate apparatus of notes.

[1] *Modern Language Review*, Vol. III, p. 131.

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The textual questions dealt with in this volume are often of considerable interest. In such remarks as have to be made upon them it will be convenient to follow the order of the plays.

*Bussy d'Ambois*, ii, 2. The editor is perhaps right in omitting at the beginning of this scene the fifty lines which are dropped in the second quarto, but hardly for the reason given. They are certainly not without dramatic significance. The supposed introduction of Montsurry in the preceding scene, as a spectator to whom no speech is assigned, does not in the least render them useless and is itself dramatically absurd.

*The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois*, i, 1. 285. Professor Parrott objects to read 'Ere you were born' for 'Ere you're born,' because the latter reading 'shows the syncopated first foot common in Chapman,' and similarly in iv, 5. 105, v, 5. 5, where he will not read 'to the Court' for 'to' th Court,' 'opens' for 'opes,' in order not to get rid of this feature. (In *Bussy d'Ambois*, iii, 2. 1 he even assumes that the omission of 'my' in the second quarto is deliberate, with a view to metrical effect.) But this characteristic of Chapman's verse is purely imaginary: it cannot be shown that the author ever intentionally wrote such lines.

i, 1. 361. The parenthesis of the quarto is certainly right: 'never so thriftily' must of course belong to 'swearing.'

i, 1. 379. The alteration of 'friend' to 'brother' ought not to be accepted from Shepherd. In Elizabethan English 'friend' may be used of a near kinsman.

*Byron's Conspiracy*, ii, 1. 51. The alteration of 'service' to 'servant' is too hastily admitted. The meaning is 'My best powers in that and in all things vow service to you.'

ii, 1. 105. The emendation 'affirme' for 'assume' might well have been accepted from Mr P. A. Daniel, to whom are due also the excellent corrections in ll. 122 and 149.

iii, 1. 16. 'Tun'd in to Chaos' can hardly be right.

iii, 2. 224. 'feral' for 'femall' is a good correction: the context is quite appropriate.

iii, 3. 84. The editor says, 'This line lacks a syllable and is quite unintelligible.' (He has forgotten the theory about 'syncopated first foot.') Read 'Out, remedy of pity.' The sense is fairly clear: 'remedy of pity' means, as Mr Daniel says, 'reason for discarding pity,' and is quite in Chapman's style.

iv, 1. 160. The editor should print 'Dolphin' here, and not modernise to 'Dauphin,' thus losing, or at least blunting, the point of the expression.

*Byron's Tragedy*, i, 1. 123. Shepherd's emendation 'overwatch'd' might well be accepted.

iii, 1. 124. The explanation given does not fit the text, which probably needs some correction.

iii, 2. 31. 'He will not come' should be given either as an exclamation or a question. This is clear from the context, especially l. 56, in spite of the different form which the remark has in the chronicle.

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iii, 2. 44. There should be a note on 'dis[m]ay'd.'

iv, 2. 172 ff. The conversation of Henry with Auvergne is of course aside.

iv, 2. 294. The alteration here proposed is not convincing. The intransitive use of 'overthrow' is hardly to be found later than Middle English, and the falling over of a pageant because it was too large can hardly have been a familiar spectacle. We must be content with the more homely similitude of the quartos, which perhaps may be illustrated from the common saying 'Herculis cothurnos aptare infanti.'

*The Tragedy of Chabot*, i, 1. 206. 'In' for 'I' is no doubt right.

ii, 2. 51. 'arm'd,' as suggested in the note, might well have been adopted in the text. (The quarto reading is 'ariu'd,' not 'arriv'd.')

ii, 2. 87. The reading 'nor honour' is a good one, but it was first suggested by Brereton (*Mod. Lang. Rev.*, Vol. III, p. 67).

ii, 3. 103. The reading proposed by the editor is an excellent one and should have been adopted in the text.

iii, 2. 169 ff. The editor remarks that the syntax of this is unusually difficult, but neither he nor any other critic has perceived, apparently, what the solution of the difficulty is. It seems to me almost certain that the speeches of the Proctor-General and of Chabot have been by some means disarranged in the quarto. Chabot's speech is wrongly broken after l. 146 by the interpolation here of what should have been the conclusion of the Proctor's oration (ll. 147—168). If this be placed where it ought to go, after l. 116, little difficulty remains. We get rid of the very unnatural interruption at l. 146, and Chabot's speech at this point will read,

> Only beseeching all your learned judgments,
> Equal and pious conscience, to weigh
> The variety and wonder now presented
> To your most noble notice and the world's,
> That all my life etc.

This simplifies the syntax very much, though it does not entirely reduce it to correctness, and gives a proper connection also for 'And then consider' in l. 178.

*Cæsar and Pompey*, i, 2. 193. 'To take' is of course right. Examples of the construction are very frequent: e.g. Shakspeare, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, ii, 6. 1 ff. and ii, 7. 80.

i, 2. 288. I do not know what the editor means by his note, p. 667. Chapman of course wrote 'Great Agamemnon or the king of men' with reference to the Homeric *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν*.

v, l. 51. 'Left' seems a very probable emendation for 'Lost.'

The explanatory notes are often valuable, but leave a good many difficulties unsolved, as the editor would readily admit. The remarks which I have to make upon them shall be brief. In *Bussy d'Ambois*, v, 4. 135 ff., Professor Parrott can attach no definite meaning to the imagery, which, no doubt, is somewhat obscure. But Pindus and Ossa (not 'Pelion and Ossa') piled with their snows upon the hero's heart stand for the weight of cold with which death was oppressing him, and

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which might have altogether benumbed his being, but that the red beams of his sun melted the snow into torrents of bitterness. In the *Revenge of Bussy*, iii, 2. 107, 'No time occurs to kings' is a translation of the legal maxim, 'Nullum tempus occurrit regi,' that is, 'No lapse of time impairs the king's rights.' Finally, the concluding lines of *Chabot*, which are given up by the editor as meaningless, may nevertheless be explained:

> Kings, they say,
> Die not or starve succession: Oh, why
> Should that stand firm, and kings themselves despair
> To find their subject still in the next heir?

That is, 'Kings can find successors always to themselves, but cannot always find a successor to such a subject as this.'

Let me conclude by saying that this edition of Chapman's tragedies is on the whole a very valuable contribution to scholarship, and that the volume containing the comedies will be looked for with much interest[1].

G. C. Macaulay.

Cambridge.

*The Authorship of 'Timon of Athens.'* By E. H. Wright. New York: Columbia University Press. 1910. 8vo. viii + 104 pp.

*Timon of Athens* has hardly received sufficient attention hitherto. Mr Wright has collected the results of previous critics, and with their help reconsidered from the beginning all the general problems connected with the play. The book is a useful one.

With regard to the sources, besides Plutarch he finds only the old play of Timon (or, no doubt, some lost source of that play) necessary. Lucian's dialogue may have been used. Mr Wright's method is to divide up the play roughly on aesthetic and technical grounds, and then, working on that division, to assign to Shakespeare and the 'other author' as far as possible their own shares in writing and plot-construction, and to solve the problem of priority. Principally from considerations of style and metre he gives Shakespeare more than most previous critics. In only two passages, the last half of I, 1 and the prose parts of III, 6, does he find it impossible to feel at all certain. Some of the ascriptions towards the end of IV, 3 on grounds of style and matter are not very convincing; and if the passages in this scene attributed to each had not been lumped together for the purposes of the 'metrical table' some contradictory results would have been reached.

The division thus made and every consideration of the play lead Mr Wright to accept Shakespeare's priority. This is rendered even more certain by the conclusions which he arrives at before the end of the book. But in any case this view, which most critics accept

[1] There are a good many trifling misprints scattered about the volume, which should be corrected in a future issue.



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nowadays, is probably correct. By a series of ingenious combinations and inferences, and by assuming that Shakespeare's play and the additions are each self-dependent, Mr Wright works out a minutely exact division of the play and an account of the activities of the interpolator. It is a clever piece of work, and the general view of the way in which the second hand worked is illuminating and persuasive. Neither the details of the proof, however, nor the assumptions, make the actual argument conclusive. It remains the most plausible hypothesis.

The insertions of the second hand, according to Mr Wright, were largely for stage requirements,—more farce, a banquet, a masque, and so forth. Also he put in more 'dunning,' to make Timon's motives clearer, and the scene of Alcibiades' banishment to explain the crusade against Athens. There are two points on which Mr Wright builds up his detailed theory about the interpolations, to answer most of the difficulties in *Timon of Athens*. The first is an amplification of Fleay's argument about Ventidius. Shakespeare meant to show Ventidius, whom Timon ransoms from prison in the first Act, as the crowning example of ingratitude. The interpolator, having opened the banquet-scene with Ventidius offering repayment, had to cut out the later scene of his refusing Timon, and merely refer to it, substituting the ingratitude of Sempronius and some others. To lead up to this he introduced into the middle of II, 2, where Timon sends his servants to borrow money from Lucius and Lucullus, the name of Sempronius, together with a reference to Lucullus, and Timon's hunting expedition, which joins up with I, 2, also an interpolation. Incidentally this turned the passage to prose. By this explanation minor difficulties about the number and names of the servants are cleared up, and the requirements of style which would give the Lucius and Lucullus scenes to Shakespeare and the Sempronius scene to the second hand are satisfied. It is a theory that may be true; and it fits in well enough with the general lines of the dual authorship: but the evidence that it all happened in this way is far less strong than Mr Wright believes. In the first place it is absurd to think that the offer of Ventidius to repay at the beginning of II, 1 makes it impossible to show Ventidius refusing Timon's appeal later. It is merely a subtler rendering of character. An offer to repay the very rich and generous Timon was a safe one. It was sure to be rejected. Later, he was poorer; and then the part of baseness was to refuse. Nor is the presence of ten lines of prose in the middle of II, 2 so startling. It is perfectly natural that Timon should break off to give his servants directions in prose, and then continue his verse conversation; and Mr Wright's surgery restores rather a crippled verse passage.

> Commend me to their loves, and I am proud, say,
> That my occasions...

is surely a very Fletcherian line for Shakespeare. The arguments which Mr Wright uses against the theory that the whole prose bit is an interpolation are also weak, and can mostly be avoided by making the

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cut in a different place. The rest depend on the assumption that Shakespeare's part of the play was complete in itself, and has all survived,—an assumption which we have no right to make.

The other chief point concerns Alcibiades. Mr Wright thinks that the banishment scene was inserted, to give Alcibiades a motive for warring upon Athens, by the interpolator, who missed the point; and that what we want is 'that Timon's claim on Alcibiades and Timon's service to the thankless state be more conspicuous.' His first point is true enough; but he does not quite succeed in showing that no reason is needed for the action of Alcibiades besides his affection for Timon. The comparison with Fortinbras is not a very good one: Alcibiades is much more central. And in making out his case Mr Wright is led to exaggerate the closeness of the connexion between Timon and Alcibiades which is indicated in the play.

In many ways the last part of the book is the best, where the relations between Shakespeare and the second hand are summed up, the present state of the play accounted for, and the real requirements of the plot suggested. The general lines of all this, as Mr Wright puts them, seem to be correct.

The author writes well and clearly. A certain number of the details, as has been suggested, are unsatisfactory, and the assumptions are often too simple. But this is probably the best account of the play that we have. The personality of the second hand is as dark as ever, and as unimportant. How Fleay can have imagined that he detected the feverish and brilliant style of Tourneur, it is impossible to see.

R. C. Brooke.

Cambridge.

*Milton's Paradise Lost.* Edited by A. W. Verity. Cambridge: University Press. 1910. 8vo. lxxii + 750 pp.

Mr Verity's edition of *Paradise Lost* is a careful and scholarly piece of work. The brief sketch of the poet's life, which forms part of the Introduction, if it adds nothing to our knowledge of the facts, contains more than one happy phrase which draws attention to the relation between Milton's character and training and his poetry. 'The world,' says Mr Verity, 'has known many greater scholars in the technical, limited sense...but few men, if any, who have mastered more things worth mastering in art, letters, and scholarship,' and the distinction is apt and illuminating. Again, in dealing with that long period devoted to political controversy, he has the courage to oppose those who lament these years as irretrievable waste: 'It may fairly be contended that had Milton elected in 1639 to live the scholar's life apart from "the action of men," *Paradise Lost*, as we have it, or *Samson Agonistes*, could never have been written. Knowledge of life and human nature, insight into the problems of men's motives and emotions, grasp of the broader issues of human tragedy, all these were essential to the author of an



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epic poem; they could only be obtained through commerce with the world.' It is to be regretted that Mr Verity did not expand this still further, and illustrate more fully Milton's knowledge of human nature, and the niceties of his treatment of character; except for an occasional hint—such as the note on the Council of the Fallen Angels (II, 309)—he does little to prove his assertion; and yet in the face of those critics who still maintain that Milton 'knew human nature only in the gross,' it is well worth enforcing. It is also somewhat surprising to find a modern critic quoting with apparent approval Dryden's complaint 'that Milton saw nature through the spectacles of books,' and calling no attention to such exquisite passages as the description of evening after a stormy day, in Bk. II, ll. 488—95. It is true that in a note on Bk. IX, ll. 445—54, Mr Verity somewhat coldly allows that Milton was 'a true lover of Nature,' but he goes on to say that the poet who dwells with delight on

> The smell of grain or tedded grass or kine,

on 'drooping plant and dropping tree,' is not 'minutely accurate.' The introductory essay on the sources of *Paradise Lost* is admirably clear and sane. Due allowance is made for every possible influence which can have affected Milton, without the assumption that every chance resemblance implies deliberate plagiarism. The notes are full, and contain abundant references to the work of former critics, and also to passages from other poets both ancient and modern, whose works may serve to illustrate a point or make an interesting comparison. The beginner will find this edition a storehouse of information, and those who know Milton well will find much to interest them.

G. E. Hadow.

Cirencester.

*The Oxford Book of Ballads.* Chosen and edited by Arthur Quiller-Couch. Oxford: University Press. 1910. 8vo. xxiv + 871 pp.

The ballad-editor's dilemma is between scientific collectivism and literary eclecticism; for the fact is that the ballads are not—or at least were never meant to be—literature. Let him who shies at so plain a statement pause to investigate the true meaning of the word 'literature,' and to contrast it with the true meaning of the word 'lore'; and he will perceive that the ballads are properly communicable only by word of mouth, not to be stereotyped in hard letters and cold lead. The written or printed ballad is an 'animula vagula,' as it were, 'in corpore vili.' It is not easy nowadays for us to assume the right position towards the ballads—which, it may be, has gone past recovery; yet while the editor of a play extant in four folios and six quartos is expected to record all his variants, the editor of ballads may go browse and choose what pleases him most. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch has the advantage of a precedent set by Sir Walter Scott and William Allingham; he has also the *variorum* edition of Francis James Child;

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and the result is thoroughly satisfactory to everybody who likes the ballads and does not care about their history.

All the best of Child's three hundred and five are here, some of them in more than one form: there are three versions of *Young Bekie*, and *Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight* and *May Colvin*, and *Earl Brand* and *The Douglas Tragedy*, are two pairs of variants. We are glad to see the bold inclusion of *King Arthur and King Cornwall* and the *Marriage of Sir Gawain*, from their sadly-mutilated originals in the Percy Folio. Here and there we may cavil at errors of commission or omission in the editing: the hand of the censor has fallen on *Glasgerion*, *Young Hunting*, and *Brown Robyn's Confession* (the only ballad of the Virgin's miracles we possess); Percy's garbled version of the *Boy and the Mantle* is given in place of the delightful original in the Folio MS., and the broadside version of the *Lord of Lorn* instead of the Folio one; *Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard* opens—I think illegitimately—with the refrain of the *Bonny Birdy*; there is a better version of the *Great Silkie of Sule Skerry*, and the one given need not have been altered in the sixth verse; and *Judas* stops very suddenly and quite inexplicably before it has got under weigh. The *Lyke-Wake Dirge* has every right to be included, and it is encouraging to see 'Fire and fleet' adopted in place of 'Fire and sleet.' Towards the end of the book several poems that are not ballads, and some that are frankly folk-songs, are included. *The Spanish Lady's Love* is very like the best of Deloney's work, which to my mind is very like the worst of Deloney's work.

Book IV—'early carols and ballads of Holy Writ'—is most interesting, though some of the poems are certainly not ballads. *The Falcon* and *Jolly Wat* seem to have come out of *Early English Lyrics*; if they did not, Sir Arthur is to be congratulated on correcting the order of the stanzas in the latter; and if they did, he may be asked why he did not also include the modern traditional variant of the *Falcon*, which would seem to have a better claim to a place among ballads than the fifteenth-century lyric. *The Angel Gabriel*, *The Three Kings*, and *The Innocents* are not true ballads; but all the other (too few) English traditional carols are here except *The Bitter Withy*. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch might have added this, and improved the texts of other carols, if he had searched recent numbers of the *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*. Would he not like to know of another genuine verse belonging to the carol of *The Seven Virgins*? In return, he should be pressed for a plain statement about his version of *I Saw Three Ships*: the verse about St Michael and St John is only known to me in Ritson's careless quotation from what he calls 'a musical medley' (i.e. Forbes' *Cantus*), and there the form of the stanza is different.

The volume, uniform with the *Oxford Book of English Verse*, needs no bibliographical comment, except that the end-papers, maps of the Border, are a happy idea carried out more picturesquely than usefully.

F. SIDGWICK.

LONDON.

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*The Anglo-Saxon Charms.* By FELIX GRENDON. Reprinted from the *Journal of American Folk Lore*, April—June, 1909. (No. LXXXIV, pp. 105—237.) 4to.

The claims of Mr Grendon's monograph may best be stated in his own terms: 'No complete and separate edition of the Anglo-Saxon charms has yet been published, nor has any interpretative work been issued which covers the field....The present publication aims to furnish a detailed treatment of the subject. All the Anglo-Saxon metrical incantations are presented in the text, as well as all prose charms with vernacular or gibberish formulas; while exorcisms with Christian liturgical formulas, and Old English recipes involving charm practices, are represented by typical specimens.'

Mr Grendon's 'detailed treatment' observes limits which he does not indicate, but which are suggested by the publication of his study in a journal of folk-lore. The difficult problems presented by the metre of the charms are not even noticed, and the language is dismissed with the occasional recognition of an Anglian form. The investigation is confined to the matter of the charms, to interpretation and illustration; and within these limits the volume is interesting and valuable. It contains the text of sixty-two charms, with parallel translations and textual footnotes, a very readable introduction (pp. 105—159), a bibliography and list of charms not included, and notes, explanatory and illustrative, which sin pleasantly on the side of brevity.

In the Introduction, Mr Grendon collects much interesting material, but he does not completely succeed in organizing it. The Introduction is divided into three sections—(1) General Characteristics, (2) Classification of Charms, (3) Christian Elements in the Charms. In the third section, and only there, phenomena are grouped according to their causes. Arrangement of the whole material on this plan would have saved repetition and confusion. If the charms were classified according to fundamental ideas, their general characteristics might be elucidated in the course of the classification. Instead, we are given a loose catalogue of characteristics (p. 110), without any estimate of their relative importance; and a classification of the charms (p. 123) on a shifting basis, partly according to their aim, partly according to the accompanying ceremonial. Clear definition thus becomes impossible; Mr Grendon's group A (Exorcisms of diseases, etc.) cannot be definitely separated from group B (Herbal Charms); and most of the Charm Remedies forming group E fall under B or under D (Amulet Charms). Still more unsatisfactory is the classification of characteristics: '(1) Narrative Introduction; (2) Appeal to a superior spirit; (3) The writing or pronouncing of potent names or letters; (4) Methods of dealing with disease-demons; (5) The exorcist's boast of power; (6) Ceremonial directions to patient and exorcist; (7) The singing of incantations on parts of the body and on other objects; (8) Statement of time for performance of rites; (9) Sympathy and the association

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of ideas; (10) Minor superstitious practices.' Here (2) and (3) overlap; (4) trespasses on all the other sections; (7) and (8) are subheadings of (6); and (9) is the fundamental characteristic which explains (1) and parts of most other sections. Except in so far as it falls under (2) and (3), Naming is omitted. Finally, among 'minor superstitious practices' are mentioned some ceremonies clearly belonging to main types. The ceremonial recommended *Wiþ feos lyre* (A 15)—to light three candles and to pour the melted wax on the beast's hoof-prints —is sympathetic. The 'running water' charms, though doubtless recalling the connection between streams and beneficent spirits, aim either at transfer (usually) or at sanctification by contact. The last idea, rather than that of transfer suggested by Mr Grendon, underlies the Beetle Charm *Wiþ wambewœrce* (C 2), probably a survival of beetle-worship, of which, as Mr Grendon's note reminds us, Grimm found traces among Teutonic peoples (*Teutonic Mythology*, trans. Stallybrass, p. 691 ff.). I do not know any example of *indirect* transfer, such as Mr Grendon here infers. Another misconception, several times repeated, relates to 'rinde seo þe cymð of neorxnawonge,' recommended in E 9 as a remedy against all poisons. Mr Grendon comments on the quaintness of this description, which he takes literally. Much more probably 'rind from Paradise' is merely a name for some eastern or southern drug (cf. myrrh and frankincense E 4, E 14 etc.), hard to get, as the scribe remarks. Nor can we accept the suggestion that there is a mythological reference in the recommendation to a warrior to eat young swallows before a fight (p. 137): Mr Grendon's tentative alternative explanation is certainly the right one; the aim is direct acquisition of the swallow's agility. Numerous examples of similar customs are quoted by Dr A. C. Haddon in his excellent little book *Magic and Fetishism*—a book which, in spite of its modest popular form, deserves to be added to Mr Grendon's bibliography.

Distinctly the best section of the Introduction is that dealing with Christian influences. In his account of the interaction of Christian and pagan ideas, Mr Grendon shows that he can sympathetically reconstruct the psychological processes underlying the literary product, and his treatment is most luminous. In the other sections of his work, he merely presents phenomena with something of amused aloofness. His imagination does not requicken the conception of the world from which sprang the charms, the conception natural to minds unprotected and unfettered by knowledge, contemplating a world in which the supernatural and the natural, the marvellous and the commonplace, formed adjacent territories in daily experience.

The texts are careful, and in doubtful passages orthodox. The translations skilfully preserve the middle way between uncouth literalness and too great freedom. Some criticisms of detail may be given here; other suggestions, too controversial for a review, I reserve for separate treatment.

In the best-known of all the charms, *Wiþ fœrstice* (A 1) Mr Grendon translates 'linde' (in the line 'Stod under linde, under leohtum scylde')

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by 'linden,' and comments (p. 117), 'the sufferer is directed to seek shelter under linden-trees.' 'Lind' here of course means the linden-wood shield (cp. Bosworth-Toller, 'lind,' II).

The well-known charm *Wiδ ymbe* (A 4) is probably to be used on the occasion of bees swarming, to keep the swarm near the desired spot, 'wiδ δa micelan mannes tungan,' in spite of the spell which another man might make to tempt them away; not, as Grendon translates, 'to stop bees from swarming.' The second ceremonial direction, 'Forweorp ofer greot þonne hi swirman,' establishes this interpretation, already given or assumed by several editors. 'Wiδ' in a charm title varies in meaning, like modern 'for'; it most commonly carries the idea of cure, but may also signify occasion or connexion, as above, or prevention. Probably we have the last meaning in the charm *Wiδ corn* (A 7), 'þis mæg horse wiδ δon þe him biδ corn on þa fet'; which may mean, as Mr Grendon thinks, 'This will cure a horse if it should have corns on its feet,' but more probably 'This avails for a horse against his having a corn,' 'this will keep a horse from having a corn.' Similarly *Wiδ feos nimunge* (A 16) is to *prevent* the theft of cattle, as is clearly shown by the opening sentence and by lines 13—19. This charm would be said on leaving cattle at pasture; contrast A 15, A 21, A 22, which aim at the recovery of stolen cattle.

It may be noted that the charm *Æcerbot* (A 13) falls into two distinct sections; ll. 4—39, for pasture land, l. 40 to the end for ploughed land. The qualification 'þe on þæm lande sy gewesen' (l. 9) probably extends to 'ælcre namcuδre wyrte'; for the point of the charm lies in the sanctification of samples, which are also symbols, of every desired thing already produced on the land in question (cf. ll. 11, 12). (On p. 155 the mistaken omission of the qualification is extended to cattle and trees also.) Immediately below, 'drype' probably applies, not to holy water alone, but to the liquid concocted of the ingredients prescribed in lines 4—9, including holy water; a liquid symbolizing all things desired from the fields. This gives point to the formula 'Crescite et multiplicamini,' etc., which would scarcely be addressed to the mere sod. In l. 31, it is straining the freedom of translation to render '[ic bidde] δa soþan sancta Marian' by 'the just and saintly Mary'; and two lines later 'þæt ic mote þis gealdor...toþum ontynan' is better translated, as usually, 'that I may utter this charm' (referring to the charm which is being spoken) than as Mr Grendon gives it 'that I this spell may with my teeth dissolve' (referring to an evil spell supposed to rest on the land). The next incantation, beginning 'Erce, Erce, Erce, eorδan modor, geunne δe se alwalda, ece drihten, æcera wexendra' cannot be strictly described as 'a Pagan address to Mother Earth, beseeching her to bless the fields' (p. 155). The pagan element is doubtless present, but the Christian elements have transformed it, not merely engulfed it, as indeed is the case throughout this carefully elaborated and consciously artistic charm. In l. 81 of the same charm, the translation of 'corna gehwylc' by 'all our grain' scarcely brings out the full meaning—'every kind of grain,' cf. 'ælces cynnes melo' in l. 73.

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Mr Grendon blunders seriously in A 24, l. 15, translating 'sing þis ofer þam drence and þam gewrite' 'Sing this over the drink and recite the following writing.' Of course 'þam gewrite' is coordinate with 'þam drence.' This mistake leads to further confusion in the translation of ll. 28 f., and in the interpretation of the charm as a whole. By a minor slip the MS. reading 'scriptura' is corrected to 'scripturæ' in l. 31, but allowed to stand in l. 17.

The translation of B 3, ll. 12—14, may also be questioned; it should be 'Make (the three roots) into a drink (as follows): boil them three times in milk, pouring in holy water three times.' Again, Mr Grendon takes 'hine' (l. 15) to refer to 'drenc'; if it were so, we should probably again have 'hine' instead of 'ðone drenc' in l. 16. More probably 'Sing on Paternoster...deo' applies to the drink, and all that follows, to the patient. The introduction of 'hine,' referring to the patient, suggests a subject for 'drince' (l. 16). For similar chants over the patient cf. A 2, 5, 11, 17, 20, 23 etc.; for signs marked round the patient and on his limbs cf. A 12, 24; and probably the latter ceremonial is to be understood at the end of A 17, accompanying the formula 'Crux Matheus,' etc. In B 4, l. 57, we note the slip 'poison' instead of 'disease' to translate 'adle.'

Vowel quantities are wrongly marked in several cases, e.g. A 1, l. 25, 'þc' for 'þē'; A 14, l. 24, 'scēote' for 'sceote'; C 5, l. 1, 'hrēfn' for 'hrefn.' In metre, too, Mr Grendon makes some slips. The worst is his re-arrangement of A 14, ll. 25—9, where he completely spoils the verse. If, as he thinks, it were desirable to cancel 'hand ofer heafod' after 'beo,' which is most questionable, Ettmüller's division would be the correct one: 'Biddu ealle bliðum mode / þæt me beo Matheus helm, Marcus byrne / etc.'

The notes are brief and illuminating. Mr Grendon limits his detailed investigation to Old English—a wise limitation, making his volume the more compact—and thus safeguards himself from criticism for the omission of some interesting parallels. Even within these limits, however, some additions might be made; for example, to the parallels from *Beowulf* and Ælfric for 'shots sent by the devil' (note on A 1, l. 23) we may add *Andreas*, ll. 1330—2, *Crist*, ll. 759—771, *Juliana*, ll. 404 f. In this connexion it would be well to note that the idea has Christian as well as pagan associations, cf. *Ephesians* vi. 16. 'In omnibus sumentes scutum fidei, in quo possitis omnia tela nequissimi ignea exstinguere.' Similarly we must regard with caution Mr Grendon's statement that sanctification by contact was borrowed by the Church from pagan custom. The idea has an obvious psychological explanation—it is merely one form of contagious magic, and appears almost universally. One need only name such familiar examples as the Hindu charm remedies of pills of paper on which sacred texts have been written, and water in which such texts have been washed off; and the sanctification among the Tahitians of objects which have touched the images of idols. The idea is a natural growth in any religion, and in Christianity as much as in any other.

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Mr Grendon writes very pleasantly, though insular prejudice must protest that 'grewsome' (p. 177) is a wanton disfigurement of 'gruesome,' and that even the liberal-minded authors of *The King's English* would hardly defend the vicious split infinitive on p. 157. In considering the volume as a whole, criticism is merged in acknowledgment; for if Mr Grendon does not utter a final word on any aspect of the subject, he offers very much that is suggestive, and presents this fascinating and rather neglected material in a most convenient and attractive form.

A. R. Skemp.

Sheffield.

*Beowulf.* Edited by W. J. Sedgefield. Manchester: University Press. 1910. 8vo. viii + 300 pp.

In England we have had no edition of *Beowulf* since the appearance of Wyatt's text and glossary (1894, 1898), though the elaborate work of Holthausen (1905–9) has appeared meanwhile in Germany. To this latter edition all later editors are necessarily under great obligations, and its influence is apparent in the work of Dr Sedgefield. The text, for example, is much less conservative than that of Wyatt, and on the lines of the modern reconstructed editions.

The Introduction is, perhaps, the most important part of the book, and sums up in a useful way the results of the investigation of the past few years. Following upon the account of the MS. and of the methods in accordance with which the text has been constructed, we have sections dealing concisely with the dialect, grammatical forms, syntax, metre, style and vocabulary. The evidence for the date of the poem is supplemented by the important criteria of Morsbach, which have been adopted as the basis of Richter's recent work, *Chronologische Studien zur angels. Literatur.* The remarks on metre are supplemented by a concise discussion in an appendix of the theories of Sievers and of Kaluza.

In his treatment of subject-matter, Dr Sedgefield follows the lines laid down by Olrik and Panzer, the mythological interpretations of the Müllenhof school being relegated to the background. The inclusion of this material distinguishes the present edition from all its predecessors, and suggests a new point of departure for later investigation. In this connexion, reference might have been made in the bibliography to the article by W. W. Lawrence, 'Some disputed questions in Beowulf Criticism[1].' The bibliography also omits Chadwick's *Origin of the English Nation*, which should have been included on other grounds. Dr Sedgefield's conclusion 'that the case for translation or adaptation of a Scandinavian poem is not proved, as the tone of the *Beowulf* is essentially English' seems more probable than that set forward by Panzer in his epoch-making book.

The text has been printed without any indications of vowel length,

[1] *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 1909.

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but as this matter has been attended to in the glossary, no injustice has been done to students. In the glossary it would have been more correct to print 'þyhtig' and 'yppe' with long stressed vowels. Other false quantities are probably misprints.

The Notes contain much useful material, and among other things the case for certain emendations introduced by the editor: these have appeared separately in the *Modern Language Review*. With regard to the suggested reading 'wette' for 'wehte,' l. 2854, it may be worth noting that *Genesis*, l. 1922, has 'wætrum weaht.'

To discuss the whole of the material in the Notes is impossible here, but attention may be directed to a few points.

l. 24. 'leode' is more likely to be nom. plur. = 'people.' Cf. l. 2500 where 'gelæste' is followed by the accus. The glossary gives no hint of the accus. construction after 'gelæstan' = 'to help' (p. 236).

l. 204. 'sceawedon' would seem to mean 'examined,' 'gazed into.'

ll. 207—9. A note might have been added here, seeing that the references in 'secg' and 'land-gemyrcu' are by no means obvious.

l. 459. This note is misleading, since 'gesloh þin fæder' is the MS. reading. The deviation from the MS. in the text should have been indicated in a foot-note on p. 54.

l. 749. I imagine that 'wið earm gesæt' means 'rested on his arm' rather than 'clung to the arm,' cf. *Christ and Satan* (Grein-Wülker, II, 2, p. 545).

l. 870. Rieger's suggestion that these words might fall into a parenthesis was worth consideration.

l. 1072. Möller's identification of the 'Eotenas' with the followers of Hnæf and Hengest should have been noted. So also, in the list of proper names.

l. 1363. Miss Wright's discovery of the M.E. 'rind' = frost makes it possible to retain the MS. reading here.

l. 1512. 'aglæcan' is gen. rather than acc. sing.

ll. 1537 and 1541 demand some discussion. In the latter, 'andlean' is, on metrical grounds, the more likely reading.

The same remark applies to l. 1728, where, according to Klaeber, 'hweorfan' has merely the force of the verb 'to be.'

l. 1781. 'ofer' is treated differently in the note and in the glossary.

l. 1797. The argument seems insufficient to establish a collective force for 'þegnes.' Beowulf would naturally have a special attendant assigned to him.

l. 1936. 'handgrip' is more likely to mean 'arrest' than 'strangling.'

l. 2029. For 'ending with *leodhryre*' read 'ending with *duge*.'

l. 2035. It is difficult to see how 'dryhtbearn,' explained in the glossary as 'noble youth,' can stand in apposition to 'fæmnan.' Klaeber appears to refer 'dryhtbeorn' not to the son of Froda, but to the Danish attendant of Freawaru, and his interpretation suits the text admirably, cf. l. 2053.

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In conclusion, we would thank Dr Sedgefield for an edition, the most elaborate that has yet appeared in English, which in its concise introduction and notes marshals much valuable material accessible up to now only in learned periodicals and dissertations.

P. G. THOMAS.

LONDON.

*La vie de P. de Ronsard de Claude Binet* (1586). By PAUL LAUMONIER. Paris: Hachette. 1910. 8vo. xlviii + 259 pp.

*Ronsard poète lyrique.* By PAUL LAUMONIER. Paris: Hachette. 1909. 8vo. li + 806 pp.

*Tableau chronologique des œuvres de Ronsard, suivi de poésies non recueillies et d'une table alphabétique.* By PAUL LAUMONIER. 2me édition. Paris: Hachette. 1911. 8vo. xi + 140 pp.

The above three works, which are the fruit of ten years' continuous study, form at once a noble monument to the memory of Ronsard, and the most important contribution that has yet been made to the study of his poetry. It is with feelings of deep admiration that I offer to their author my most hearty congratulations. It will be convenient to notice first the edition of Binet's *Life*. Binet has long been regarded as an incontestable authority, and writer after writer has tranquilly repeated statements about Ronsard solely on the testimony of *le vieux* Binet. The first to question his credit was M. Henri Chamard, and it was some observations of his, made nearly twelve years ago, which convinced M. Laumonier that a critical examination of the *Life* was necessary. Before however he had realised his project, Miss Evers, an American student, published in 1905 a critical edition, based upon the three texts of 1586, 1587 and 1597[1]. M. Laumonier, while doing full justice to her work, rightly claims that it has not made his own superfluous. Certain inexactitudes, inevitable from the conditions under which Miss Evers was working, far from the *Bibliothèque nationale*, required correction, while the historical commentary, which in Miss Evers' edition was of very modest proportions, has become in M. Laumonier's expert hands of first-rate importance.

In the introduction M. Laumonier shows that Binet was only about seventeen when he was introduced to Ronsard, probably by Dorat, and probably in or about the year 1570; that he saw very little of him till the last three years of his life (1582—1585); and that it was not till after his death that he thought of writing his biography. M. Laumonier also discusses in detail the sources, actual and possible, of his information.

Binet's errors have been so constantly reproduced by Ronsard's biographers that it will be well to point out the most conspicuous ones. In 1540 Ronsard accompanied Lazare de Baïf, not to Speier, but to

[1] See *Modern Language Review*, I, p. 260.

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Haguenau. Binet's statement that he went to Piedmont with Guillaume Du Bellay is not confirmed by any other writer, and is now generally abandoned. In his original text Binet, on the authority of Ronsard's biographical elegy (*Œuvres*, IV, 300), says that 'he lived with Dorat for *five* years,' but in the posthumous edition of Ronsard's *Works* (1587) *five* was altered to *seven* and Binet followed suit. M. Laumonier's explanation is that Ronsard spent only five years as an inmate of the Collège de Coqueret, and that the *seven* years includes the time during which he attended Dorat's lectures as an out-student. With regard to Binet's statement that Ronsard translated into French the *Plutus* of Aristophanes, M. Laumonier points out that according to the texts of 1586 and 1587 'he' may refer to Dorat, and that the fragment of the supposed translation (*Œuvres*, VII, 281), which was first printed in 1617, is of very doubtful authenticity. The story of the meeting between Ronsard and Du Bellay in an inn between Poitiers and Paris, which first appears in Binet's third edition, has already been examined at length by Miss Evers and shown to rest on no foundation. M. Laumonier thinks it probable that it was through Peletier that Du Bellay made Ronsard's acquaintance, and that the introduction took place at Paris in 1547.

I agree with M. Laumonier that Ronsard's death probably took place at two o'clock during the night of December 27—28, 1585, and that therefore the 28th is the correct date, but I should explain Binet's date of the 27th, not by any reference to the Roman method of counting time, but simply as a loose way of speaking. Finally on p. 84 there is an interesting note on the poet's outward appearance, including a reference to the most authentic portraits. We learn from his own poems that he grew old at an early age; that at thirty he was bald, grey, pale, and thin, and subject to rheumatism and insomnia.

The first question that presents itself to the indolent reviewer with regard to M. Laumonier's most important contribution to the subject, *Ronsard poète lyrique*, is whether eight hundred and fifty pages devoted to one side only of the poet's genius is not excessive. But the answer must be in the negative. In the first place, Ronsard is of enormous importance in the history of French poetry; secondly, the chronology of his poems, upon which so much depends, is very difficult to establish; and thirdly, he owes so much to literary models that an elaborate discussion of his sources was inevitable. M. Laumonier has arranged his book in three divisions, the first dealing with the genesis and evolution of his lyrical work, the second with his sources and originality, and the third, which is considerably shorter than the others, with his versification.

The chronology of Ronsard's poems according to their date of publication is fully determined in the third work at the head of this notice, which is a revised and greatly enlarged edition of what appeared seven or eight years ago in the *Annales Fléchoises*. A remark in the introduction thoroughly justifies this part of M. Laumonier's labours, and is so important that it must be quoted. 'La chronologie

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des ouvrages de l'esprit rapprochée de la chronologie des autres actes de la vie est la base de toute étude littéraire sérieuse; si cette base manque, les efforts du critique n'ont d'autre résultat qu'une appréciation dogmatique ou impressioniste, toujours sujette à caution.' In his larger work the chronology of publication is supplemented, so far as regards the lyrical poems, by careful investigations, conducted with great learning, acuteness, and sobriety, into the dates of composition. Of special importance is the analysis (pp. 29—45) of Ronsard's first volume, *Les Quatre premiers livres des Odes. Ensemble son Bocage.* From this we learn that Ronsard began to write poetry in 1540 or 1541 as a disciple, though an independent one, of Marot. To the influence of Marot was joined that of Horace, and though nothing of Ronsard's appeared in print before 1547, and only four poems in all before 1550, he had written a good many poems before he entered, under the influence of Dorat and Greek literature, on what may be called his Pindaric phase. This lasted from 1545 to 1552, and M. Laumonier points out with just criticism all that there was of extravagance and failure in it. But in the Fifth book of Odes, published in 1552 with the *Amours*, Ronsard, anxious to obtain the ear of the Court, and urged by his well-wishers, began to sacrifice some of his lofty classical principles, and to return to the national tradition represented by Marot. Finally in the *Continuation des Amours* (1555), and in the *Nouvelle Continuation* (1556)[1], generally known as the *Amours de Marie*, he definitely abandoned alike Pindarism and Petrarchism. To the later volume he prefixed by way of dedication the well-known elegy to Jean de Morel (VI, 229) which, as M. Laumonier points out, is a true literary manifesto. Even more pronounced as 'a profession of amorous and literary faith' is the *Élégie à son livre* (I, 141), which concludes the volume by way of epilogue, and which afterwards served as a preface to the *Second livre des Amours* in the 1560 edition of his collected works.

All this shows how fallacious is the view that Ronsard 'redeemed French poetry from the prison which had Marot for governor.' The Pléiade built on the foundations which Marot had laid. Its poetry was not a revolution, but an evolution—an evolution which gave to French poetry the inestimable gift of style. Ronsard acquired the secret of this largely through the study of literary models. And this forms the subject of M. Laumonier's second part. To the study of Ronsard's sources he brings a really remarkable knowledge of Greek, Latin, neo-Latin, and Italian poetry, and it is impossible to praise too highly this part of his work. He rightly points out that while Ronsard's Pindaric odes are a failure, Pindar's influence had a favourable effect on his other works, such as his Hymns, his *Poèmes*, and his *Discours*. His debt to Horace has never been treated before with such fullness of detail, and in M. Laumonier's judgment, if Ronsard falls short of his model in

[1] The only known copy of this volume, which is in the Arsenal library, wants 18 leaves, but minute and careful research, with the aid of two very rare re-impressions, printed at Rouen and Basle respectively, has enabled M. Laumonier to re-construct the contents of the missing leaves.

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concision and brilliancy of finish, he has learnt much from him in the way of choice of subject, plan, and artistic expression.

But it is in the various forms of the lighter lyric—the lyric of nature, the lyric of love, and the drinking song—that M. Laumonier rightly sees the perfection of Ronsard's genius. Here again there is much that is new in his investigation of sources, especially as regards the neo-Latin poets Secundus, Marullus, Pontano, and Navagero. At the same time he makes it abundantly clear that Ronsard's bookish inspiration is in this part of his work corrected by his sincerity. If he writes with models before him, he none the less expresses his own personal emotions, and he adapts his models with exquisite skill to the circumstances of his own life and surroundings. M. Laumonier lays special emphasis on Ronsard's fidelity to nature, and his testimony is all the more valuable as he himself is a native of the Loir valley. It is only in the Petrarchan poems that Ronsard is insincere, for the simple reason that his sentiment was at the opposite pole to Petrarch's. The great Italian's love was spiritual and constant. Ronsard's was avowedly, even cynically, sensuous and fickle.

In his third part M. Laumonier devotes himself to a study of Ronsard's metres and rhythms. Here again he rightly insists on the importance of Marot, especially of his translation of the Psalms. More, perhaps, might have been said of Margaret of Navarre, who introduced a considerable number of new lyric metres. As regards the influence of classical metres in Ronsard, M. Laumonier is particularly suggestive, pointing out how he was affected in certain cases by the physiognomy of the printed text.

It is one of the many admirable features of M. Laumonier's book that he never loses his critical balance. One may not always agree with his judgment on particular poems—an Englishman's standpoint must always be a little different to a Frenchman's—but there is no question as to the fairness and sanity of his general estimate. Particularly interesting is his defence of Ronsard, as against Estienne Pasquier, as a critic of his own works. But this defence is almost wholly directed to Ronsard's exclusion of certain poems from the successive editions of his collected works. With regard to his revision of the poems which he included, M. Laumonier says little, except to point out the general principles which influenced him. To form an adequate judgment as to his success we must await M. Laumonier's critical edition of his works, which is announced for publication by the *Société des textes français modernes*.

M. Laumonier concludes with a quotation from M. Faguet that Ronsard is 'one of the three or four great names of French literature.' This is a hard saying as it stands. Ten names, at least, occur to one which are greater than Ronsard's. But this much is true, that no writer, except Pascal and Chateaubriand, has had so far-reaching an influence on the form of French literature.

ARTHUR TILLEY.

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*Grammar of the Gothic Language.* By JOSEPH WRIGHT. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1910. 8vo. ix + 366 pp.

Dr Wright's *Gothic Primer* is now superseded by his much larger *Grammar of the Gothic Language.* The new book will certainly prove welcome to the English student. Besides an almost complete Phonology and Accidence of Gothic it contains, like the author's other grammars, a concise and, within its very narrow limits, excellent sketch of Indo-Germanic and Primitive Germanic phonology, while, in the Accidence, the Gothic forms are also generally referred to their Primitive Germanic type. One could only wish that the author had been less dogmatic in this part of the book. As a rule, he only states conclusions which all seem equally assured; but the material on which they are based and the problematic nature of not a few are scarcely hinted at. The Syntax is practically a reprint of the sketch in the *Primer* and, as such, unsatisfactory and antiquated. But Dr Wright surely knows this himself.

In the preface, Dr Wright claims that anybody who 'thoroughly masters the book, will not only have gained a comprehensive knowledge of Gothic, but will also have acquired a considerable knowledge of Comparative Germanic Grammar.' Excepting the syntax, I gladly endorse this claim, as also the valuable advice given to the student at the end of the preface.

The following corrections ought to be made:

P. 196. (2) Editions. Dr Wright says, the specimens have been taken from Heyne's edition. Of course, they are based on Streitberg's text.

P. 266. L. ii, 29. Read '[fraujímond] frauja.' See Streitberg, *Got. Bibel*, I, 482, and II, XV to the passage.

P. 292. Note to M. vi, 15. 'ni þáu' renders Gr. *οὐδέ* and introduces the apodosis of the conditional sentence. Why suggest that the Gothic means something different from the Greek?

P. 299. Note to L. ii, 20. 'gahausjan' does not govern the genitive. 'þizeei' is simply attracted into the case of the preceding 'in allaize.'

P. 301. Note to *Tim.* II, i, 26. 'usskarjaindan' should be read and a corresponding alteration made in the text, p. 289. 'us-skawjan,' p. 357, should be replaced by 'us-skarjan.'

Would it not have been better to have given the Greek text throughout? The vocabulary, as far as I have tested it, seems very complete and reliable.

J. STEPPAT.

LONDON.

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*Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache.* Von FRIEDRICH KLUGE. Siebente Auflage. Strassburg: Trübner. 1910. 8vo. xvi + 519 pp.

For thirty years Prof. Kluge's dictionary in its numerous editions has formed a standard work of reference for every student of Teutonic philology. As the author explains in the preface, the book has gradually changed its character. Originally designed to illustrate the relationship between the German language and its cognates, its principal aim has become to throw light upon the historical development of the literary idiom. The new edition appears considerably enlarged. The letter M, to take an example at random, which contained 262 main words in the previous issue, now shows 43 additional entries. An examination of the new words will show that Prof. Kluge has made good use of his more recent researches into the 'Standes- und Gewerbesprachen'; five (*Maat, Mars, Mastkorb, Messe*[2], *Mole*) belong to the 'Seemannssprache' which is becoming more widely known all over the country. Among new dialect words under M we notice in particular *Marterl* and *Machandel*; *Misels* (pl.) is another addition recalling Goethe's 'First Wild Weeks at Weimar'; the right etymology is given (from Alsatian *müsele*, 'little mouse'). Baumgartner who makes fun of the expression in his biography of Goethe, and even very recent writers, derive it from *Demoiselle*, which is obviously wrong. Prof. Kluge records the plural form only; but the singular, *Mi(e)sel*, was quite usual, as was the infinitive *miseln*: Corona Schröter, for instance, is referred to as 'das schöne Misel.'

Besides adding new articles the author has considerably altered and enlarged the original ones. Fuller references to the ever-growing etymological literature are given, and the invaluable material collected in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung* has been extensively drawn upon. We regret to notice, however, that all these undoubted improvements have led to the omission of the introduction, the chronological tables and, above all, the index to the non-German words mentioned in the dictionary. Thus the author succeeds in preserving the former size of the book; but we are convinced that the majority of the prospective users would gladly have paid a small additional sum in order to retain the last-mentioned list which forms so useful a feature in Walde's *Latin Dictionary*. On the other hand, it is gratifying to notice that the field of the 'Sachregister' at the end has been very much widened. Thus we have new references to 'Aberglaube,' 'Baukunst,' 'Nautisches,' 'Rechtsgeschichte,' 'Shakespeare,' etc. A brief inspection of these entries will show how much human interest there is after all to be found in the study of etymology.

On the whole, Dr Kluge is very conservative in his method. The many new-fangled ideas which have lately sprung up among etymologists do not find favour with him; as far as we can see there is not a single word explained as a 'Streckform'—and on this point the author may be right.



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It would be difficult to single out articles of special interest for comment. The critical insight, the thorough methods, the concise and yet clear style of the author are too well known to require particular mention. We add a few remarks on some special points. *Gurgel*: the Latin word ousted the native and cognate equivalent probably because it was more onomatopoetic. Owing to the two shifts of consonants and the vowel changes the O.H.G. *querchala* had lost that quality.—*Herd* in the sense of 'Boden' is said to be exclusively H.G.; cp., however, *Beowulf*, 403 (ed. Holthausen[1]):

[hige-rōf ƀode,]
heard under helme, þæt hē on heo[r]ðe gestōd.

—*Pfennig*: the ending *ing* seems to have a diminutive sense (cf. *Besing*, Kluge). Considering the shape of many early coins, hollow bracteates, I have no doubt that the meaning is 'Pfännchen,' 'little pan.' In the same way *Schilling* may be connected with the root contained in *Schale*[1], O.E. *sciell*, Goth. *skalja*, as meaning 'a small, thin metal plate,' 'ein Plättchen,' 'Schüppchen' (cf. North G. slang *Plaaten* [plātn], 'money, cash,' for H.G. *Platte*(*n*)). The derivation from *Schild* (Weigand[5]; Falk-Torp) is improbable, and as to Prof. Kluge's suggestion, it seems very doubtful whether the idea of 'klingende Münze' was likely to occur to the primitive Teuton.—*Turm*: the change of *n* into *m* is due to assimilation. The lip-rounding of the vowel was imparted to the *r* and then affected the *n*. Similar cases described as 'corruptions' are frequent in the English dialects. E.g. *holm* < *holn*, 'holly,' *N.E.D.*; *lum* < **lun* < Scand. *lundr*, 'a wood,' *Dial. Dict.* Another case in point is Germ. dial. *Dumm*, 'Dung' [*duŋ* > *dum*]. In the Germ. dial. form *Harm* from *Harn* quoted by Prof. Kluge, s.v. *Turm*, the change was most probably brought about by the same cause, the *a* being pronounced with lip-rounding [ǫ] in many German dialects.

HEINRICH MUTSCHMANN.

NOTTINGHAM.

*Handwörterbuch der deutschen Sprache.* Von DANIEL SANDERS. Neu bearbeitet, ergänzt und vermehrt von J. ERNST WÜLFING. Achte Aufl. (erste der Neubearbeitung). Leipzig: Wigand. 1910. 8vo. xii + 887 pp.

Sanders' *Handwörterbuch*, after running through seven editions, appears in an altered and very much improved form for which the new editor, Dr Wülfing, of Bonn, has our best congratulations. The dictionary, originally an abridgment of the large 'Sanders,' aims at being a reasonably complete record of modern literary German for the use of those who for some reason or other are either unable or unwilling to consult the parent work. To reduce to alphabetical order the multifarious phenomena of a language with a long and agitated history, still enjoying a vigorous life and giving fair promise of a still more

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prosperous future, is a task that has attracted many an enthusiast. But unless the work be undertaken on the scale of the *N.E.D.*, or the *Grimmsche Wörterbuch*, it can never be perfectly accomplished. However, the successive editors of the *Handwörterbuch* have succeeded in their task as far as the limitations imposed by the available space would allow them. The clear and ample explanations of the various words and phrases are, when necessary, accompanied by quotations from Luther's version of the Scriptures, from the classical writers and others, which gives more life to the book. The meanings, frequently very numerous, of the individual words are for the most part arranged as in the *N.E.D.*: the original sense is given first and the others follow in the order as they were evolved. Some of the articles are really admirable for clearness and completeness (cp., e.g., those on 'Welt,' 'Not'). Obsolete words are given when found in literature, and special attention has been devoted to all those cases where the usage and meaning of words in the classical writers deviate from present day German. Pure dialect words like 'finzlich,' 'görzen' found in Goethe's private letters are not included; nor could we expect to find such transparent nonce-formations as 'überhirnig' (Lenau, Briefe) or 'Säuselbrut' (id. *Faust*). But apart from these justifiable omissions it is surprising to find how much information is contained on these 887 pages. There is a very legitimate tendency in modern language teaching to make use only of dictionaries written throughout in one language: we have no hesitation in recommending the new 'Kleine Sanders' to the advanced student. But for one defect to be mentioned presently it has everything in its favour.

There are no etymologies, which is a commendable feature; for the work is not intended to take the place of any of the existing purely scientific works such as those of Kluge, Weigand, Heyne or Paul. 'Fremdwörter' are not included, unless they have become 'Lehnwörter'; here the editor had to exercise his own discretion, and the line had to be drawn somewhere. But if 'Chor' and 'Parade' were inserted, why not 'Kommisz' with its numerous compounds, a most popular word which has been in the language ever since Grimmelshausen and the Thirty Years' War? The accent of the main words is marked, and also the length of the vowels in the stressed syllables. This is a good plan, for an accurate phonetic transcription of each word is neither necessary nor desirable in the present hopeless state of confusion among phoneticians. There is one point, however, against which we must enter a strong protest. Dr Wülfing adopts Prof. Trautmann's views on the pronunciation of the German *e*-sounds. He distinguishes two varieties, both long and short, and gives historical reasons for it. The simple facts, however, concerning Northern (i.e. standard) German are, that short *e* and *ä* are pronounced exactly alike (mid-front-wide); the long *e* is narrow, the long *ä* is wide. This development is largely due to the spelling which in itself is arbitrary with regard to *e* and *ä*; for the Low German speakers in adopting the High German idiom have nothing to guide them except the spelling.



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No one acquainted with the history of any literary *κοινή* will deny that it must be largely influenced by the written form, even if he does not go so far as Prof. Braune does in advocating a deliberate spelling-pronunciation. The business of the phonetician is to record the facts, and nothing but the facts; and if he is a philologist at all, he will understand and respect them: 'non ridere, non lugere, neque detestari, sed intelligere' should be his motto. Dr Wülfing is to be congratulated on not having introduced Prof. Trautmann's fantastic spelling in place of the reformed official one, for the result would have been disastrous. The sooner he abandons the attitude of a phonetic dictator the better it will be for the success of an otherwise admirable work.

HEINRICH MUTSCHMANN.

NOTTINGHAM.

## MINOR NOTICES.

The reprint of Robert Browning's *Men and Women*, as originally published in 1855 (Oxford Library of Prose and Poetry, London, Frowde, 1910), forms an attractive volume. In the later editions, as is well known, the poems were arranged differently by the author, and are to be found now, with others, under various heads, 'Dramatic Lyrics,' 'Dramatic Romances,' 'Men and Women,' and 'In a Balcony.' The original *Men and Women* included, for example, *Love among the Ruins*, *Evelyn Hope*, *By the Fireside*, *The Statue and the Bust*, *The Last Ride Together*, *Old Pictures in Florence*, *Saul*, *Two in the Campagna*, and *A Grammarian's Funeral*, and did not include several of the pieces which now stand under the title, as *Pictor Ignotus* and *The Bishop orders his Tomb*. Poems of such diverse nature as were originally contained in the two volumes of 1855, might well seem to demand redistribution, and those which remained under the original title were such as could more properly be called character studies. The original collection, however, is a singularly interesting representative miscellany, and it is well once more to have the 'fifty men and women' standing, as they originally stood, before the lines which express their dedication. The texts of the poems remained practically unaltered in the later editions.

In Dr Gabrielson's *Rime as a Criterion of the Pronunciation of Spenser, Pope, Byron and Swinburne* (Uppsala, 1909) we have a contribution to the history of the Modern English stressed vowels. Some work has already been done on the pronunciation of Spenser as determined by his rimes, but for the most part Dr Gabrielson is working on new ground. He collects an enormous mass of material and deals with it critically, but the book suffers from the fact that no attempt is made to present the results of the enquiry in any concise form. The book can only be of value to the student who is prepared to work

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closely and in detail through some two hundred pages of printed matter and endeavour to do for himself what might so much more easily have been done by the author. The chief impressions one gleans from the book (apart from the author's primary intention) are the hopeless condition of our present texts of Spenser for exact philological study, and the importance of traditional influence in determining rime-usage. Mention may also be made of some interesting paragraphs on traces of dialectal influence in the rimes of Byron, due to his early years in Aberdeenshire.

A. M.

Dr A. T. Bødtker's *Critical Contributions to Early English Syntax*, Second Series (*Videnskabs Selskabets Skrifter*, Christiania, 1910), is a series of notes on the syntax of the Personal, Demonstrative and Relative pronouns and on the temporal use of 'what.' The main feature of these contributions is that they tend to throw back to an earlier period certain constructions which are now considered to be Middle English developments and at the same time disprove French and Scandinavian influences which have been alleged as the cause of their development. With the majority of Dr Bødtker's conclusions one must agree, but in the discussion of some of the constructions it would seem that undue importance is given to extracts from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MSS. E and F, as evidence for their early occurrence. It must be remembered that E is a 12th century MS., which may well show foreign influence in its syntax, as it does in its language, while F belongs to the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century, though it is at the same time a good deal more conservative in its tendencies than E.

A. M.

Dr H. T. Price's *History of Ablaut in the Strong Verbs from Caxton to the end of the Elizabethan Period* (Bonner Studien zur Englischen Philologie, Heft III.) is a sound and scholarly piece of work, worthy of a pupil of Professor Bülbring. The author has covered a wide field of reading in his investigations and has not confined himself to the usages of the standard writers or even of printed books as a whole. In order to determine how far colloquial may differ from written usage he has made a study of letters, diaries, etc. which have only been printed within the last few years. The result is the accumulation of a vast mass of material which can only be in part presented within the limits of a dissertation. Fortunately for us Dr Price is not content, as too many thesis-writers are, with the accumulation of material: he has arranged his matter clearly and draws his inferences carefully. Of these the chief are (1) that the final consonant in the preterite singular, e.g. *was*, *chose*, *gave* as contrasted with O.E. *wæs*, *cēas*, *geaf*, probably remained unvoiced until 1500, (2) that even in Caxton the stem of the preterite plural has become identical with that of the singular, (3) that the participial forms in *-en* gradually passed out of use in the sixteenth century and that the distinction between participial

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and adjectival forms dates from the same period. He shows further that the usage in Caxton tends to be conservative and that the plenitude of his disagreement with what was soon to be the usage of standard literary English tends to disprove any idea that Caxton created standard English. Further, Dr Price does not confine himself to the broad lines of his enquiry, he has many interesting paragraphs on incidental forms, and some of his discussions, e.g., of the forms *choose*, *lose* and *shoot*, are of the highest interest and value.

A. M.

The clearly defined limitations, and the completeness within these limits, make the *Concise Dictionary of Icelandic*, by Geir T. Zoega (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), a minor follower of Cleasby and Vigfusson's *Icelandic Dictionary* welcome; the price, too, which is only one-seventh of that of the large work, brings the book within the reach of every student. The author is the greatest native lexicographer now living, and his thorough knowledge of English, displayed in his earlier works, an *English-Icelandic* and an *Icelandic-English Dictionary* (Reykjavik, 1896 and 1904), has stood him in good stead in that cleansing and remodelling which had to be undertaken, if the material of the large Oxford Dictionary was to be brought up to date. But we are probably not wrong in ascribing a very considerable share of the work to the supervisor and editor, Dr W. A. Craigie. With regard to the principles followed in the new dictionary, there are some points in which the philologist, especially in Scandinavia, might have wished for more radical reforms: for example, the retention of separate places for the short vowels and their long equivalents, with the exception of *e*, a matter which ought to have been mentioned in the preface; the absence of distinction between the two verbs *þýða*; the inconsistency of spelling in *eyfit*, *mjófast*, *sujófa*, compared with *œvi*, *gørvi*, *stöðva*, and the suppression, except in the list of irregular forms, of the sound *ǫ*, and other important varieties.

H. B. G.

There is no want of interest in the two contrasting volumes which open the new series of *Clásicos Castellanos* (Paris: Honoré Champion), issued, in the first instance, by the managers of *La Lectura* at Madrid. Something of the kind is needed by students of Spanish literature, for the volumes forming the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* are expensive, clumsy to handle, ill-printed, and, in too many cases, the texts are corrupt. The volumes published by *La Lectura* are cheap and convenient, the type is clear, and pains have been taken to provide a trustworthy text. In editing *Las Moradas* of St Theresa, Sr. D. Tomás Navarro Tomás has rightly followed the *edición autografiada* of the saint's manuscript published by the Carmelite nuns at Seville in 1882. Sr. D. Américo Castro has had a harder task in producing the first volume of Tirso de Molina's *Obras* (represented here by *El Vergonzoso en Palacio* and *El Burlador de Sevilla y Convidado de Piedra*). He throws light on some obscure passages in the latter play by utilizing

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the re-cast of *El Burlador*, entitled *Tan largo me lo fiáis*, and corrects some obvious slips which escaped notice in Sr. Cotarelo's edition of Tirso de Molina's *comedias* (*Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*). The plan of the new series does not allow of copious annotation, and the spelling has been modernized: this produces—especially in the case of *Las Moradas* where such forms as *pusilaminidad* and *corbadia* are preserved (p. 22)—a confused and unpleasing effect. It would have been preferable to follow the excellent example set in M. Foulché-Delbosc's *Bibliotheca Hispanica*.

On p. ix of the *prólogo* to Tirso de Molina's *Obras*, it is stated that Tirso took part in the poetical joust in honour of St Isidore at Madrid in 1625. The date should be 1622: Lope de Vega's *Relacion de las Fiestas que la insigne villa de Madrid hizo en la canonizacion de su bienaventurado Hijo y Patron San Isidro* was published before the close of that year. But it would be ungracious to dwell on the trifling defects of a series that seems likely to be of great service to the average student.

J. F.-K.

It is doubtful whether any further English versions of *Don Quixote* are needed. While Shelton's is probably the most fascinating and least accurate, Ormsby's is certainly the most scholarly; and between these two every conceivable variety is represented. Mr Robinson Smith has lately attempted the task afresh (*That Imaginative Gentleman Don Quixote de la Mancha*, London: Routledge, 1910). Of his predecessors he says in the Preface that 'for occasional words and phrases' he is indebted to Shelton, Ormsby and Watts. It would be an easy task to demonstrate that the word 'occasional' is altogether inadequate in this connexion. However, Mr Smith's chief claim to originality is put forward in the following words: 'The short stories in the *Don Quixote*, which prove a stumbling-block to many readers and which Cervantes himself practically acknowledges interfere with the unity and flow of the main narrative, have been omitted, together with some of the poor poetry, but the translation is not therefore to be considered abridged or expurgated. Rather it may be contended that here the reader will find the true consecutive narrative for the first time.' It should be added that intending readers are not warned of this piece of vandalism on the title-page, and that minor omissions abound throughout. Every true Cervantist, the general reader no less than the mere scholar, will regard this proceeding as an impertinence. Mr Smith's version, moreover, has no merits as a translation to commend it. Cervantes never lost his dignity of manner, even in his wildest moments; this translation is not only inaccurate but flippant, as the following examples, taken at random from the first few pages, will serve to show: *duelos y quebrantos*, 'paunch and pleasance' (p. 1); *dos golpes*, 'two cuffs' (of a sword) (p. 3); *Don Quijote vinó á correrse*, 'Don Quixote flew off the handle' (p. 8); *á las ancas del caballo*, 'back of (!) the saddle' (p. 13); 'the poor chap,' an addition of doubtful value on p. 14; *atended, que no por culpa mia, sino de mi caballo estoy aquí tendido*, 'stand! not I but my horse is why

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I am stretched out here' (p. 21); *estos malditos libros de caballerías que él tiene y suele leer tan de ordinario*, 'those cursed books of chivalry, which he reads with never a let-up' (p. 24). No book is wholly bad, and it is a pleasure to be able to add that a few of Mr Smith's introductory remarks dealing with Cervantes' possible sources are worthy of consideration.

H. O.

Dr M. E. Cosenza, who is Instructor in Latin in the University of the City of New York, has given us a first instalment of his studies in Petrarch's humanism in his *Petrarch's Letters to Classical Authors, translated from the Latin with a Commentary* (The University of Chicago Press, 1910). After the labours of Fracassetti, Pierre de Nolhac and others, there is scarcely room for much originality and research in matters relating to Petrarch's letters and humanism, as the present editor is the first to admit. However, so far as we are aware, this set of letters had not previously been presented to English readers in a complete form. Moreover, and this constitutes the real importance and *raison d'être* of the book, these classical letters had never, even in Italy, been annotated with such thoroughness. Some may even think that the commentary is too full. But in view of Petrarch's immense importance in the revival of classical learning, we are grateful to Dr Cosenza for this portion of his book.

H. O.

We have been asked to draw attention to the formation in Hamburg of a North Frisian Language Fund. The appeal is for 5000 marks, 'um die Drucklegung des neu erblühten friesischen Schrifttums für die nächsten Jahre zu sichern. Es handelt sich in erster Linie um Schullesebücher und Volksliederbücher, die unentgeltlich hauptsächlich an die Schuljugend vom 12.—14. Jahre verteilt werden sollen, solange der friesische Schul-Unterricht noch fakultativ ist. Die Schulbücher enthalten u. a. den reichen friesischen Sagenschatz; ferner Erzählungen, Poesien usw., alles in heimatliches Gewand gekleidet, genährt und getränkt aus dem Strome uralter, aber noch immer lebendiger Erinnerung.' As the Frisians are the nearest relatives of the Anglo-Saxon race, and their language still bears the clearest traces of this ancient kinship, it would be highly fitting if some encouragement and assistance towards the maintenance of that language could be given from this side of the North Sea. Even if the practical object should not be completely realized, a valuable record of the present form of these dialects will at least be obtained, and afford interesting material for philological study. It has been suggested that any subscriptions sent from this country might be specially devoted to the production of a reading-book in the dialect of Amrum and Föhr, for use in the schools of those islands; this is at present being prepared by Dr Julius Tedsen. Dr W. A. Craigie (15, Charlbury Road, Oxford) will be glad to take charge of English contributions and forward them in due course for the benefit of the fund.

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# NEW PUBLICATIONS.

## December, 1910—February, 1911.

### GENERAL.

Festschrift Wilhelm Vietor. Die Neueren Sprachen 1910, Ergänzungsband. Marburg, N. G. Elwert. 7 M.

Meyer, E. A., Untersuchungen über Lautbildung. Marburg, N. G. Elwert. 2 M.

Roudet, L., Éléments de phonétique générale. Paris, H. Welter. 10 fr.

Santayana, G., Three Philosophical poets: Lucretius, Dante and Goethe. (Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, I.) Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University. (London, H. Frowde.) 8*s.* 6*d.* net.

### ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

#### General.

Bibliotheca romanica. 117, 118. B. de Saint-Pierre, Paul et Virginie. 119. Molière, Le Tartuffe. 120—122. Boccaccio, La Fiammetta. 123. Machiavelli, Mandragola. 124. C. Goldoni, Le donne curiose. Strassburg, J. H. E. Heitz. Each no. 40 pf.

Jahresbericht, Kritischer, über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie. Herausg. von K. Vollmöller. X. 1. Heft. Erlangen, F. Junge. 7 M. 20.

#### Italian.

Bandello, M., Le quattro parti de le Novelle riprodotte nelle antiche stampe di Lucca (1554) e di Lione (1573) a cura di G. B. Crivelli. Vol. II. Turin, Unione Tip. Editr. Torinese. 7 L.

Bandello, M., Le novelle, a cura di G. Brognoligo, III. (Scrittori d' Italia, IX.) Bari, G. Laterza. 5 L. 50.

Buronzo, V., Introduzione allo studio del 'Dolce stil novo dantesco.' Turin, C. Pasta. 3 L. 50.

Cocai, M., Le Maccheronee, a cura di A. Luzio, I. (Scrittori d' Italia, X.) Bari, G. Laterza. 5 L. 50.

Dall' Ongaro, F., Rime e prose varie, con introduzione a cura di N. Meneghetti. (Poeti storici filosofi del Risorgimento, II.) Como, R. Gagliardi. 1 L.

Dante Alighieri, La vita nova, per cura di M. Scherillo. Milan, Hoepli. 2 L.

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DEBENEDETTI, S., Gli studi provenzali in Italia nel cinquecento. Turin, E. Loescher. 10 L.

GOZZI, C. Memorie inutili. Vol. II, a cura di G. Prezzolini. (Scrittori d' Italia, VIII.) Bari, G. Laterza. 5 L. 50.

GRAF, A., L' anglomania e l' influsso inglese in Italia nel sec. XVIII. Turin, E. Loescher. 12 L.

HAZARD, P., La Révolution française et les lettres italiennes. Essai sur l'influence française en Italie de 1789 à 1815. Paris, Hachette. 10 fr.

JEANROY, A., G. Carducci, l'homme et le poète. Paris, Champion. 5 fr.

LADENARDA, F. E., G. Carducci. Vol. II. Palermo, G. Pedone-Lauriel. 3 L. 50.

MAYNIAL, E., Casanova et son temps. Paris, Mercure de France. 3 f. 50.

NIEVO, I., Gli amori garibaldini, con poesie inedite e introduzione a cura di D. Bulferetti. (Poeti storici filosofi del Risorgimento, I.) Como, R. Gagliardi. 1 L.

TRABAUDI, F. F., Della critica letteraria di G. Carducci : note ed osservazioni. Bologna, N. Zanichelli. 3 L. 50.

**French.**

(*a*) *General.*

BRUNOT, F., Histoire de la langue française, des origines à 1900. Tome III. La formation de la langue classique (1600–1660). 2me partie. Paris, A. Colin. 7 fr. 50.

(*b*) *Old French.*

BARTSCH, K., Chrestomathie de l'ancien français. 10me éd., revue et corrigée par L. Wiese. Leipzig, Vogel. 14 M.

Chançun, La, de Guillelme. Französisches Volksepos des XI. Jahrhunderts. Kritisch herausg. von H. Suchier. (Bibliotheca Normannica, VIII.) Halle, Niemeyer. 5 M.

LANGLOIS, E., Les manuscrits du roman de la rose, description et classement. Paris, H. Champion. 12 fr.

Vergi, La chastelaine, poème du XIII^e^ siècle. Édité par Raynaud. (Les classiques français du moyen-âge.) Paris, H. Champion. 80 c.

(*c*) *Modern French.*

CHARDONCHAMP, G., La famille de Voltaire. Les Arouet, tableau généalogique et blasons. Paris, H. Champion. 2 fr. 50.

CHATEAUBRIAND, Correspondance, publ. avec introduction et notes par L. Thomas. Tome I. Paris, H. Champion. 10 fr.

CHÉNIER, A., Œuvres complètes, publ. par P. Dimoff. Tome II. Poèmes, hymnes, théâtre. Paris, Delagrave. 3 fr. 50.

FLAUBERT, G., Œuvres complètes. Œuvres de jeunesse inédites. Tome II. 1839–42. Paris, L. Conard. 8 fr.

GAZIER, A., Les derniers jours de Blaise Pascal, étude historique et critique. Paris, H. Champion. 1 fr. 50.

GUY, H., Histoire de la poésie française au XVI^e^ siècle. Tome I. L'école des rhétoriqueurs. (Bibl. litt. de la Renaissance, Tome IV.) Paris, H. Champion. 10 fr.

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HERVIER, M., Les écrivains français jugés par leurs contemporains. Tome I. Le XVI^e^ et le XVII^e^ siècle. Paris, Delaplane.

HUGO, V., Œuvres complètes, édit. de l'Imprimerie nationale. Tome XIX. Paris, Ollendorff. 20 fr.

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VOLUME VI JULY, 1911 NUMBER 3

# THE OLD ENGLISH CHARMS.

PERHAPS in no section of Old English literature have traditional views been left so comfortably undisturbed as in the case of the charms. This immunity from criticism has been due in part to the lack of a convenient and complete edition, which has now been supplied, for the metrical charms at least, by Mr Felix Grendon. Grendon himself deals with the charms chiefly from the standpoint of folk-lore, and seldom questions current readings and interpretations. I propose here to discuss such of these as seem to me ill founded, and to offer solutions of some passages which have remained obscure. Except in Section IV, I have used Grendon's texts for quotation and reference, as they summarize current views and incorporate some improvements in the better-known older editions; but references are given also to one or another of the latter, differences being noted only when they affect the matter under discussion[1].

I. The charm *Wið fœrstice* (G., A. 1; W., i. 317) is too well known to need quotation. Grendon gives the orthodox interpretation in his analysis: 'The charm falls naturally into five divisions: (1) (ll. 1, 2), a recipe for a magic herbal concoction; (2) (ll. 2—5), the epic introduction; (3) (ll. 6—17), the attack of the flying demons and the exorcist's three retaliatory measures—flying dart, knife forged by the smith, and spears wrought by six smiths; (4) (ll. 18—28), the principal incantation; (5) (l. 29), a final direction to the exorcist.' I think that this view overlooks the prime characteristic of the charm. I would suggest that it is a 'naming' charm; its first aim is to define the evil, and by identifying it to acquire power over it.

[1] Abbreviations:
C. = Cockayne, *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England.*
G. = Grendon, *Anglo-Saxon Charms*, Journal of American Folk-Lore, No. LXXXIV.
Grimm = Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, 4th ed., trans. Stallybrass.
L. = Leonhardi, *Kleinere ags. Denkmäler.*
Sch. = Schlutter, *Anglo-Saxonica*, in *Anglia*, Vols. XXX and XXXI.
W. = Grein-Wülker, *Bibl. der altengl. Poesie.*



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The charm falls into two main divisions:

(1) Description of the attack, in three sections, each concluded by the exorcismal formula 'Ut, lytel spere, gif her inne sie.'

(*a*) The exorcist has *heard* the wind-demons riding over the land (ll. 3—6).

(*b*) From the shelter of his shield, he has *seen* sorceresses exercising their art and flinging their spears (ll. 7—12)[1].

(*c*) He knows how the elf-smiths sit forging weapons (ll. 13—17).

From one of these sources the attack must have proceeded. To name the source is the first step towards defeating the attack; and the naming is supported in (*a*) by a hint of successful resistance (l. 5), in (*b*)—the most important section—by a similar hint and by a threat of reprisal, in (*c*) by the account of the forging of the knife by the (friendly) smith. At the end of each suggestion of source follows the conjuration. With the correct naming of its origin, the actual 'spear' is conjured out.

It remains to heal the wound which the 'spear' has caused, and this is the aim of the second division of the charm (l. 18 ff.). If any scrap of iron remains in the wound, it shall melt. Each region possibly affected by the shot is named—a frequent feature of charms—and so the charm proper is completed. Next it is confirmed by threefold ceremonial application of the salve prescribed in ll. 1, 2. The salving is introduced by a recapitulation of the three possible sources of the shot (ll. 23, 24), and at each application one source is again named (ll. 25—6). I am inclined to think that the direction 'Nim þonne þæt seax,' etc., given at the end of the charm, is to be applied at l. 25, and that with each of the three phrases 'ðis ðe to bote esa gescotes,' 'ðis ðe to bote ylfa gescotes,' 'ðis ðe to bote hægtessan gescotes,' the salve would be 'stroked' onto the part affected, with the knife. Of this more later. The charm concludes with the triumphant banning of the evil and the command of cure.

Discussion of difficulties may begin with the ceremonial directions. These are meagre, and, as very often, probably incomplete. Before the charm is given only the prescription 'Feferfuige and seo reade netele, ðe ðurh ærn inwyxð, and wegbrade; wyll in buteran.' Here the difficulty lies in 'ðe ðurh ærn inwyxð.' Grendon translates 'which

[1] Cf. *Hávamál* 151, where Oðinn can work magic on an arrow *if only he sees it*:

þat kannk et fimta, ef sék af fári skotinn
flein í folki vaþa:
flýgra svá stint, at ek stǫþvigak,
ef ek hann sjónum of sék.

For the Edda I quote throughout from *Die Lieder der älteren Edda*, herausg. Hildebrand, 2te Aufl. Gering, Paderborn, 1904.

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grows through the house'—'through' apparently to signify 'through-out.' Grimm's 'through a fence' comes nearer to the meaning; I think we might expand 'which grows through the wall into the house.' The strong-growing nettle makes its way through the loose-built wall.

The only other direction for ceremonial follows the charm: 'Nim þonne þæt seax, ado on wætan.' The last word causes some obscurity. Grimm, followed by Brooke, interprets it simply as 'water'; and we may compare the charm *Wiþ ælfcynne* (G., E. 8), where the herbs used for the salve, after their juices have been extracted, are thrown into running water. If this view is correct, the idea is of course to transfer the pain to the water, as in so many charms; and the knife symbolizes the 'færstice.' Against this explanation we have to note that 'wæter' rather than 'wætan,' would be the natural word; that a spear rather than a knife would be used as exact symbol of the pain (cf. the exorcismal refrain 'Ut, lytel spere'); and that we are left without any direction for use of the prescribed salve. It therefore seems preferable to translate 'wætan' by 'liquid,' with Grendon, taking it to refer to the salve; though in this case also it is scarcely the word to be expected; 'sealf' would better describe the product of the prescription.

Grendon suggests that 'the knife is apparently to be used on some dummy representing the evil spirits.' Cases of such 'sympathetic' magic against human beings are of course common, but I do not know of any against superhuman forces. (Cases of rough usage of fetishes do not offer a parallel, since the fetish actually contains the spirit to be coerced.) It would be hard even to imagine such an intention here; for the immediate object of such sympathetic magic must be in some way connected with the ulterior object, and how would the 'dummy image' be obtained when the powers combated are unknown? Would it represent an 'os,' or an 'ælf,' or a 'hægtesse'? The name remains the only vulnerable point in the unknown sender, and hence we have the elaborate naming formulas of the first part of the charm. The pain itself may however be symbolized; it is constantly referred to as 'lytel spere.' The ceremonial direction names not a 'spere' but a 'seax'; and the change, arbitrary if the 'seax' is merely to be plunged into liquid, becomes comprehensible if, as I suggested above, the direction applies at l. 25, and salve is stroked onto the painful region with the 'seax.' A knife would lend itself to such use much more conveniently than a spear; and the pain is not exactly symbolized—a general connection of ideas would suffice for this purpose. Line 13 may be a glorification of the knife to be used; compare the use, in another charm *Wiþ ylfa*



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*gescotum*, of 'þæt seax þe þæt hæfte sie fealo hryðeres horn, and sien iii ærene næglas on.'

This interpretation is orthodox in the assumption that l. 13 suggests help against the evil. But, according to the orthodox view, this help lies in a threat of reprisal, which is developed in l. 16. In the interpretation outlined above, I find in l. 16 the necessary formal naming of the third possible source of the 'shot'; the smiths are elf-smiths. In support of this view, I would urge that a threefold naming occurs twice, in ll. 23 f., and 25 f.; the evil is 'esa gescot, oððe...ylfa gescot, oððe...hægtessan gescot.' We should expect to find the same threefold naming in the earlier part of the charm, and the correspondence is clear for the first two: the wind-demons who ride noisily and savagely over the land are the 'es' (if one may invent the form); the 'mihtigan wif' are the 'hægtessan.' To balance the 'ylfe,' there remain the 'smiðas' (l. 16). Elf-smiths are familiar in Teutonic mythology (cf. Grimm, II, 447 f.), so that the identification is in no way improbable. The only difficulty lies in the reference first to the one smith who made a knife, then to the six who wrought spears, and this difficulty is not solved by the suggestion that both references merely threaten reprisal. Each of the other two sections first names a possible source of the evil and then suggests successful resistance or reprisal, and this seems natural here too; against the elf-smiths' spears, causing the stitch, is set the knife which is later to be used in the salving, as suggested above. In this case we should transpose ll. 13 f. and l. 16, so as to give first the danger, then the remedy. Respect for the text need not make us hesitate, for here the text is probably corrupt; l. 13 is metrically improbable and l. 14 is pretty certainly incomplete.

Many readings of the last two lines of the charm have been suggested, none entirely satisfactory (for list v. G.). The MS. has 'fled þr̄ on fyrgen hæfde halwestu.' All recent editors agree in the obvious emendation 'fleoh' (or 'fleo') for 'fled,' and the emendation 'heafde' for 'hæfde' follows very simply: the MS. reading is grammatically correct, meaning 'he had a dwelling there on the mountain'—a remark plausible enough, in view of frequent references to the mountains as the home of hostile spirits, to let the scribe, if he wrongly wrote 'fled,' easily continue with 'hæfde' for 'heafde.' The editors who read 'heafde' with the last line strain the sense. There is no point in telling a sufferer from stitch to 'be hale in *head*'; nor even, reading '[oð] heafde,' 'up to the head.' Neither is this arrangement necessary for the metre, for 'hal westu' has a parallel in 'ut, spere,' l. 17; the first vowel in 'spere'

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being a 'heavy-short,' and thus equivalent to the first vowel in 'westu,' which is long by position. I therefore support Sweet's reading 'on fyrgenheafde'; but his 'fleo on fyrgenheafde' needs completion. Grendon, slightly varying from Grimm, Ettmüller and Bouterwek, reads 'Fleoh þær on fyrgen, [seo þa flane sende]!' The objection to this is that the being who shot the dart has never hitherto been addressed in the charm, only referred to in the third person; further, as the illness is not ascribed to *possession*, the departure of the 'shooter' would not cure it. Spirits are exorcised only when the illness is due to their possession of the patient's body; in other cases the illness itself is conjured. So throughout our charm, the conjurations are addressed to the 'lytel spere,' to the illness itself; and this is what we must expect in this final conjuration also. I suggest the reading:

Fleoh þær flan on fyrgenheafde!
Hal westu! Helpe ðin drihten!

Compare the command to the wen (G., A. 3):

Wenne, wenne, wenchichenne,
her ne scealt þu timbrien, ne nenne tun habben,
ac þu scealt north eonene to þan nihgan berhge.

II. Very obscure is the curious charm *Wið dweorh* (G., A. 2; W., *Wið weorh*, i, 326). For convenience in reference I reprint Grendon's text:

Man sceal niman vii lytle oflætan, swylce man mid ofrað, and writtan þas naman on ælcre oflætan, Maximianus, Malchus, Johannes, Martinianus, Dionisius, Constantinus, Serafion. Þænne eft þæt galdor þæt her æfter cweð, man sceal singan, ærest on þæt wynstre eare, þænne on þæt swiðre eare, þænne ufan þæs mannes moldan. And ga þænne an mædenman to, and ho hit on his sweoran, and do man swa þry dagas: him bið sona sel.

Her com in gangan, in spider wiht,
hæfde him his haman on handa.
Cwæð þæt þu his hængest wære.
Legeþ he his teage an sweoran.
Ongunnan him of þæm lande liþan.
Sona swa hy of þæm lande coman,
þa ongunnan him þa colian.
Þa com ingangan deores sweostar,
þa geændade heo and aðas swor:
ðæt næfre þis ðæm adlegan derian ne moste,
ne þæm þe þis galdor begytan mihte,
oððe þe þio galdor ongalan cuþe.
Amen, fiat.

With regard to the illness in question, I agree with Grendon that it is some convulsive disease, and not, as Wülker suggested, a tumour. In support of this view we may add to the evidence of another charm *Wið dweorg* (G., E. 11) that the magic names in our charm are those

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of the Seven Sleepers, elsewhere invoked against fever (cf. Grendon's note); so that the disease is probably violent or spasmodic in its effects.

Grendon explains this charm as a 'spider-cure.' He thinks that 'hit' (l. 5) refers to 'spider wiht' (l. 7)—a spider is to be hung round the patient's neck. He proceeds '*þu* (l. 9) refers to the plaguing dwarf responsible for the attack; and the sense is that the spider-wight is to ride off, using the dwarf-demon as his horse (cf. demons riding men [Grimm, i, 384]). As soon as they have ridden away, the wounds begin to cool.'

This explanation seems to me very much forced. It is far more natural to take 'hit' as referring to 'þæt galdor': the charm is to be worn by the patient as an amulet as well as sung over him, and l. 17 may well refer to this. For similar wearing of charm-writings cf. G., D. 7, D. 8, D. 9, and especially D. 10 (*Wiþ utsihte*): 'Writ þis on swa langum bocfelle, þæt hit mæge befon utan þæt heafod, and hoh on þæs mannes sweoran, þe him þearf sy.'

The 'spider wiht,' I think, is the dwarf himself. For the close connection of dwarf and spider cf. Grimm, pp. 471, 1497; and cf. also the belief that elves often assumed butterfly-form (ibid. 472). The charm *Wiþ huntan bote* (G., C. 4) suggests that certain diseases may have been attributed to dwarfs in spider form; that, like the earwig, or the eft, which, according to a widely-spread superstition, cattle swallow in drinking, the spider crept into the victim's body (probably through the ear, cf. ll. 4 f.) and so possessed him. The victim is then dwarf-ridden, not the dwarf ridden by the spider, as Grendon suggests; the dwarf-spider has laid his harness on his victim's neck.

For this last sentence (l. 10) the MS. reads 'lege ðe his teagean sweoran.' Schlutter's emendation, followed by Grendon, gives 'legeþ he'—a solitary present where every other verb is in the preterite. I suggest 'legde þe,' which gives the expected preterite, supplies a personal reference for 'sweoran,' and follows the preceding line in omitting the pronominal subject.

'Haman' in l. 8 presents some difficulty. Grendon's translation 'harness' (camus) is tempting in view of the following line, but I can find no parallel to support it. The cognate O. N. 'hamr' may shed light on the meaning; it carries the sense of a *disguising* covering, e.g., in *Hávamál*, 156:

> Þat kannk et tiunda, ef ek sé túnriþur
> leika lopti á:
> ek svá vinnk, at þéir villar fara
> sinna heimhama
> sinna heimhaga.

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Here 'hama' are the magic skins changing the forms of the witches. May not 'hama' in our charm have its ordinary meaning, 'covering,' 'skin,' with this special force? The line would then agree with the suggestion that the 'spider wiht' is no mere spider, but a dwarf who 'had his spider-garb in his hand,' had assumed the form of a spider.

Difficulties thicken in the later lines. Our point of attack may be ll. 14 f. Clearly something should come between these two lines—between the entrance of the 'deores sweostar' and 'þa geændade heo.' We must infer either a lacuna or displacement. The change from singular to plural in ll. 11–13, certain in l. 12, though not in the other two lines, suggests the need of emendation there also. Combining the two inferences, we may perhaps read l. 14 immediately after l. 10. I cannot suggest any explanation of 'deores sweostar'; but apparently she is some benevolent being, and contrives to get the dwarf 'away from the land.' One recalls the charms in which disease is transferred to running water; perhaps some ceremonial directions are omitted here[1] (cf. §§ I and VI).

I support Schlutter's reading of l. 13; so that we read:

Legde þe his teage an sweoran.
Þa com in gangan deores sweostar
. . . . . .
Ongunnan him of þæm lande liþan.
Sona swa hy of þæm lande coman,
þa ongann an him þa haþ acolian.

III. The charm *Wið toðece* (G., A. 10; L., 124) opens with a gibberish formula to be sung 'syððan sunne beo on setle,' and continues with a second formula: 'Lilumenne, æceð þæt ofer eall þonne alið; coliað, þonne hit on eorðan hatost byrneð.' Grendon translates 'it cools when on earth it burns most fiercely'—which I take to mean during the day when the sun is hottest. But 'coliað' is a rare and exclusively northern form in the singular, and a wish rather than a statement is here needed. I suggest the emendation 'colie ða ðonne,' 'let it cool,' with a different interpretation of the rest of the sentence. The tooth, which aches most 'ðonne alið,' burns against the earth when the sufferer lies down; 'Lilumenne' is invoked that it may 'cool,' cease aching, when at its worst. The words 'þæt' and 'hit' of course cannot represent 'toð';

[1] Possibly a spider, 'sympathetically' representing the dwarf, might be placed on a leaf and shipped out on a stream; and we should read in l. 11 'ongunn an him,' with 'ongunn' for 'ongann' (as in l. 13), 'spider wiht' as subject and 'him' referring to his 'boat'; but this is of course mere conjecture, and I venture it, in the cautious isolation of a footnote, only to show the direction in which I think the explanation is to be sought.

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probably they are used with impersonal force; 'that aches, there is an aching'; 'when it burns, when there is a burning.'

IV. In the well-known *Siðgaldor* (G., H. 14; W., i, 328; Schlutter, *Anglia*, XXXI, p. 59 f.) the following lines have caused perplexity (ll. 23–5 in W., which I quote in preference to G. for this charm, as nearer to the MS.):

Si me wuldres hyht
hand ofer heafod, haligra rof,
sigerofra sceote, soðfæstra engla.

I support Schlutter's interpretation of 'hand ofer heafod' as 'schützende hand'—indeed this was my independent conclusion—and his emendation 'sceole' for 'sceote.' Less satisfactory is his translation of 'rof' by 'zahl'; his supporting note offers no sufficient evidence. Does not 'rof' here probably stand for 'hrof,' as again in l. 28 ('leoht lifes rof')? The idea is that of protection, continuing 'hand ofer heafod'; we might translate 'a protecting cloud of saints.' A familiar variation of the same idea occurs in ll. 27–9.

Schlutter offers the following attractive explanation of the puzzling word 'circinde' (Windas gefran circinde wæter, l. 35 f.): 'ich nehme ein *circian* mit der bedeutung 'turn' an und ziehe das als k-ableitung zu cierran 'turn.'" This gives excellent sense: 'For I have knowledge of winds that keep the water in a turmoil.' (Schlutter has 'constant turmoil,' reading 'simble' with this phrase. This is metrically very awkward, and I prefer to close the sentence at the cæsura.) The only objection is that 'circian' does not occur anywhere else. As alternative, I suggest that we should read 'cercinde' from 'cercian,' 'cearcian,' to crash, gnash; used attributively, qualifying 'wæter,' which I take as accusative plural co-ordinate with 'windas' (for plural 'wæter' cf. Bosworth-Toller, II *b*). Read with a comma after 'gefran,' and translate 'I have heard of winds and roaring waters'—that is, the traveller has heard that storms and floods threaten him on his journey. Grendon's variant of Schlutter's translation scarcely needs consideration ('since the [savage] winds, I know, [beget] the whirling waters').

We turn to the concluding lines of the charm (38—42):

Þæt ic on þes ælmihtian on his friþ wunian mote,
belocun wiþ þam laþan, se me lyfes eht,
on engla bla blæd gestaþelod,
and innan halre hand heofna rices blæd
þa hwile þe ic on life wunian mote.

Editors have followed Cockayne in cancelling 'bla' in l. 40, without regard to the metrical faultiness of the resulting verse. I agree that

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there is confusion through 'blæd,' but not that we have a mere duplication. I suggest

on engla blæd bliðe gestaþelod,

which normalizes the metre.

Difficulties remain in ll. 38 and 41; 'on þes ælmihtian on his frið' is very awkward, and l. 41 is inexplicable in regard both to sense and to syntax. Schlutter's explanation, though open to criticism, is the best yet offered. He transfers 'halre hand' from l. 41 to follow 'ælmihtian' in l. 38, thus supplying it with a governing substantive; translating this phrase 'in der retter-hand des allmächtigen,' and ll. 40 f. 'wenn ich gestellt bin in den schutz der engelschar und des himmlichen heeres.'

There are three objections to this arrangement. Firstly, it is most unsatisfactory metrically. Of course charm metres are frequently irregular, and Schlutter even prints this charm, without comment, in prose. I presume that his intention is merely to show that he is not concerned with the metre; for examination of any of the editions in which the charm is arranged in verses leaves no doubt that it is metrical, and that, though the alliteration is sometimes lax, the rules of stress are rarely broken. Schlutter's reading of l. 38 gives, in the first half-verse, an accumulation of stresses for which the rest of the charm affords no parallel. Secondly, 'innan heofna rices blæd' following 'on engla blæd' with only one half-verse between, is awkward and pointless, as Schlutter recognizes. Thirdly, the cæsura separates 'heofna' from its governing substantive 'rices'; and such separation is on the whole improbable, though this evidence alone would carry little weight in view of the 'learned' character of the charm (cf. Bohlen, *Zusammengehörige Wortgruppen getrennt durch Cäsur oder Versschluss*, etc., Berliner Dissertation, 1908). The rules of stress are again broken in the second half-verse; and (though this alone would count for nothing) the alliteration fails.

All these objections are met if we transfer 'blæd,' instead of 'halre hand,' to follow 'ælmihtian.' Schlutter's translations of 'blæd' ('schutz'), 'halre hand' ('retter-hand') and 'heofna rices' ('des himmelischen heeres') still serve. We thus read the whole passage:

Þæt ic on þes ælmihtian blæd, on his frið wunian mote,
belocun wiþ þam laþan, se me lyfes eht,
on engla blæd bliðe gestaþelod,
and innan halre hand heofna rices,
þa hwile þe ic on þis life wunian mote.

'So that I may remain under the protection of the Almighty and in His peace, guarded from the Enemy who seeks my life, blissfully

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established under the protection of the angels and in the safe keeping of the heavenly host, while I am permitted to remain in this life.'

V. Custom seems now to be associating the charm *Wiþ feos lyre* (G., A. 15; C., iii. 286) with the rhythmical legal fragment beginning 'Hit becwæð and becwæl si ðe hit ahte' (Thorpe, *Ancient Laws, etc.*, p. 78; Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, i, 400). At least, Cockayne and the recent editors Macbryde and Grendon have printed them together, and the connection has not been challenged. Grendon states the case for this association (p. 222): 'Part I constitutes the actual charm for the recovery of the stolen property; Part II is a legal formula in which the rightful owner solemnly sets forth his title to the possessions in question. This rhythmical composition is printed separately in the various editions of the A. S. laws. It was attached to Part I probably because it was recited as a sort of oath by the person who claimed goods which were recovered from thieves, or which were in disputed ownership.'

To me this association seems mistaken. The legal fragment is associated with the charm only in two MSS., while the charm stands alone in three MSS. and the fragment stands alone in one MS. There seems to be no inner connection whatever between the two. The charm is for the recovery of stolen live-stock; the fragment cannot possibly apply to live-stock; its reference is solely and very definitely to land. Even in this connection I do not think it can be regarded as a general formula; it reads much more like a protest against wrongful dispute of title in some particular case, noted as a useful basis for other similar protests. The personal pronoun 'hine' (in l. 28 in G.: 'ðæt man cwydde oððon crafode hine on hundrede') refers to him who bequeathed the land, not, as Grendon supposes, to the protester; this is proved by comparison with the two following lines and the first line (G., ll. 29, 30, 12).

So far as I know, attention has never been called to the extraordinary form in which the fragment is written. It has been printed in the long verse, but this is certainly wrong. Of the twenty-three long verses into which Grendon divides the fragment only four are regular, two more might pass, and the rest are impossible. Of these remaining thirty-four short verses, seventeen have alliteration *concluded within the short verse*, three with assonance as well. Of those without alliteration, two have rhyme and one assonance within the half verse; and two half-verses in adjacent lines rhyme (31 II and 32 I). Twelve short verses remain with no ornament except occasional suffix-rhyme, and are often very questionable even in stress. If the fragment is metrical, we must

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thus divide it into short verses (two stresses); but even then the stress presents many difficulties, and thirteen verses remain without any poetic link. I think it is better to regard the form as very rhetorical prose, borrowing verse rhythms and ornaments. Cases of highly alliterative prose occur elsewhere—e.g. in the Annals before Alfred, and in Wulfstan's Address to the English; but I know no other example where verse-rhythm also is so largely borrowed.

VI. Slight rearrangement would give much greater clearness to the charm *Wiþ ælfsogoþan* (G., A. 24; C. ii, 348; L. 106). The first ten lines give an introductory account of symptoms; the MS. arrangement, followed by the editions, then continues as follows:

Writ þis gewrit:
Scriptum est, rex regum et dominus dominantium · Byrnice · Beronice · lurlure · iehe · aius · aius · aius · Sanctus · Sanctus · Sanctus, · dominus deus Sabaoth · amen · alleluiah.
Sing þis ofer þam drence and þam gewrite:
Deus omnipotens, pater domini nostri Jesu Cristi, per Inpositionem huius scriptura[e] expelle a famulo tuo, Nomen, Omnem Impetum castalidum de capite, de capillis, de cerebro, de fronte, etc. (the catalogue continues for some four lines more).
Wyrc þonne drenc: (prescription follows—some four lines). Nim þonne þæt gewrit, writ crucem mid ofer þam drince and sing þis þær ofer:
Deus omnipotens, pater domini nostri Jesu Cristi, per inpositionem huius scripturae et per gustum huius, expelle diabolum a famulo tuo, Nomen. And Credo and Paternoster.
Wæt þæt gewrit on þam drence and writ crucem mid him on ælcum lime, and cweð: Signum crucis Christi conservate. In vitam æternam, amen. (Three unimportant lines conclude the charm.)

I suggest that the passage '*sing þis ofer þam drence*,' down to the end of the prayer to be sung (ll. 5—9, above) is out of place, and should be transferred to follow the second prayer (that is to follow l. 14, above). The rearrangement gives the natural order: instructions for written charm; prescription for decoction; ceremonial association of charm and decoction, and general prayer over them together, with the indication that the decoction is to be swallowed; detailed prayer for the ceremonial 'impositio huius scripturae' which then immediately follows.

The order of the MS., it may be noted, has led Grendon into serious confusion; he translates l. 5 (G., l. 16) 'Sing this over the drink, and recite the following writing'; and again he expands l. 10 (G., l. 28) 'Then take the writing which was previously recited.' Of course 'gewrit' and 'scriptura' refer throughout to the gibberish charm ll. 2—4 (G., 12—14), which is the only writing named; and in l. 5 (G., 15) 'þam gewrite' is coördinate with 'þam drence.' In ll. 6 ff. (Deus omnipotens...to end of catalogue), as in ll. 12 ff. (Deus omnipotens...Paternoster), we have merely prayers, *sung* over the charm and the drink to sanctify them, and not written at all.

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It may further be noted that the ceremonial directions are incomplete. The only instruction given for the use of the decoction is to moisten the written charm with it; but the phrase 'per gustum huius' (l. 13, G., 31) shows that some of it is to be swallowed. This is interesting as evidence that the ceremonial directions are not always given in full; and the omission suggests that some obscurities in the charms might vanish if the accompanying ceremonial were fully known (cf. § II and footnote).

VII. Of the many obscure passages in the *Nigon Wyrta Galdor* (G., B. 4; W., i, 320; H. Bradley, *Archiv* CXIII, 144) one or two may be attacked here.

The account of the fourth herb runs as follows:

> Fleoh þu nu, Attorlaðe, seo læsse ða marau,
> seo mare þa læssan, oððæt him beigra bot sy.

The passage has not been explained. Grendon translates 'Fly now, Betonica, the less from the greater, the greater from the less, until there be a remedy for both'; and remarks 'the passage is quite unintelligible.' I suggest that 'Fleoh' is transitive, meaning 'to put to flight, conquer' (Bosworth-Toller, fleon, II); 'seo læsse' and 'seo mare' are nom. sing. fem. agreeing with 'Attorlaðe'; 'ða maran' and 'þa læssan' acc. neut. plur. agreeing with 'attru' understood: 'Thou, Attorlade, conquer now the greater poisons, (though thou be) the lesser; thou, the mightier, conquer the lesser poisons; until the patient is cured of both (greater and lesser).' Some light is shed on the use of 'seo læsse' to describe 'Attorlaðe' by a passage quoted in Bosworth-Toller from the *Liber Medicinalis*, I, 45: 'Wið attre, betonican and ða *smalan attorlaðan* do on halig wæter[1].' For the personal application (*him*) of the passage, compare that on 'Mægðe,' four lines later ('ðæt næfre for gefloge feorh ne gesealde, syððan him mon mægðan to mete gegyrede'), also the last line of the charm, and the closing lines of the ceremonial directions.

Particularly interesting are ll. 31—35. I quote Wülker's text, as Grendon's emendation in l. 34 (æppel nædran attor) is unnecessary:

> Wyrm com snican, toslat he man.
> ða genam Woden viiii wuldortanas
> sloh ða þa næddran, þæt heo on viiii tofleah.
> þær geændade æppel ond attor,
> þæt heo næfre ne wolde on hus bugan.

[1] In our charm, Grendon translates Attorlaðe by Betonica. The use of 'betonican' and 'attorlaðan' in this prescription makes it improbable that they are identical. I do not know on what authority Grendon ignores the usual identification of 'attorlaðe' with the cock's spur grass (v. Bosworth-Toller), also called dew-grass and orchard-grass.

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The difficulty lies in ll. 34–5. Wülker preserves the MS. reading, but assumes a gap between l. 34 and l. 35, because 'heo' is proved to be singular by 'wolde,' and therefore feminine, so that it cannot refer to 'æppel' or 'attor.' Hoops and Bradley both accept the MS. reading, and translate 'Apple and poison brought about that she [the adder] nevermore would enter house.' Grendon, remarking that 'this makes no sense,' emends as noted above, and translates 'there apple destroyed the serpent's poison, that it nevermore in house would dwell'—which forces an unsupported meaning upon 'geændade.' All these readings take 'and' as a conjunction. I suggest that it is the preposition, with the sense 'against' (v. Bosworth-Toller, II); and that 'geændade' means 'brought about,' 'accomplished' (as in l. 24, 'hwæt ðu geændadest æt Atorforda'), here used absolutely: 'There Apple accomplished (this) against poison—that she (the adder) would nevermore turn into [her] house'—that is, would never return to her nest, would perish.

Now to connect this with the three preceding lines. Comparison with the ceremonial directions following the charm shows that the aim of this passage is to glorify Apple as one of the nine 'herbs' (a convenient but loose translation). To Apple, then, 'wuldortanas' refers; the 'glory-twigs' with which Woden smites the serpents are apple-twigs. (Grendon's translation 'thunderbolts' apparently assumes, without attempting to support or explain, a confusion between Woden and Thunor, and need not be considered.) This may be noted as evidence that the apple-tree may have some claim to be numbered among the sacred trees. Apparently it was not one of those originally sacred among Teutonic races (cf. Grimm, cap. XXI); and this is natural, for a fruit tree would gain dignity only in an agricultural, not in a warlike civilization. But is it not possible that as Teutonic culture developed in peaceful directions, and its mythology changed complexion correspondingly, the Apple came to rank among the sacred trees? External influences may well have worked in this direction. Just as Mercury worship stimulated the worship of Woden, may not Pomona worship have exerted some influence in favour of the apple-tree? Lack of evidence makes this conjecture hazardous, and I venture to offer it only because every flicker of light shed on the dim detail of our mythology may help towards complete illumination.

A. R. SKEMP.

BRISTOL.

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# THE ORIGINAL FORM OF THE A-TEXT OF 'PIERS PLOWMAN.'

## I. John Butt's Addition to the A-Text of 'Piers Plowman.'

Dr Henry Bradley, in the *Modern Language Review* for April, 1910, has called attention to the importance of the passage appended by one John Butt to the twelfth and last passus of the A-text of *Piers Plowman*. This passage was added during the reign of Richard II. Therefore it is, Dr Bradley points out, the earliest piece of external evidence which we possess as to the authorship of the poem. Nothing is known of John Butt, and we cannot gauge the accuracy of his information; his testimony therefore is only corroborative, not in itself conclusive, if unsupported. Yet everyone will probably agree with Dr Bradley's contention that it ought not to be rejected without consideration, and that it is worth spending some labour to ascertain, if we can, exactly what John Butt does say.

John Butt's addition is not always easily accessible, Professor Skeat having rejected it from his Clarendon Press edition. It seems better, therefore, to print the concluding lines of Passus XII in a note at the end of this paper, with some discussion as to what the exact limits of the passage added by John Butt may be. It is not, I fear, possible to ascertain with any certainty how many of the concluding lines are to be attributed to the original writer, and how many to John Butt. At least five theories are possible.

It would be helpful if we could decide this point; but fortunately such decision is not essential. What is important is the assertion that the seer of the visions, Will—

> wrought that which here is written and other works both,
> Of Piers the Plowman and much people also.
> And when this work was wrought, ere Will might espy
> Death dealt him a dint....

Clearly, everything turns upon the character of the manuscript to which these lines were first added. Only when we have decided that,

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can we tell what is meant by 'that which here is written,' and what the 'other works' may have been which Will wrote in addition to 'that which here is written.'

John Butt's lines are found in MS. Rawlinson 137 *only*: this MS. contains a complete A-text. The *prima facie* interpretation of Butt's words is, then, that Will wrote the A-text as it lies before us in Rawlinson—and that he wrote other works on Piers Plowman as well. The obvious interpretation of the 'other works' would be that they are the only other works on Piers Plowman which we know to have been widely current when John Butt wrote: viz. the additional visions given in the B- or C-texts. John Butt's words should therefore be very comforting to those who are supporting the traditional view of one 'Long Will,' the author of all three texts. Oddly enough, Long Will's defenders have, up to the present, not availed themselves of John Butt's evidence.

Dr Bradley's interpretation of John Butt's lines is, however, different:

> Now, in the first place, I think the natural inference from his statement is that his lines were appended to a MS. containing only the poem of 'Dowel': that is to say A IX—XII. He indicates that this poem was the last of the three works written by 'Will,' the others being *Piers the Plowman*, and *The Field of Folk* (*mechel puple*). When he had finished 'that which is here written' Will died. If John But was correctly informed, the poems contained in the A-text, though they are obviously intended to form a continuous whole, must have been published in three instalments, comprising respectively Passus I—V, VI—VIII, and IX—XII....It seems clear that he [John But] either did not know of the existence of the B and C texts or regarded them as spurious[1].

William Langland is on trial for his life: according to Prof. Manly he is already sentenced. The accused might submit that his trial has been somewhat of the kind approved by the King and Queen of Hearts in *Alice in Wonderland*: sentence before verdict, and verdict before evidence.

[1] Dr Bradley apparently takes 'this work,' the completion of which was followed by Will's death, as signifying 'this book,' and consequently as identical with 'that which is here written.' 'When he had finished "that which is here written,"' says Dr Bradley, 'Will died.'

But John Butt does *not* state that 'when he had finished "that which is here written," Will died.' What he says is that 'Will wrought that which here is written, and other works both, concerning Piers the Plowman and much people also. And when *this work* was wrought, Will died.' Surely in a fourteenth century poem, the expression 'this work' may be interpreted 'this task to which I have referred' (i.e. the writing down of 'what here is written' *and* the 'other works') with at least as much probability as 'this book which is here written' (to the exclusion of the 'other works'). The 'work' is the task which Will undertakes, in view of Fever's warning to address himself to 'prayers and profitable works.'

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It is now five years since it was asserted that the acceptance in the B-text of certain textual derangements of the A-text proved that the author of the B-text could not be identical with the author of the A-text. Some students felt surprised when, on examining the alleged proof of these textual derangements, they found that no external evidence was put forward at all: that they were avowedly unsupported by a shred of MS. authority. Yet, notwithstanding this, the derangement of the A-text was widely, and for some time almost universally, treated as a demonstrated fact upon which further hypothesis could safely be based; while it is nothing more than an interesting thesis, in favour of which, and also against which, there is something to be said.

Then it was asserted that there were differences in dialect between the A- and B-texts which made it impossible to suppose their authors identical; and this assertion was made, not merely in publications where new and hazardous theories might legitimately be put forward, but in books like the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, which are supposed to speak with some measure both of authority and impartiality. Yet here again, only the thesis is forthcoming: for any demonstration of the thesis we are still waiting.

And now that a new argument against unity of authorship, based upon John Butt's words, is being brought forward, it rests again upon a thesis: that these words were appended originally to a MS. containing *Dowel* (Passus IX—XII) only. Obviously, if this should turn out to be so, then the interpretation given by Dr Bradley would be natural and indeed inevitable. The 'other works of Piers Plowman and much people also' would have to be Passus I—V and VI—VIII. Seeing that there would then be nothing which could be construed as a reference to the B- or C-text, although B was certainly published when Butt wrote, and possibly C also, it would appear, on Dr Bradley's assumption, that Butt's evidence tells against these being the work of 'Will,' the author of the A-text.

But believers in 'Long Will' will be entitled to ask Dr Bradley for some proof of this assumption that Butt's lines were originally added to a manuscript of *Dowel* only. Until proof is forthcoming they will be entitled to say, and to repeat, that John Butt's lines are actually found appended to a complete A-MS.: that, *in the absence of evidence to the contrary*, these lines were, presumably, originally added to a manuscript of a type similar to that in which they are extant, and that they therefore tell in favour of the theory that Will was the author of other works

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on *Piers Plowman*, in addition to the A-text, and not against that theory. The burden of proof clearly rests with those who suppose that the lines were added to a manuscript of a type different from that in which we now find them. Meantime 'Long Will's' supporters are entitled to remain on the defensive, and strategically that is no doubt the securest course.

But the object of this paper is not either to attack or to defend 'Long Will.' To anyone engaged in the tedious but necessary task of trying to make out the relationship of the different A-MSS., it becomes necessary to collect whatever evidence is forthcoming as to the way in which the A-text was published. Dr Bradley's interpretation of John Butt's words involves a theory as to the manner in which the text was published which does not seem to be consistent with the phenomena of MS. types and relationships, so far as one can make these out. I shall try to show:

(1) That the A-text does not lend itself to a division into instalments.

(2) That, even assuming the publication in separate instalments, there are serious chronological objections to the view that the circulation in instalments was still prevalent in the reign of Richard II, when Butt added his lines.

(3) That, even granting circulation in instalments at that date, the evidence of MS. relationship is opposed to the view that Butt's lines were appended to a manuscript containing *Dowel* only. For this evidence seems to show conclusively:

(*a*) That the great majority of the A-text MSS. do not contain a twelfth passus, and that this deficiency cannot be attributed to the mutilation either of these manuscripts individually or of a common source; that therefore the twelfth passus must have been added as an afterthought, either by the poet himself or by someone else, to the original or originals of those few manuscripts in which it is found; and that, since John Butt's lines were added to a copy containing the twelfth passus, they must be either subsequent to or contemporary with the addition of that passus, but are certainly not earlier.

(*b*) That those MSS. which end at Passus XI, and those which contain the twelfth passus whether with or without Butt's lines, are descended ultimately from one original, and that this original contained *both* the *Vision* (Passus I—VIII) and *Dowel* (Passus IX, etc.), but did not contain the twelfth passus, still less John Butt's addition thereto.



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(*c*) That the order of events must therefore have been *first* the combination of the instalments (granting the poem to have been published in instalments) into one text, and *subsequently* the addition of a twelfth passus and of John Butt's lines to a certain copy or to certain copies only of this combined text.

## II. The Division of the A-Text into Sections.

Firstly, before entering into the complex questions of MS. relationships, does the text lend itself to division into sections so distinct as to allow of their having been issued separately?

For the view that Passus VI—VIII were published separately from Passus I—V there appears to be no support whatsoever in the text. They are integral parts of one and the same poem, the *Vision of Piers Plowman*. There is a much greater *prima facie* possibility that *Dowel* (IX—XII) was published separately from the *Vision*, for in all the best A-MSS. it is carefully distinguished from the *Vision* proper. At the end of Passus VIII most of the MSS. have, as we shall see, a note that 'here the *Vision* ends and *Dowel* begins.' Then the numbering of the passus begins afresh. Instead of IX, X, XI [XII] (a numbering too convenient to be now dropped, but one which is not authorized by any uncontaminated A-MS.) we have a prologue, and then Passus I, II [III] of *Dowel*[1].

This independent numbering of the passus of *Dowel* does not in the least prove separate publication. It does, however, suggest the possibility of it, and establishes a case for further scrutiny. But such scrutiny does not disclose any further evidence in favour of separate publication. On the contrary it shows the most intimate connection between the *Vision* and *Dowel*. The latter part of Passus VIII of the *Vision* is obviously intended simply to lead up to *Dowel*. Dowel, who has never before been mentioned, is referred to five times between VIII, 156 and VIII, 187. We are to do such works,

> Þat aftir oure deþ day Do-wel reherse
> Þat at þe day of dome we dede as he hiȝte[2].

Then the *Dowel* poem begins with an opening which certainly does

[1] MS. Douce 323 has, instead of Passus I of Dowel, 'Primus Passus in secundo libro.' On the other hand, both Douce and Harleian 3954 conclude the A-text, not *Explicit Dowel* but *Explicit liber petri plouman*; *explicit tractus de perys plowman*.

[2] Quotations from the A-text are given from MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 14.

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not harmonize well with the theory that it was written for separate publication:

> Thus yrobid in rosset I rombide aboute
> Al a somer sesoun for to seke Do-wel.

These lines are a link, connecting *Dowel* with the preceding *Vision of Piers Plowman.* They have little meaning as the opening words of an independently published poem. To what does 'thus' refer if not to the preceding poem? And in fact 'yrobid in rosset' and 'al a somer sesoun' carry us back to the 'shroud' and the 'somer seson' of the opening of the *Vision.* 'Thus I roamed about to seek Dowel' carries us back to the conclusion of the *Vision* in which we are directed to Dowel as the one refuge against the judgment to come. This is surely a resumption of the subject at the beginning of a new section rather than the opening of an independently circulated poem.

But, according to Dr Bradley's interpretation of John Butt, not only was *Dowel* published separately from the *Visio*, but the *Visio* itself was published in two instalments, first Passus I—V, then Passus VI—VIII. In favour of this there appears, as we have seen, to be no evidence forthcoming. The difficulties, on the other hand, are greater even than those which meet us in postulating a separate publication of *Dowel.* For the opening of Passus VI is even more closely linked to the end of Passus V than is the opening of *Dowel* to Passus VIII. Had Passus VI—VIII been published in a separate instalment we might fairly expect the poet to begin: 'I have told before how I saw in a vision such and such things: I will now tell....' Instead of which Passus VI begins:

> Ac þ*er*e was fewe men so wys þ*a*t þe wei[1] þid*er* cou*þ*e
> But blustrid for*þ* as bestis ou*er* valeis *and* hilles.
> Til late *and* longe þ*a*t hy a lede mette
> Ap*ar*ailid as a paynym in pilgrim wyse, etc.

Can this be the opening of an independently published poem?

It may be objected that the separately published instalments did not open exactly as the present Passus VI and Passus IX do: that the lines quoted above might have been links added by the man who bound the three instalments into one, so as to make them run together more smoothly. But this way of avoiding the difficulty is, on Dr Bradley's hypothesis, impossible. For, on that hypothesis, the A-text, as we have it in the Rawlinson MS., was produced by a binding together of the instalments *subsequent to* John Butt's addition, which addition was made

[1] þei, T.



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in the reign of Richard II. But by general consent the B-reviser was at work earlier than this, in the year 1376–7. And the lines in question are also found in B. Features which are common to A and to B cannot possibly be attributed to a binding together of the separate instalments which is subsequent to B: they must have characterized those instalments which, on Dr Bradley's hypothesis, were the original form of the poem.

We should have, then, to believe that the poem was published in three instalments, the second and third of which began 'Few knew the way *thither*,' and '*Thus* robed in russet I roamed about.'

## III. The Chronological Difficulty.

But, further, in order to make John Butt's 'what here is written' relate to *Dowel* only, Dr Bradley has to postulate that this circulation in instalments was still prevalent when John Butt wrote, in the reign of Richard II; that then, later, the three instalments were combined, and that hence John Butt's ending, originally intended to conclude *Dowel* only, came to stand at the end of the complete A-text.

Now there is a serious difficulty here. By general agreement Passus I—V, at least, had been written about 1362. John Butt wrote at least fifteen and possibly as much as thirty-seven years after 1362. That the poem was *then* being circulated in separate sections seems unlikely, in view of the fact that no trace of this separate circulation has been preserved[1].

This chronological difficulty does not admit of exact demonstration, but the more it is examined the more serious does it become. On Dr Bradley's hypothesis the different instalments in which the A-text

[1] Only one fact seems to be forthcoming at present which could be interpreted as a trace of separate circulation. Two MSS., Harleian 875 and Lincoln's Inn, break off, mutilated, shortly before the end of Passus VIII is reached. In view of the frequency with which the last leaf *only* is missing from a MS., it has been argued that these MSS. probably ended originally with Passus VIII, and that there was therefore probably a version of the poem published containing the *Vision* without *Dowel*.

If this argument could be sustained, it would tend to prove publication in instalments in the sense that the earlier passus might have been issued before the later: it would not however go to prove publication in instalments in the sense demanded by Dr Bradley's argument—viz. that the later passus, when published, were published separately, without the earlier passus preceding. But the argument cannot be sustained. Harl. 875 has indeed lost the last leaf of what is now its last section. But since Harl. 875 is apparently derived from the same archetype as Vernon, which has eleven passus, it is probable that a great deal more has been lost as well. Mr Grattan, who has collated the Lincoln's Inn MS., tells me that there is evidence that more than a single leaf has been lost there.

There is, then, no reason for thinking that either of these MSS. concluded with Passus VIII.

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was published must, for at least half a generation, have been copied and scattered through the land, for we know that the poem was popular; then came B, who must have formed his text by putting the three instalments together, altering and expanding them as he did so; later still, perhaps even a score of years after the B-text was issued, came John Butt, who, finding the *Dowel* portion circulating independently, must have added his lines to it; then, later still, the three instalments must have been bound together into one poem, and the A-text as we know it in Rawlinson and the other kindred A-MSS. formed. This A-text was so popular that it was copied and re-copied almost as widely as the B- or C-texts, one or both of which must on Dr Bradley's hypothesis have been formed earlier. But we have to believe that the separate instalments, which had the start of *any* combined text by some fifteen years, have all been lost, whilst some fifty of the combined texts have been preserved. This surely is very difficult.

Nor can the difficulty be much reduced by arguing that, so soon as the complete A-text was in the field, scribes would cease to copy the separate instalments. A scribe had to copy what he could get, and few scribes had much choice. This is shown by the fact that the A-text, though only one-third of the B-text in bulk, was nearly as widely copied. Scribes either had not the fuller form to hand, or perhaps even in some cases preferred to copy the more brief and vigorous type. Precisely the same reasons which led scribes to copy the A-text after B had been issued would have led to the separate instalments of A, and particularly A I—V, being still copied, even after the complete A had been issued. Why is it then that no MS. is known containing A I—V, A VI—VIII, or *Dowel* separately?

## IV. The Argument from the Relationship of the MSS.

It seems, then, exceedingly doubtful if we are justified in assuming, as Dr Bradley does, that *Dowel* was published separately, and was moreover being circulated in this separate form when John Butt wrote. But, assuming the independent *Dowel* MS. or MSS. to have existed then: is it possible that John Butt's lines were originally appended to a manuscript of this type?

Of course if John Butt's lines were found in every completed MS. of the A-text, it would be possible to assume that they were joined on to *Dowel* before *Dowel* itself was joined on to the *Vision*. But, as we

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have seen, the lines are found in MS. Rawlinson Poet. 137 *only*. This MS. (R) is very closely related to two other MSS.: viz. U (Univ. Coll. Oxford, 45) and E (Trin. Coll. Dublin, D. 4. 12). These MSS. have inherited from the original from which they were all three copied a very large number of common peculiarities.

R and U both have a twelfth passus: in U this breaks off imperfect at l. 19; probably E also shared this peculiarity: but as E breaks off imperfect at VII, 45 we cannot be sure. Whether RUE all inherited John Butt's ending we cannot tell. Two leaves only have been lost from the end of U, but this would give ample room for the missing portion of Passus XII, and for John Butt's addition as well.

Only one other MS. contains a trace of the twelfth passus, viz. the Ingilby MS. (I) which gives that passus up to l. 88, where it suddenly ends. The Ingilby MS. therefore has no mention of John Butt. Its conclusion at l. 88 is apparently deliberate, as the MS. is not mutilated.

Let us now turn to the most important group of MSS., consisting of T (Trin. Coll. Camb., R. 3. 14), $H_2$ (Harl. 6041), Dig (Digby 145), W (Westminster), D (Douce 323). Here again we have a group intimately united, evidently derived from a common source. Within this group, T, $H_2$, Dig, W, make a sub-group, being derived from a MS. in which the scribe, realizing that there was more about Piers Plowman than was contained in the A-version before him, has joined on the later portion of the C-text.

The A-portion of the manuscripts $TH_2$DigW concludes at the end of Passus XI, with the lines:

> Souteris *and* seweris suche lewide iottis,
> Percen wiþ a pater noster þe paleis of heuene,
> Wiþoute penaunce at here partynge in-to heiȝe blisse.

This, alone, is not conclusive evidence that the A-MS., from which $TH_2$DigW are derived, ended there. It is possible, though unlikely[1], that the scribe, even though there was more in the A-MS. before him, might have broken off his transcription of the A-text at this line, because it afforded the most convenient point of juncture with the C-text.

But in Douce we have a MS. containing an A-text *only*, which is clearly derived from the same original from which the A-portion of

[1] Unlikely, because the scribe throughout abstains from any such attempt to harmonize A and C. The A portion of $TH_2$ is extraordinarily pure, and free from C influence. Apparently the scribe did not turn to his C-MS. till he had finished his transcription from A.

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$TH_2DigW$ is derived[1]. And Douce assures us that this A-text concludes with the end of Passus XI:

> Souters *and* sewers suche lewed Iottys
> Percen w*ith* a pat*er* nost*er* þe paleys of heuene
> With-oute pen*aun*ce at here partyng in-to heye blysse
>
> Now of þis litel book y haue makyd an ende
> Goddis blessyng mote he haue þat drinke wil me sende
>
> Explicit liber petri plouman.

The cry for drink and the large and triumphant letters in which *Explicit* is written, show the scribe rejoicing in the end of his toil. I refuse to believe that this worthy and thirsty soul had found a twelfth passus in his original, but, with deliberate mendacity, failed to transcribe it.

The tacit evidence of $TH_2DigW$, and the express assurance of D, make it clear, then, that the original of these MSS. ended with Passus XI. If it be argued that this was not a deliberate conclusion, but was due to the loss, in some way or other, of a twelfth passus from the archetypal MS. of $TH_2DigWD$, the fact has to be faced that other A-MSS., representing a tradition quite remote from that of $TH_2DigWD$, also end exactly at this point.

MS. Ashmole 1468 (As) concludes:

> Saweris *and* soweris sweche lewid iottis
> Mon p*er*syn w*ith* a pater n*oster* þe pales of heuyn
> W*ith*oute penauns at here p*ar*tyng into þe blisse of heuyn.
>
> Amen Amen
> Amen

The Ashmole MS. is of little value towards fixing the text, owing to the carelessness with which it has been copied, to its many lacunae, and to the fact that one or more of the scribes whose work it represents knew, and interpolated from, a B- or C-text. But none of these serious blemishes in the least invalidates its evidence as to the proper point where an A-MS. should stop. We want the evidence of a manuscript as remote as possible from the T group; and this evidence Ashmole gives, for it is unlike any other MS., and certainly has no special affinities with T.

MS. Harleian 3954 ($H_3$) gives an inaccurate version so corrupted in the earlier passus with B-influence, as to be worthless for the purpose

[1] Indeed Dig and W have been so defaced by corruption, and interpolation from B- and C-texts that the likeness between them and $TH_2$ is not nearly so obvious as between D and $TH_2$. W particularly is often extraordinarily unlike $TH_2$. But the argument in this paper would not be weakened, but slightly strengthened, even if it should be proved that W does not belong to the same group as $TH_2$, but was formed by an independent combination of an A-text with Passus XI—XXII of a C-text.

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of fixing the A-text. But again this does not invalidate its evidence as to where the A-text should end. Mr Grattan and myself have so far been unable to trace any special affinities of Harleian 3954 to any other MS. or group of MSS. It is therefore an independent witness, and it agrees with TH,DigW, with D and with As, in concluding:

> *With* a pa*ter* no*ster* to þe paleys of heuene
> *With* outy*n* gret penans at hys p*ar*tynge to comy*n* to blys.
>
> Explicit tractus de perys plowman q. heru*n*; Qui cu*m* p*atre* *et* spi*ritu* s*ancto* viuit et regnat p*er* *omn*ia s*ecu*la s*eculo*r*um*. Amen.

How the VH group ended we do not know, as both Vernon and Harl. 875 break off imperfect, V in Passus XI, H in Passus VIII.

Of the ten MSS., therefore, which it is possible to call in as evidence of the way in which the A-text ended, seven, falling into three or four groups, point to the poem having ended with Passus XI; three MSS., falling into two groups, contain the whole, or portions, of a twelfth passus. But only one of these three contains John Butt's lines.

We are not free to assume that the absence of Passus XII from $TH_2DigWDAsH_3$ is due to mutilation, and this, not merely because the MSS. ending at Passus XI are seven, whilst those containing the whole or portion of a twelfth passus are only three: for a minority of MSS. might well retain an original feature. But the point is that the three MSS. containing the twelfth passus are more nearly connected with each other than are the seven which want it; the seven represent a great divergency of tradition. It is not difficult to understand how an added twelfth passus comes to be present in RUI: it would be very difficult to account for its having been lost from $TH_2DigWDAsH_3$. The same argument can be shown to apply *a fortiori* to the John Butt passage, present as it is in one MS. only, and wanting in eight. The poem, then, must originally have ended with Passus XI; the twelfth passus is an afterthought, added either by the poet himself or by someone else. This was the conclusion arrived at thirty-six years ago by Professor Skeat, and I do not see that any other is possible.

Again, since John Butt's lines were appended to a form of the poem containing the twelfth passus, they must have been added either at the same time as or later than the twelfth passus was added. But it can, I think, be proved that the copies to which this twelfth passus was added were copies of the complete poem, not merely of *Dowel*: the poem before this twelfth passus was added had already passed out of the stage of circulation in three separate instalments (assuming for the

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sake of argument that such a stage ever existed) and was being circulated as one complete whole.

For the different groups of MSS. which we have been considering are themselves intimately related. The MS. from which RUE derive, which had the twelfth passus, and the MS. from which $TH_2DigD$ derive, which certainly had not that passus, were themselves not distantly connected: they had a number of peculiarities in common, and were evidently derived in the last resort from one and the same prototype. But this prototype contained not only the *Vision of Piers Plowman* proper (Passus I—VIII) but also *Dowel* (Passus IX—XI). For the same Latin rubric, by which the *Dowel* poem is connected to the *Vision*, is inherited by $RUTH_2DigD$ from their common prototype, in a common form, with only unessential variants:

(Explicit hic visio Willelmi de Petro Ploȝman: et hic incipit) Vita de Do-wel, Do-bet et Do-best secundum wyt et resoun.

Moreover, this peculiarly worded note is, so far as we can trace, common to all the A-MSS. H, L (Lincoln's Inn) and E break off before this point is reached. $H_3$ has no rubric here; I have not yet collated W up to this point, and, as the other members of the group to which W belongs are agreed, it appeared to be hardly worth while going to Eaton Hall to procure a reading which, in any case, would not materially influence the argument.

Of the rest all have a note: and, in it, all except the University College and the Vernon MSS. describe *Dowel* as the *Vita de dowel*: and all except Ashmole and Vernon further define it as *secundum wyt et resoun*. Now the usual title is either *Dowel* or the *Visio de Dowel*; I know of no other place than this in the A-, B- or C-texts either where the *Dowel* is called the *Vita*, or where it is explained as being *secundum wyt et resoun*: there *may* be instances, but they are certainly very exceptional[1].

Now it is not conceivable that this peculiar wording could have been hit upon by scribes, engaged independently in fitting together into one poem the hitherto separate instalments. It must be that those MSS. which possess either one or both of these peculiarities of

[1] Even in this place this particular wording is not usually followed in the B- and C-texts: in those few cases where it is found, it is clear that the scribes have copied it into the B- or C-text from their knowledge of an A-MS. E.g. in MS. Ll. 4. 14 in the University Library, Cambridge, we have at the end of the *Vision* 'Explicit visio Will*elmi* de petro plowman Et *sequitur* vita de dowell Dobett et Do-beste, sec*undum* wytt *et* reson': but this is in a later hand obviously borrowed from an A-text. MS. Bodl. 851 has 'Explicit vita *et* visio petri plowman,' which is probably an inaccurate recollection of an A-text; for MS. Bodl. 851 is a confused MS. written under the influence of A-, B-, and C-texts.

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wording (RUTH$_2$DigDIAs) are derived from one original archetype in which this peculiarly worded note occurred, connecting the *Vision* with *Dowel*. Probably all our extant texts derive from this same archetype: but for everything that it is necessary to prove here, RUTH$_2$DigDIAs are sufficient.

From the relationship of the extant MSS. of the A-text we are entitled then to draw the following conclusions:

(1) That the parent MS. from which RUTH$_2$DigDIAs are derived contained both the *Vision* proper and *Dowel*, joined into one poem by a peculiarly worded Latin note which has survived in all its eight descendants.

(2) That John Butt's lines were *not* present in this MS. from which RUTH$_2$DigDIAs are derived, since they are found in one of its descendants but are absent from the others.

(3) That John Butt must therefore have added his lines, later, to one of the transcripts of the parent MS.

(4) That the MS. to which John Butt's lines were added must like its original have contained both the *Vision* and *Dowel*, joined by the peculiarly worded note which it had inherited from the parent MS., and which R in turn inherited from it.

(5) That John Butt had therefore a complete A-text before him, and that when he speaks of 'what is here written' he must refer to the complete A-text.

These appear to be the results which legitimately follow from the known facts of MS. relationships. I do not deny that extraordinary complications, cross-copying, and contamination, often throw us out of our reckoning, and that the most legitimately drawn conclusions *may* be wrong. Thus it is *conceivable* that the John Butt passage has no business where it is found, in MS. Rawlinson 137, at all, and that therefore the conclusions legitimately drawn from its presence there are misleading. Assuming for the sake of argument that there were manuscripts containing *Dowel* only, it would not be inconceivable that the Butt passage was originally added to a manuscript of this type, and that it was not present in the parent of the Rawlinson MS. at all: that the scribe who wrote the Rawlinson MS. knew the *Dowel* MS. and inserted the passage from it into his Rawlinson: that then the *Dowel* MS. was lost, and a puzzle thus left to mislead future students. Such things do happen. Take, for example, the new lines of Juvenal discovered in the

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Oxford MS. some eleven years ago. They had no business in a manuscript of the type of that in which they were found: and the best way of accounting for them is by supposing that the scribe who wrote this MS. had access not only to the comparatively commonplace MS. which he copied, but also to a very ancient MS. of another type, all trace of which has now disappeared: that at this point he turned from his copy, and inserted these lines from the more ancient MS., and thus produced a text which, whilst quite ordinary in its other features, preserves lines not known in any MS. of its own, or indeed of any other, family.

There is always the remote possibility of some extraordinary cross copying: and in the case of the Juvenal MS. the phenomena of the text have compelled many, if not most scholars, to assume that such cross copying has taken place[1].

But in the case of the Butt passage we have no tittle of evidence to lead us to suppose that this has happened. The obvious fact is that we find the lines in MS. Rawlinson 137. There is a remote possibility that they might have been interpolated there from some other MS. of a quite different type: but in the absence of evidence for this we must base our theories upon the obvious fact, and not upon the remote possibility.

## V. The 'Other Works.'

Dr Bradley's theory has, I submit, to meet and successively overcome three obstacles: firstly, that the form in which the second and third of the postulated instalments open, does not suggest independent publication, but the reverse: secondly, that if our extant A-text was put together from such instalments as late as the reign of Richard II, we might reasonably expect very considerable traces of such instalments to have survived: and thirdly that, even assuming the independent *Dowel* in the time of Richard II, the known facts of MS. relationship would not allow us to suppose that John Butt's lines were added to it, except by postulating cross copying of a most extraordinary character. Unless we postulate such cross copying I cannot see how we can avoid the conclusion that John Butt's lines were added to a complete A-text.

Still less do I see why we should wish to avoid this conclusion. For even if we had not the evidence of MS. relationships, the most straightforward interpretation of John Butt's statement, that Will wrote 'what here is written,' would be that he wrote what lies before

[1] See the *Classical Review*, XVII, 394; *Gött. gel. Anzeiger*, 1899, p. 895.

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us written in the MS., where we find the lines, 'Will wrought what here is written [i.e. the A-text] and other works both concerning Piers the Plowman and much people also. And when this labour was concluded, he died.'

The only other works concerning Piers Plowman which we know to have been extant when Butt wrote, in the reign of Richard II, are (1) the bulky additions forming Passus XI—XX of the B-text; and, towards the end of the reign, (2) the same in revised form forming Passus XIII—XXIII of the C-text, and (3) the *Crede.*

Now the essential characteristic of the B-additions to the poem is the prominent part which Piers the Plowman plays in them. In the original *Dowel* Piers the Plowman is never so much as mentioned. We have seen that, although the opening of *Dowel* assumes that *Piers Plowman* precedes, the author did not regard *Dowel* as part of the *Vision of Piers Plowman.* For he called its sections i, ii of *Dowel, not* x, xi of the *Vision of Piers Plowman.* But when we come to the B-text it is different. Here the formula is 'Passus nonus (decimus) de visione, et primus (secundus) de Dowel.' And this difference in title corresponds to a difference in the subject matter of *Dowel* in the B-text compared with *Dowel* in A. The search for Dowel as we have it in A passes in B into a search for Piers Plowman. Not all at once. We have Imaginative: then the dinner in which Conscience, Clergy, Patience, Reason, Will and the doctor sit down together; then Hawkyn the active man—and here for the first time Piers is again mentioned (XIII, 237). More and more frequent become the references to Piers and to the help which he alone can give (XV, 190, 193, 206: XVI, 18). At the last mention:

> Piers þe plowman! q*uo*d I þo, and al for pure ioye
> Þat I herde nempne his name anone I swouned after
> And laye longe in a lone dreme.

Piers himself comes to the dreamer:

> And atte laste me þouȝte
> Þat Pieres þe plowman al þe place me shewed.

From this point Piers is the poet's theme, for the remaining nineteen hundred lines of the Vision. Piers vanishes:

> And I awaked þere-with *and* wyped myne eyghen
> And after piers þe plowman pryed and stared.
> Estwarde and westwarde I awayted after faste
> And ȝede forth as an ydiote in contre to aspye
> After Pieres þe plowman many a place I souȝte.
>
> (XVI, 167—171.)

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The search for Piers Plowman—faithful, humble and laborious humanity, for the time identified with that perfect manhood in which the Son of God clothed himself—culminates in the eighteenth passus, which Skeat has finely named 'The Vision of the Triumph of Piers the Plowman': the story of how the Saviour clad 'in Piers armes in his helme and in his haberioun' overcame death. But from the point where the dreamer awakes, with the Easter bells ringing in his ears, we have a return to the earlier conception of Piers 'the ideal of conduct' labouring to build up the Church. But Piers' work is attacked by Pride, Covetousness, Sloth, Flattery, and laid waste, for all that Conscience can do: and Conscience becomes a pilgrim to

> walken as wyde as al þe worlde lasteth
> To seke Piers þe plowman.

Now *we* may call all this 'the B-addition': but that is not the language of the fourteenth century. I do not know that John Butt could have described these extraordinary visions much better than in the words he has used—'other works concerning Piers the Plowman and much people also.' He could not have described them as the *Vision of Dowel, Dobet and Dobest*, for that name belongs equally to Passus IX—XII of the A-text, from which he is seeking to distinguish the 'other works.'

The interpretation of 'what is here written' as the A-text and the 'other works' as the B-additions presents, then, no difficulties: whilst Dr Bradley's interpretation of 'what is here written' as *Dowel* and the 'other works' as the *Vision* is open to the objections that it forces us to assume a type of MS.—an independent *Dowel*—for the existence of which we have no evidence, and to assume that John Butt's lines were added to a MS. of this type, and that *Dowel* with this addition was subsequently combined with the *Vision*, though the legitimate conclusion from the evidence appears to be the contrary[1].

[1] Some slight corroboration of the view expressed above may perhaps be drawn from the following considerations:

(1) John Butt 'saw these saws busily alleged by James, Jerome and Job.' Jerome, so far as I know, is never quoted in A or B, though he is alluded to in B XIX, 265. If Butt had the A-text before him, he would have seen saws alleged from James and Job: if *Dowel*, then from Job only. Dr Bradley's contention is that we ought not, without proof, to assume John Butt to be talking rubbish; and to assume that he had an A-text before him makes better sense of his talk than to assume *Dowel* only.

(2) The supposition that Butt's lines were added to the lost archetype of RUE agrees excellently with the chronological data. R and U belong to the early fifteenth century: the lost archetype, intermediate between this period and the first publication of the A-text about 1362 would probably belong to the reign of Richard II: and John Butt, as we know, wrote in that reign.

(3) The fact that there were several different versions of Piers Plowman was much better understood in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries than has generally

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John Butt's statement then amounts to this:

(1) That Will, so far from being 'a creation of the Muse' wrote 'what here is written' in MS. Rawlinson 137: viz. the complete A-text: that he also wrote 'other works concerning Piers the Plowman,' which, so far as our knowledge goes, can best be explained as the B-additions. In both these assertions John Butt confirms, and is confirmed by, tradition.

(2) That Will was already dead in the reign of Richard II: he cannot, therefore, be the author of *Richard the Redeless* (*Mum Sothsegger*). Here again John Butt is in harmony with tradition, as this poem was first attributed to Langland in the nineteenth century.

In conclusion I have to thank Dr Bradley for having read through this paper in an earlier draft, and for having suggested modifications which add greatly to any force the arguments may carry. I have also to thank Mr Grattan for his criticism, and for certain MS. readings with which he has supplied me.

## APPENDIX.

### The Extent of John Butt's Addition.

It is exceedingly difficult to say where John Butt's lines begin. For in none of the A-MSS. does the A-text attain to anything that can be regarded as a satisfactory or final conclusion.

We have seen that most MSS. end with Passus XI. But this can never have been intended for anything more than a temporary halting place. True, the words 'parting,' 'bliss of heaven' strike a note common in conclusions. But it is not possible that the poet can have meant the poem to close here. Will has been sent, in his search for Dowell, to Clergy and Scripture, representing different forms of learning. To them he roundly expresses his conviction that learning is idle. Man's lot is predestined: the most learned, Solomon and Aristotle, are damned: Clergy was never commended by Christ's mouth: Austin, the most learned doctor, commended the unlearned rather than great clerks.

been supposed. We have seen that the scribe of the lost MS. from which $TH_2DigW$ derive, when he had got to the end of his A-text, turned to a C-text and added the matter which he found there. T is a very early MS., and has even been attributed by Dr M. R. James to the fourteenth century. The common ancestor being older, belongs almost certainly to the reign of Richard II. We can, then, point to a scribe in the reign of Richard II who, having an A-MS. before him, clearly understood that besides 'what was there written' there were 'other works' concerning Piers the Plowman: and proceeded to add them. We have in this an excellent precedent for the interpretation of John Butt's words given above.

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Now all this is obviously meant to lead up to a reply, by or on behalf of Clergy and Scripture, such as we get in the B-text[1]. It must have been intended from the first that the other side of the case should be put. Meantime the poem was issued in a form concluding with Passus XI.

To some copies, as we have seen, a twelfth passus was added: but this is not satisfactory. The poet is reproached for his disrespectful words, but no attempt is made to refute them. 'I have done my devoir,' says Clergy, 'to teach thee Dowel...and if I knew that thou wouldest work accordingly I would answer all thy questions.' But Clergy does not answer Will's furious onslaught. He hardly seems to have heard it. Scripture scornfully bids Clergy answer the questioner no further, for he came not in order 'to lerne to Dowel.' But Scripture also does not answer Will's objections. She merely bids her helpmeet be still, exactly as in Passus XI Dame Study had commanded her husband Wit to tell the poet no more. Clergy is as much under the control of his wife as Wit had been. Wit had become confounded, could say no more, and drew him aside: Clergy creeps into a cabin, draws the door after him and bids Will do well, or evil if he will, whichever he likes. The poet appeals to Dame Scripture just as before he had appealed to Dame Study, promising in each case 'to be her man.' In each case the shrew relents and directs the poet to her cousin, who is to teach him more. In the last case the cousin is Kind Wit, who is lodging with Life; Scripture called a young clerk *Omnia probate* who is to lead Will to the borough *Quod bonum est tenete* where Kind Wit dwells, and bid Kind Wit show Dowel to Will. So they set out together.

It is at this point that Prof. Manly supposes John Butt to have begun. He points out, with justice, that John Butt's words, 'for he medleth of making he made this end' imply an addition of some length, something more than the twelve or nineteen lines which Skeat would allow.

But the whole twelfth passus is quite short: including Butt's undoubted addition it contains only 112 lines. Why may not the whole of it be John Butt's end? Butt was clearly a person of no great ability, who possessed the knack of writing tolerable alliterative verse. The lines summarized above (XII, 1—54), with their strongly imitative

[1] The manner in which the end of the A-text leads up to the beginning of the B-text is one of the arguments in favour of unity of authorship. On this point the most interesting and able article by Dr Otto Mensendieck in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, IX, 404 ff., should be consulted.

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cast, are what we might expect from such a writer. There is no chronological difficulty; for the fact that there is a phrase and an idea common to this twelfth passus of A and to the B-text, does not prove it earlier than B[1]. It would be conceivable that Butt put together this twelfth passus from one or two vague recollections of the B-continuation and by more deliberate borrowing from the eleventh passus of A, which lay before him.

If however we are to attribute the twelfth passus in part to the author of *Dowel* and in part to John Butt it is difficult to know where to make the division. At least four places are possible. Professor Manly makes John Butt begin at l. 55, where Will and Kind Wit set out together. Another change is, I think, indicated at l. 89. Prof. Skeat has suggested l. 99, 'Wille wiste thurgh in-wit.' Originally Prof. Skeat suggested l. 106, 'And so bad Iohan but.'

If Prof. Manly is right, the passus must originally have broken off imperfect; for l. 54, so far from concluding anything, marks the beginning of another adventure, Will's visit to Kind Wit and Life. This is, of course, no argument against Prof. Manly's view; presumably the end *was* abrupt, or John Butt would not have felt it necessary to round it off by adding his lines. In seeking the place where the original Passus XII left off we are not justified in demanding that it shall make a satisfactory conclusion to the A-text.

John Butt certainly managed to imitate the style of his original fairly well: very well, if he wrote all that Prof. Manly attributes to him; and it is not easy to find differences in language and metre which will enable us to decide exactly where his addition begins.

A study of the subject-matter may be more helpful. Line 55, where Prof. Manly supposes John Butt to begin, shows us *Omnia probate* and Will setting out together to seek Kind Wit. But before Will reached his journey's end, he met with many marvels. First he was greeted by Hunger, who like himself, was on the way to find Life: 'though Kind Wit help, I shall fell that freke in a few days.' 'I would follow thee,' said Will, and Hunger consented; but Will ate so much of Hunger's broken scraps that he lagged behind, and was hailed by Fever—'a knave with a confessor's face, lean and wretched, with legs full small.' Fever, too, was on the way to Life, bearing a message from his Duke, Death.

[1] If, with Dr Mensendieck, we interpret B XI, 414, as a reference to A XII, 35, etc., then clearly this opening of the twelfth passus of A must be earlier than the B-text. But the reference may, I think, be to B XI, 404—5.

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I am masag*er* of deþ · men haue I tweyne
Þat on is called Cotidia*n* · a co*ur*rour of oure hous
Tercian *þat* o*þer* · trewe drinkere*s* bo*þe*.
We han letter*es* of lyf · he shal his lyf ty[n]e
Fro deþ *þat* is oure duk · swyche dedis we brynge.

'If I might,' said Will, 'I would follow in thy track.'

'Nay, Will,' said Fever, 'thou fallest into a snare if thou followest me; so live and work according to Dowel, that thou mayest reach Paradise at last.' Will knew that these were profitable words, so he made haste and wrought what is written here, and other works concerning Piers the Plowman and much people also: and when this work was wrought, Death dealt him a dint, and drove him to the earth, and he is closed under clay: Christ have his soul. And so John Butt prayed, when he saw these saws quoted concerning James, Jerome and Job; and because he is something of a poet he made this ending. Now God save King Richard and the lords who love him: Mary pray for us: Christ save us. Amen.

Where Fever dismisses the poet, an essential change comes over the story of the search for Dowel. The subject of Dowel was first introduced when, at the end of Passus VIII, the poet saw in Dowel the one help in that judgment which must follow death. Through four passus Will, in his search for Dowel, has been sent from one allegorical character to another, has received much good advice, but has got no nearer his goal: and now when he is hastening to seek Dowel at the dwelling of Life, and is passed on the way by Hunger and Fever, who are also seeking Life, we seem to be leading up to a conclusion which shall emphasize the familiar moral, how, faced by death and judgment, Life can find support and consolation in nothing but Dowel, his good deeds. Kind Wit will not help him, Hunger says as much: but we should expect to learn how, dwelling in the burgh of *quod bonum est tenete*, and knowing Dowel familiarly, Life has nothing to fear from Hunger, Fever, or Death.

Suddenly, when Fever turns the poet aside from his quest, all is changed. At this point the subject of the poem ceases to be Will's search for Dowel, or the struggle between Life and Death, and is directed to the personality of Will himself—his writings, his death, the prayer for his soul.

The matter does not, of course, admit of proof: but the point where John Butt takes up his pen is surely very likely to be identical with that where the reader's thoughts are thus suddenly, and with some violence, diverted from the search for Dowel to the fate of Will.

Now it is precisely at this point that the Ingilby MS. stops. Where



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our third authority for this twelfth passus, the University College MS., may have ended, we do not know, as, owing to a mutilation, it breaks off quite near the beginning of the passus. The Ingilby MS., however, is *not* mutilated: the scribe has left the last written page blank all but one line: two subsequent leaves have been nearly all torn out, but they clearly contained no more of the story of Dowel. The Ingilby scribe must have stopped at this line because his copy stopped[1]. Of course his copy may have been mutilated: but it would be an odd coincidence that it should have been mutilated just at the very line where there is a break in the thought in the Rawlinson MS. so marked as to lead us to conjecture that the original poem may have stopped there. It is a far easier hypothesis to suppose that the original poet stopped where Ingilby makes him stop[1], and that those lines which are found in Rawlinson but are not found in Ingilby (viz. 89—117) constitute John Butt's addition.

At the same time it must be remembered that this is only a probability: it does not admit of demonstration.

There is, however, also a clear break in the continuity at l. 99, and again at l. 106. Prof. Skeat's original view, that John Butt's lines begin 'And so bad John Butt,' and that the preceding lines, in which Will is killed off, are not John Butt's at all, has still some supporters.

Five points have been indicated where it is conceivable that the original poet stopped. Diligent search would probably reveal five more. Such theories, unless backed up by some external evidence, are not usually convincing. The only places for which we have MS. authority for stopping are at the end of Passus XI, or at XII, 88. For this reason, unless strong evidence is forthcoming, I should be inclined to believe either that Butt wrote the whole of Passus XII, or that he wrote only from l. 89 onwards.

The text of the twelfth passus, from the point where Ingilby stops, is given below, from Rawlinson.

'Nay, wil!' quod þat wyȝth · 'wend þou no ferther
But lyue as þis lyf · is ordeyned for the:
Þe tomblest wiþ a trepget · ȝif þou my tras folwe
And mannes merþe wrouȝþ no mor · þan he deseruyþ here
Whil his lyf and his lykhame · lesten togedere.

[1] Ingilby simply stops: no *Explicit* is added. But, as pointed out above, this abrupt ending cannot be used as an argument that something has been lost. Presumably John Butt found the twelfth passus abrupt.

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And þer-fore do after do-wel · whil þi dayes duren
þat þi play be plentevous · in paradys with aungelys.
þou shalt be lauȝth into lyȝth · with loking of an eye
So þat þou werke þe word · þat holy wryt techeþ
And be prest to preyeres · and profitable werkes.
Wille [wiste] þurgh in-wit · þou wost wel þe soþe,
þat þis speche was spedelich · and sped him wel faste,
And wrouȝthe þat here is wryten · and oþer werkes boþe
Of peres þe plowman · and mechel puple al-so;
And whan þis werk was wrouȝt · ere wille myȝte a-spie,
Deþ delt him a dent · and drof him to þe erþe,
And is closed vnder clom · crist haue his soule.
And so bad Iohan but · busily wel ofte,
When he saw þes sawes · busyly a-legged
By Iames and by Ierom · by Iop and by oþere,
And for he medleþ of makyng · he made þis ende.
Now alle kenne creatures · þat cristene were euere,
God for his goudnesse · gif hem swyche happes,
To lyue as þat lord lykyþ · þat lyf in hem putte.
Furst to rekne Richard · kyng of þis rewme,
And alle lordes þat louyn him · lely in herte,
God saue hem sound · by se and by land;
Marie moder and may · for man þou by-seke;
þat barn bryng vs to blys · þat bled vp-on þe rode!
Amen.

Explicit do-Wel.

Nomen scriptoris tilot plenus amoris.

R. W. CHAMBERS.

LONDON.



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# SOME UNPUBLISHED POEMS OF DRUMMOND FROM THE HAWTHORNDEN MSS.

For the purposes of the present article the poems of Drummond of Hawthornden may be conveniently divided into those published by himself during his lifetime, and those which at different times were made public after his death, which took place in 1649. The latter, exclusively, concern us here.

A few years after the poet's death the publication of his works was undertaken at the instance, it would appear, of his brother-in-law, Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet. At any rate in 1655 there appeared a volume containing his chief prose work, the History of the Five Jameses, together with several prose tracts, a selection of twenty-two *Familiar Epistles*, and his essay, *A Cypress Grove*. This was followed up the year after by a collected edition of his *Poems*, with a preface by Edward Philipps, Milton's nephew. This edition contains most of the poems previously published, with the addition of about sixty new pieces, two of which are certainly not by Drummond. Both the volume of 1655 and that of 1656 exist in copies bearing a dedication to Scotstarvet. Although there is no evidence in the shape of a statement by Philipps to that effect, or any other equivalent record extant, it is manifest from the considerable amount of new matter published for the first time by Philipps, that he must have had access to certain manuscripts of Drummond. What these were it is hardly possible, in the light of our present knowledge, to ascertain. We may conclude that the manuscripts at Philipps' disposal were probably much less extensive and much less important than those utilised by subsequent editors, even if we admit, as we readily do admit, that Philipps carried out his undertaking in a very unsatisfactory fashion. In any case, it was well known at the time that many of Drummond's poems were still unpublished; and we find Lord Strathallan, in his manuscript *History of the Family*

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*of Drummond* (1681), recording the fact that many of his pieces were still lying in manuscript. No fresh attempt was made to publish a more complete edition of Drummond's works till 1711, when the Edinburgh printer James Watson issued from his presses what is generally known as the 'Folio Edition' under the title 'The Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden. Consisting of Those which were formerly printed, and Those which were design'd for the Press. Now published from the Author's original Copies.' This edition, apart from considerable additional matter in prose, contains about forty new poems (a few of them of doubtful authenticity), and generally shows more careful collation of the pieces previously printed. In the preface the editor, who does not reveal his identity, states expressly that he was favoured by Sir William Drummond of Hawthornden, the poet's son, 'with an excellent Manuscript by the Help of which he was able to correct a great many Errors, and supply a great many Defects, as may be easily seen by any one, who will give himself the Pains to compare this with the former Editions.' In another passage of the Preface the editor states that he has been careful to communicate from the manuscripts everything of importance, with the exception of such papers as were considered to be 'imperfect or juvenile essays,' and which 'it may be supposed,' he adds, 'our Author never designed, and we thought not fit, for the press.' There appears to be some uncertainty as to who the editor of this edition of 1711 was. It is now generally admitted that two persons and not one were concerned in carrying the work through the press; and that these two persons were Thomas Ruddiman, the learned grammarian, and Bishop Sage, who was also responsible for 'The Life of William Drummond of Hawthornden,' which comes immediately after the Preface. Presumably the manuscripts lent to Ruddiman by Drummond's son were duly returned, and lay undisturbed in the family library until the Reverend William Abernethy Drummond of Hawthornden, an indirect descendant of the poet, in the year 1782, presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland the 'whole manuscripts,' so read the Minutes of the Society, 'of the celebrated Historian and Poet William Drummond of Hawthornden,' containing, besides other matter, transcripts of most of Drummond's prose works, and of some of his poems; various letters; extracts from other Authors, both in prose and verse, in the poet's own handwriting. Forty-five years later these manuscripts, which during all the years they had remained in the Society's keeping had been allowed to lie in bundles or in loose sheets without being sorted or arranged in any way, were carefully examined

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and arranged in fifteen bound volumes by Mr David Laing. The same distinguished antiquary published 'A Brief Account of the Hawthornden Manuscripts in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; with Extracts, containing several unpublished Letters and Poems of William Drummond of Hawthornden,' in the fourth volume (1831) of the *Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.* Leaving out of account the prose works as not concerning us here, Laing's paper contains about ten sonnets, fourteen madrigals, and a large number of epigrams which had never been previously printed in any of the editions of Drummond's works—a considerable addition to the poetic store of the Laird of Hawthornden, although very few of the pieces can be said to add to his reputation as a poet, or to reveal any new aspect of his talent; and the bulk of the shorter pieces (epigrams principally) possess no literary value, however interesting some of them may be for the history of the troublous times in which Drummond lived. Since Laing's publication, all the pieces discovered by him have been incorporated in subsequent editions of Drummond's Poems, of which the only two of any value are that of the Maitland Club (1832), and the comparatively recent one by W. C. Ward (1894), which is especially noteworthy as being the first edition in which any attempt is made to trace the Scottish poet's sources.

Having projected a critical edition of Drummond's poems, it had been my intention for some time past to investigate the Hawthornden manuscripts afresh on my own account, but various circumstances prevented me from carrying out my undertaking till quite recently. The result of a careful examination of the manuscripts was two-fold; it showed that by their aid many important corrections could be made in the poems already printed, especially in those published for the first time by Philipps (whose inaccuracy has often been suspected, but never really exposed); and it further revealed the fact that the Hawthornden manuscripts in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland contain a number of pieces by Drummond which escaped the attention of Laing, and which are, in part at all events, quite as worthy of Drummond, and therefore of publication, as those communicated by Laing in his above-mentioned paper. It is possible that they may not have escaped the attention of the learned antiquary, but that he may have been repelled by the extraordinarily bad hand in which most of them are written.

The question may well be asked whether the pieces printed here for the first time, such as they appear in the manuscripts, stand in their

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final form; and whether Drummond ever meant them to face the light of day. To the first question no certain reply can be given; we must be content with the observation that the poems in question, in spite of the bad handwriting, figure in the manuscripts with hardly any erasures or emendations. This circumstance goes to prove that they are clean copies, and not merely unfinished essays. No more affirmative answer can be given to the second question; yet it would be unjustifiable to conclude, because Drummond did not commit certain poems to the press, that he deemed them unworthy of his reputation: subsequently to the first edition of the *Flowers of Sion*, which appeared in 1630, Drummond wrote very little verse, being too much occupied with various political prose tracts and his History of the Five Jameses to be able to devote much time to the gentler art of poetry, which he probably only cultivated in his spare moments for the sake of recreation, believing that he had produced sufficient verse of a high order to secure the perpetuation of his name as a poet. If our surmise be correct, the miscellaneous verse published after his death at various times, including that here communicated, would represent odd poems composed in vacant hours during the last twenty years of his life, insufficient in number and too varied in character to furnish the material for a new publication.

Drummond was so widely read in native as well as foreign literature, and so accustomed to transcribe passages or entire poems from all kinds of authors, that of the unpublished pieces here selected one or two may be found to which the Scottish poet has no better claim than that of being an amanuensis. Precautions have been taken to preclude any such contingency by consulting friends who are better versed than myself in the history of English poetry. In spite of this precaution, it is conceivable, though unlikely I think, that an odd piece may have crept into the list which does not belong to Drummond.

Before concluding these remarks, it ought to be stated that those printed below only represent a selection from the unpublished poems of Drummond. It is hoped that they may be followed before long by another batch. Most of the pieces occur in Vol. X of the Hawthornden MSS. as arranged by Laing, but Vols. VII and VIII also contain a few worth reproduction.

The first sonnet is entitled by Drummond 'A lady weeping.' It is also copied on p. 67 of the same volume of the Hawthornden manuscripts with a few variants, such as *comd* for *come* (v. 13), and *semes* for *seemst* (v. 14):

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Ah! eyes, deare eyes, how could the Heauens consent
To giue to you occasion of those teares?
Brest, sugred Brest that globes of Beautie beares,
With sighes why should ye swell—with tears be sprent?
Hair, that in spight of grief art excellent,
What haue you done? That hand you wronglie teares;
Voice, through dear portes of pearle and rubies sent,
Why should you moan? mor fit to tune Heauens spheares.
Foule Grief, the scourge of life, from Heauen exild,
Child of Mishap, the Hells extreme disgrace,
Brother to paine, Mans weaknesse, foster child,
How did you mount to so diuine a place?
Yet Grief, come there, so stranglie she thee furms,
That thou seemst Joy, while she thus sweetlie murns.

(Hawthornden MSS., x, 3.)

Another sonnet of considerable merit is addressed to Lady Mary Wroath:

For beautye onlye, armd with outward grace,
I scorne to yeeld, to conquerre, or to striue.
Let shallow thoughtes that can no deeper dyue,
As fits there weaknesse, rest upon a face.
But when rare partes a heunlye shape confines,
Scarce reacht by thoughtes, not subiect to the sight,
Yet but the lanterne of a greater light,
Wher worth accomplisht crownd with glorie shines,
Then when bright vertue raignes in beautyes throne,
And doth the hart by spirituall magick moue,
Whilst reasone leads though passiones follow Loue,
Lothd may hee be that likes not such a one.
If it not lou'd so brave a Mynd thus shown,
I hated had the basenesse of myne own.

(Hawthornden MSS., x, 81.)

It is preceded in the manuscript by these stanzas, which elaborate the same theme:

Who can (great Lady) but adore thy name,
To which the sacred band are bound to bow:
Of men your uncle first, of woemen yow,
Both grace this age, and it to both giues fame.
Your spacious thoughts, with choice inuentiones free,
Show passiones power, affectiones severall straines;
And yet one sort, and that most rare remaines,
Not told by you, but to be proud of mee.

No face at all could haue my hart subdued,
Though beautyes Sunne in the Meridian shind;
Yet by the glorye lightning from a Mind,
I am her captive whom I neuer knew.

Sprightes wanting bodyes are not barrd from loue,
But feele, not touching; see, though wanting eyes;
Aboue grosse senses reach true vertue flyes,
And doth by sympathye effectuall proue.

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Then wonder not to see this flame burst foorth,
Nor blame mee not who dare presume so much;
I honor but the best, and hold you such;
None can deserue and I discerne your woorth.

In spight of fortune though you should disdaine,
I can enjoy this favour fate assignes;
Your speaking portrait drawn with liuing lines,
A greater Good than louers use to gaine.

My Loue may (as begune) last without sight,
And by degrees contemplatiuely grow;
Yet from affection curious thoughtes most flow:
I long to know whence comes so great a light,

And wish to see (since so your spright excelles)
The Paradise where such an Angell dwelles.

The next sonnet may be ranked among those which, in the sixteenth century, and the early part of the seventeenth century, were known as 'spiritual sonnets':

Our faults thy wrath deserued haue, alas!
And thou must craue just count of euerye deed;
But if our faults their punishment doe passe,
Thy Goodnesse farre our errors doth exceed.
All, all cry mercye, chargd with grief and teares,
A just remorse { subduing / orthrowing } wylier powers;
Reason can not effect in many yeares
What thy great wisdom can in few short howres.
Passed ills we see the present murn,
Stand fearfull and amazd of what should come,
Euen those hidden fires eternally that burn;
For wretched life deserueth such a doome.
But Loue to us a ray send from thy face,
And after open wide the Gates of Grace.

(Hawthornden MSS., x, 151.)

The following amatory sonnet is certainly equal if not superior to many printed in Drummond's *Poems*:

Or the winged boy my thochts to thee made thral,
When babielike I knew not what was loue,
My vue embrasing al my vue could proue,
At others laughing, fearing not my fal.
With two faire eies wher Cupids mother smyled,
Thou oft invited me to venter boldlie,
As if my sad lookes spake minds language coldlie,
Til with these gleames in end I was beguild.
But free thou knewest I was no more mine awne,
Charmed in those circles where I forcst remaine;
Churlish thou doth thy wonted smyles retaine,
And, woe is me! giues oft a cruel frowne.
Alas! if loue in lookes hath made such change,
Vnkind I loue thee not but yet am strange.

(Hawthornden MSS., x, 163.)

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The next sonnet is particularly interesting because it contains in the concluding lines an allusion to Sir William Alexander's series of classical tragedies published under the collective title of *Monarchic Tragedies*, to Drummond's *Flowers of Sion*, and lastly to King James's poem on the battle of Lepanto which forms part of *His Maiesties Poeticall Exercises at vacant houres* (1591), and which had what was then the extraordinary honour to be turned into French verse—by Du Bartas, the author of the famous *Weeks*:

Melpomene in Athenes neuer song
More sucter accents, nor a more sad dittie,
Nor neare made harts bleed with a greater pitie,
Where Tyber playes his flowry banks along,
Then when she weeping deigned by Forth to sing,
Forth where thy heauenlie swannet loues to dwel,
Forth that may claim the name of that faire well
Which horses haue from flintie rocke mad spring.
But Medwaye, Severn, Tames wil not consent.
To Monarks fals if y'il not giue such praise,
Yet grant at least to him, in sweet sad layes
Who help faire Sions virgins, to lament.
And if these trumpets yeild not schrillest sounds,
Forth boasts of him who song the Turkish wounds.

(Hawthornden MSS., x, 164.)

This piece in the manuscripts bears the title 'Essay out of the Italian,' but I have been unable to discover what may have been Drummond's model.

The following sonnet, as appears from the title ('In S$^{r}$ P. d. R.'), was written in honour of Pierre de Ronsard. Owing to the handwriting being small and the ink faded, I am not sure that I have read one or two words rightly:

Great Paragon, of Poets richest Pearle,
Beneath the arctick circles statlie pole
Abut whoes point the spheares of knowledge role,
The magnet of all mynds, ear-charming Mearle;
The perfumd cabinet that muses dwel,
Enameling new-found skyes with starres of gold,
Where Pallas, with the free-borne queens enrold,
And beutie, stryfs itself for to excel.
Farre-worthier Orpheus then they who mel
With sacred Pegasus azure streames,
Or he who brocht from Heauen the fyrie beames:
Mor fit for Phebus Bay then Phebus sel.
Thy perfyt praises if the world wold writ
Must haue againe thy selff for to end it.

(Hawthornden MSS., VII.)

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This probably refers to Queen Elizabeth:

Great Queene whom to the liberall Heauens propine
All what their force or influence can impart;
Whose virtue's rare, whose beautie's braue, but art
Makes thee aboue thy sacred sex to shine.
Resembling much those goddesses diuine;
The thundrers Bride for thy heroicke hart,
Cytherea for proportion of each part,
Joues braine-born gyrle for judgment and ingyne.
But now I fear my flatrie flows to farre;
Three goddesses in one are rarely seen,
Nor can a goddesse be vngrate—you are.
What rests then but, a woman, and a queen:
A woman, in vnconstancie and change,
A Queen, because so statlie and so strange.

(Hawthornden MSS., VIII, *in fine.*)

The following sonnet is avowedly an adaptation of a passage from Guarini's *Pastor Fido.* Under the title 'The Second Scene of Baptista Guarini his Pastor Fido,' we read Mirtillo's speech in Italian, and immediately after it, with the rubric 'thus in paraphrasse,' the following verses by Drummond:

Faire cruel Silvia since thou scornes my teares,
And ouerlookes my cares with carelesse eie;
Since my requests in loue offends thy eares,
Hensefoorth I vowe to hold my pace in thee and die.
But while I hold my pace thes things sal crie:
The brookes sal murmure, & the winds complaine;
The hils, the dails, the deserts wher I lie,
With the echoes of my plents sal prech my paine.
Yet put the case thay silent wald remaine;
Imagine brookes & winds wald hold theer pace;
Suppose hils, dailes, and deserts wald disdaine
T'acquaint thy deaff disdaines with my disgrace;
Yet while thay dombe, thow deaff, to me sal proue,
My death sal speake and let the know my loue.

(Hawthornden MSS., VII.)

Among the madrigals those that follow are typical:

Loue, once thy lawes
I did rebellious blame;
When they did cause
My chastest hart to flame
With fruitlesse vaine desire
Of her, who scorneth both thy dartes and fire.
But now (just Loue)
Thee and thy lawes I free,
And doe reproue
Myselfe, since plaine I see
The best but worthye is
To couuet, not enjoye such blisse.

(Hawthornden MSS., VII.)

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*On a lamp.*

Faithfull and luved light,
That silent sees our thefts,
Be glad at the sweet sound of kisses sweet.
Oh! doe not dye! but if thou luv'st to die,
Dye amidst our delight,
When languish both our brests.
So, thou mayst dye at ease;
For lamps to mee, or starres are her faire eyes.

(Hawthornden MSS., x, 51.)

*Amarillis to her dog Perlin.*

Faire Perlin doe not barke,
Poore foole dost thou not know
My louer, my desire?
If thou dost turne my fow,
Who to me shall be true?
Thou neare shall after any kisses haue.
Is't not enough all day
That thou do with mee stay?
Give place to night, and like her silent bee,
Lulld with the sound/noise that kisses make to thee.

(Hawthornden MSS., x, 53.)

If it be trew that Echo doth remaine
Mong hardest rockes, alas
Calling so oft for Grace
To her hard hart, why answer'st not againe?
While winds and tempests blow,
The echoes silent are,
And neuer answer sounds or send so far.
So, troublet with thy stormes of loue and woe,
Or distant then when most thy griefe doth show,
She doth no answer giue.
Yet this thou may belieue
That silence ofter is aye then no.

(Hawthornden MSS., x, 172.)

Other pretty trifles are:

The Gods haue heard my vowes;
Fond Lyce whose faire browes
Wont scorne with such disdaine
My Loue, my teares, my paine.

But now those springtide Roses
Are turned to winter poses,
To Rue & tyme & sage,
Fitting that shriveled age.

Now, youthes with hot desire,
See, see, that flamelesse fire,
Which earst your hartes so burned,
Quicke into ashes turned!

(Hawthornden MSS., x, 71.)

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*On a flye.*

When this flye liu'd shee us'd to play
In the sunshine all the day;
But comming neare my Celias sight,
Shee found a new and unknown light,
So full of beautye, that it made
The midday sunne a gloomye shade.
Shee did from hand to bosome skip;
And from her brest, her cheecke, her lip,
Suckt all the incense and the spice,
And grew a Bird of Paradise.
At lenth into her eye shee flew,
Where scorchd with flame and drownd in dew,
Like Phaeton from the sunnes spheare
Shee fell; and with her dropt a teare,
Of which a pearle was straight composd,
Wherin her ashes lye enclosd.
So shee receiued from Celias eye
Flame, funerall, tombe, obsequie.

(Hawthornden MSS., VIII.)

Lastly we quote a longer piece, entitled 'Prayer going to Bed,' which runs thus:

The night is come like to the day,
Departe not Thou great God away;
Let not my Sinnes blak as the night,
Ecclipse the lustre of thy light.
Keep still in my horizon; to me now
The Sune makes not the day but Thou.
Thou whose nature cannot sleepe,
On my Temples centry keepe;
Guarde me gainst those watchfull foes,
Whose eyes are open when myne close.
Let no dreams my head infeste,
But such as Jacobs Temples blest.
While I doe rest, my soule aduance;
Make me sleep a holie Trance,
That I may take my rest, being wrought
Awake into some holye thought;
And with as actiue vigour runne
My course, as doth the nimble sunne.
Sleep is a death. O! make mee trye
By sleeping what it is to dye!
And doe thou as gentlie laye my head
On my Graue as now my Bed.
Howere refreshed, great God let mee
Awake again at last with Thee.
And thus assured, behold I lye
Securlie, or to wake or die.
These are my drowsie dayes; in vaine
I now doe wake to sleep againe.
O! come that houre, when I shall neuer
Sleep thus againe, but wake for euer!

(Hawthornden MSS., VIII.)

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Of the large number of unpublished epigrams the following may in the meantime serve as specimens:

*Epitaphe on a Cooke.*

Heere lyes a sowre and angry cooke,
A miser, wretched man;
Who liued in smoke, and dyed in smoke,
Besides his frying pan.

(Hawthornden MSS., VIII.)

To build a tombe Jhone doth him daylie paine;
For suth he fears his father rise againe.

(Hawthornden MSS., x, 158.)

Ye weep as if your husbands death you grieud;
Ye onlie weep the old man so long liud.

(Hawthornden MSS., x, 159.)

Here lieth Jean that some time was a maid;
But when that was, it cannot wel be said.

(Hawthornden MSS., x, 160.)

L. E. KASTNER.

MANCHESTER.

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# CHARLES RIVIÈRE DUFRESNY.

A CÔTÉ des grands écrivains, des maîtres reconnus dont les noms forment les brillantes étapes d'une littérature, en dehors de la foule innombrable des auteurs du second ordre, il faut faire une place aux irréguliers, à ceux dont la fierté ne souffre pas qu'on les confonde avec les médiocres. Leurs noms, rappelés de temps en temps, évoquent une curiosité amusée, parfois même émue, et puis retombent dans l'oubli. La gloire semble les accueillir d'un sourire un peu dédaigneux. Il y a parmi eux de ces génies manqués, de ces grands négligents qui ont gâté ou dépensé mal à propos les dons divins qu'ils avaient reçu mission de faire fructifier. Ils sont comme les 'enfants terribles' de la littérature, et leur inaptitude à entrer dans une des catégories que nous nous sommes faites pour la plus grande tranquillité de notre esprit, a souvent empêché la postérité de rendre justice entière à l'œuvre qu'ils ont laissé derrière eux. Dufresny attend encore qu'on lui donne la place qu'il mérite.

Charles Rivière Dufresny naquit à Paris en 1648. Personne à son époque ne semble avoir mis en doute sa descendance illustre, à commencer par le Roi lui-même[1]. De même que son père avait rempli les fonctions de valet de garde-robe auprès de Louis XIII, le jeune Dufresny, présenté à la cour par le marquis de Nangis, fut immédiatement nommé valet de chambre de Louis XIV. Il partageait cet honneur avec Molière. Les devoirs attachés au titre mettaient souvent les deux cousins en présence; le roi fut vite charmé de l'esprit et de la vivacité de son jeune parent. Dufresny entrait dans le chemin de la fortune. Au fameux passage du Rhin célébré par Boileau il était au côté du monarque, et il s'acquitta de son devoir de soldat avec toute la bravoure de sa race. Le roi lui en sut gré, et comme à son retour en France Dufresny avait résolu de prendre femme, Louis XIV insista pour le doter. En plus de la dot vraiment royale, le nouveau marié se vit nommé 'intendant des jardins du roi.' Le titre était purement

[1] Le père de Dufresny était, dit-on, fils naturel d'Henri IV et de la 'belle jardinière d'Anet.'

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honorifique, et c'est plus tard, en 1700 seulement, que les travaux de Dufresny lui vaudront le poste de 'dessinateur des jardins du roi.'

Le souverain qui avait su, avec une merveilleuse perspicacité, deviner les aptitudes de ses serviteurs, avait-il entrevu le génie de son cousin pour l'horticulture? On peut soupçonner Dufresny de l'y avoir aidé; il n'était pas homme à se laisser dans l'ombre. Voici donc notre homme marié, riche, en faveur à la cour, en possession d'emplois honorables; il semble qu'il dût être heureux. Mais l'instabilité de son humeur et une malheureuse passion pour le jeu ne le laissèrent pas goûter longtemps un bonheur tranquille. La dot royale fut vite dissipée, 'Tontine' en vit la majeure part. Sur ces folies le roi ferma les yeux; il sut être grand dans sa bonté; Dufresny reçut le privilège d'une manufacture de glaces. Le privilège reçu fut bientôt troqué contre de beaux écus sonnants et bientôt notre poète se trouva pauvre comme devant. Il semble que le roi l'ait voulu sauver alors malgré lui-même: on renouvela le privilège de la manufacture de glace, à condition que les entrepreneurs feraient au titulaire une pension de 300 livres. Dufresny, pressé de dettes, les tint quittes de la rente pour une partie du capital. Louis XIV dut alors déclarer qu'il n'était pas assez puissant pour enrichir M. Dufresny!

Le joueur avait lassé la patience royale; il dut bien travailler, et il chercha à tirer parti de talents qu'il avait jusque-là gaspillés sans but. C'est à cette heureuse misère qu'il doit de s'être révélé à lui-même et au monde comme auteur dramatique.

Vers cette époque il se remaria. Son premier mariage n'avait guère été heureux: il a pris soin de nous le dire dans une chanson. De sa première femme nous ne savons rien, sinon que c'était une petite bourgeoise aisée du Faubourg Saint-Antoine. Elle y possédait un jardin qui fut bientôt bouleversé de fond en comble et replanté par son mari. Deux fils naquirent—pour notre malheur—de cette union; pour notre malheur, car pris de scrupules excessifs ces deux fils reparaîtront pour exiger de leur père mourant qu'il brûle ses écrits non publiés[1].

L'histoire de son second mariage est à la fois trop et trop peu connue. C'est une assez platte aventure sur laquelle on n'insisterait pas si elle n'avait eu une réelle influence sur l'œuvre de notre auteur. La légende s'en est emparée. Lesage l'a reprise pour la mettre dans la

[1] Ils pousseront même le zèle jusqu'à réclamer à la Comédie Française les manuscrits de quatre comédies qui attendaient dans les archives leur tour de représentation. Le secrétaire répondit que les manuscrits étaient égarés et introuvables. Malgré cette sage précaution ils ne nous sont pas parvenus, car un incendie accomplit l'œuvre de destruction rêvée par les fils du poète.

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bouche de son *Diable Boiteux*[1]. A bout de ressources et ne pouvant payer sa blanchisseuse (qui était jeune et jolie, et assez riche), il aurait trouvé un moyen d'acquitter ses dettes...en l'épousant (Lesage ajoute, avec son sarcasme habituel, elle et ses ducats).

Plus tard Banville reprendra le sujet dans un petit acte en vers *Le Cousin du Roi*, qu'il fit répresenter à l'Odéon en 1857 en collaboration avec Philoxène Boyer. On pourrait bien appeler cet acte: la revanche de Dufresny. Entre le vieux garçon machiavélique de Lesage et le jardinier-poète de Banville, le romantisme a passé. Il y a dans *Le Cousin du Roi* du Gringoire avec quelques plumes qu'on croirait arrachées au panache de Cyrano. Il est ce bohême élégant, fantaisiste et sentimental, que rêvaient les 'Jeune-France.' La blanchisseuse, la fraîche Angélique, est depuis son enfance amoureuse du poète qui hésite à l'épouser lorsqu'il la sait riche. Mais voici qu'apparaît le *deus ex machina*, le grand Roi dont la libéralité enrichit le parent pauvre et permet au mariage de s'accomplir.

Il n'est pas déraisonnable de croire qu' 'Angélique' ait eu du penchant pour le poète. Elle méritait en tout cas l'honneur qui lui fut fait; elle fit preuve des plus hautes qualités d'intelligence et de cœur en se faisant aimer et respecter d'un mari comme Dufresny, de son vivant, en le laissant inconsolable après sa mort. Elle fit plus; elle sut retenir à la maison ce coureur de brelans, et plus encore, elle obtint de lui qu'il *travaillât*. En cela, elle mérite notre reconnaissance: ne lui devons-nous pas quelques-unes des meilleures pièces de Dufresny?

Après la mort d' 'Angélique,' Dufresny retomba dans la vie de bohème, habitant à la fois quatre logis en des quartiers différents pour échapper aux visites importunes, essayant de regagner autour des tables de jeu sa fortune disparue. Mais il était né sous une bonne étoile et son esprit le tira momentanément d'embarras. On essayait alors d'établir une banque nationale par le système de Law. On parlait d'enrichissements fabuleux et rapides. Dufresny envoya au Régent un billet ainsi conçu: 'Pour votre gloire, Monseigneur, il faut laisser Dufresny dans son excessive pauvreté, afin qu'il reste au moins un seul homme dans une situation qui fasse souvenir que tout le royaume était aussi pauvre que Dufresny avant que vous y eussiez mis la main.'

Le régent, qui se connaissait en esprit, écrivit 'néant' au bas de cette singulière requête et donna l'ordre à Law de compter 200,000 f. au solliciteur. Avec cette somme, Dufresny, que la misère avait assagi, se hâta de faire bâtir une maison. C'est dans sa 'maison de Pline,'

[1] Livre X.



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comme il l'appelait, qu'il mourut en 1724, plein de repentir et de bons sentiments.

Une vie si peu édifiante, et dont nous connaissons si bien toutes les tares, ne pouvait manquer de laisser sur la mémoire de Dufresny une teinte sombre aux yeux de la postérité. Et pourtant, pas plus que La Fontaine, les contemporains ne semblent avoir jugé sévèrement ce joyeux compagnon dont l'amabilité enjouée, la franchise, la délicatesse d'esprit les charmaient malgré eux. Ils auraient volontiers souscrit à ces vers de Banville:

> Beau joueur, grand par l'âme et par la bourse mince,
> Il a le sort d'un gueux et la fierté d'un prince.

Il demeura indépendant et fier, dans sa vie comme dans son art, malgré l'empressement avec lequel il ramassait les miettes de la table du grand Roi. Le fait était commun à son époque et personne ne voyait de honte à être l'obligé du grand dispensateur de tous les biens.

En morale, il avait les meilleures dispositions du monde et pouvait prêcher la vertu, tout aussi bien qu'un autre, mais comme le poète latin, il voyait les meilleures choses et il suivait les pires. Toute sa vie il fut l'enfant gâté qu'une situation privilégiée a mis hors de la règle commune et qui jamais n'apprit à résister à un desir, à un caprice. La vie lui semblait comme un chemin sans but dont il cueillit en passant toutes les fleurs. Tout en lui trahit une telle insouciance, on pourrait dire une telle inconscience, qu'on ne saurait lui en vouloir. Il ressemble aux jolis aventuriers, héros des romans et des comédies de son temps, dont l'élégante désinvolture, la naïve perversité et l'esprit séduisant entraînent les cœurs malgré la raison.

Un tableau de Coypel nous le montre souriant sous sa grande perruque: l'œil est vif, un peu moqueur, le regard très franc. La bouche plissée et malicieuse est surmontée d'un nez royal. Sa figure un peu pleine se termine par un menton de satirique qui rappelle celui de Boileau. L'expression de la physionomie est à la fois très sympathique et très spirituelle. En face de cet aimable épicurien, on comprend mieux sa réponse à un ami qui le consolait de sa détresse par le dicton populaire: 'Non, répliqua-t-il, non, pauvreté n'est pas vice...c'est bien pis!'

Il est possible, pour les caractères faibles, de naître trop bien doués et de faire mentir le proverbe: rien ne leur nuit plus que l'abondance de biens. Dufresny avait des dispositions marquées pour tous les arts. Sachant tout, sans avoir jamais rien appris, il composait toujours les airs de ses chansons. Il les faisait noter par son ami Grandval, car il

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eut été incapable d'écrire une note de musique. Un assez grand nombre de ces chansons nous sont parvenues, soit intercalées dans le *Mercure Galant*, soit publiées à la suite des comédies auxquelles elles appartiennent. Elles sont bien 'de l'homme même.' Le rythme en est net, le dessin un peu désordonné, l'inspiration presque toujours fraîche et originale.

Comme il n'avait pas plus appris à dessiner qu'à composer, il imagina un moyen de réaliser ses combinaisons artistiques: il découpait dans des estampes des personnages qu'il arrangeait ensuite au gré de son caprice. Les contemporains ont été frappés des résultats extraordinaires de fantaisie et de vérité qu'il obtenait ainsi.

Mais c'est vers une autre région que devaient se porter avant tout ses efforts artistiques. Au moment où Louis XIV, emerveillé et choqué de la magnificence des jardins de Fouquet à Vaux, voulut créer à Versailles des jardins dignes par leurs proportions et leur beauté du palais qu'ils devaient entourer, Dufresny avait soumis au roi quelques dessins de sa composition. Le monarque avait rêvé grand, mais son cousin avait imaginé plus grand encore. La nouveauté, le goût de ces dessins séduisirent le roi et ce fut, dit-on, faute d'argent qu'ils ne furent pas exécutés. Peut-être aussi n'étaient-ils pas assez classiques. Dufresny reçut, en compensation, le titre de 'dessinateur des jardins du Roi.' On mit en outre à sa disposition dans le bois de Vincennes un coin de terrain, qu'il put défoncer, planter et replanter tout à son aise. Ce fut bientôt un but de promenade pour les Parisiens. Plus d'un tranquille bourgeois, ami de l'ordre et du cordeau, en allant un beau dimanche avec sa famille voir le jardin de M. Dufresny, dut ouvrir des yeux effarés devant l'imprévu du vallonnement et la bizarrerie du dessin. Mais la foule parisienne comprit et s'associa avec le poète jardinier contre la froideur et la correction des jardins officiels de l'époque. Dufresny fut vite célèbre; on l'opposa même à Le Nôtre qui triomphait alors à Versailles. Là, l'esprit classique trouve son expression jusque dans la coupe même des arbres. La nature y est soumise aux exigences de la raison humaine. A une époque où rien n'intéresse l'homme en dehors de l'homme même, l'esprit humain cherche à retrouver jusque dans les bosquets et les gazons son besoin d'alignement et de symétrie. On se rappelle la description qu'en donne Gautier: 'Un art magnifique, grandiose, solennel, partout du marbre, du bronze, des Neptunes, des Tritons, des nymphes, des ifs en quenouilles, des buis en pot-au-feu, tout ce qu'on peut imaginer de plus noble, de plus riche, de plus coûteux, de plus impossible: mais au bout d'une heure ou deux de



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promenade, vous sentez l'ennui vous tomber sur le dos en pluie fine avec la rosée des jets d'eau. Vous vous prenez malgré vous à désirer quelque petit coin de paysage agreste.' Il dut y avoir quelque chose de semblable dans l'impression que Dufresny avait des jardins de l'époque, et il chercha le paysage agreste. De même que 80 ans plus tôt Bacon s'était insurgé contre la régularité des jardins de Hampton Court, Dufresny se révolte contre la symétrie des jardins français. Les écrivains anglais les plus classiques, Addison et Pope, condamnaient le jardin de la Renaissance.

Dufresny, grand ennemi des règles et des conventions, veut imiter la nature dans ses formes capricieuses. Un parc accidenté avec de grands arbres qui poussent ici et là en toute robustesse, en toute liberté; de frais gazons aux bords irréguliers, au milieu desquelles serpente un gracieux ruisseau, en un mot, c'est le parc anglais qu'il lui faut. Est-ce de sa propre imagination que Dufresny a tiré ses réformes? Nous n'avons nul moyen de nous en assurer. S'il ne le connaissait, il était du moins digne de connaître le génie anglais; ce génie qui, selon Voltaire, ressemble à un arbre touffu planté par la nature, jetant au hasard mille rameaux et croissant inégalement avec force—et qui meurt si on veut forcer sa nature et le tailler en arbre de Marly.

Dufresny fut écrivain comme il fut jardinier; il échappa aux règles et se refusa d'entrer dans aucune catégorie reconnue. Il voulut écrire quand bon lui semblait et sans contrainte. Or malgré sa paresse, son œuvre est assez considérable. Elle comprend un petit opuscule: les *Entretiens sérieux et comiques*; des contes, essais, dissertations pour la plupart écrit pour le *Mercure Galant* ainsi que bon nombre de chansons; des farces et une vingtaine de comédies, dont les plus intéressantes sont *L'Esprit de contradiction* (1700), *Le double Veuvage* (1702), *La Coquette du Village* (1715), *La Réconciliation normande* (1719), *Le Mariage fait et rompu* (1721). A cela il faut ajouter une suite des *Entretiens* et quelques comédies sacrifiées aux scrupules de ses fils ou dévorées par l'incendie. Les œuvres qui restent remplissent 6 volumes de l'édition de 1731, réimprimée en 1747. La rareté, pour ne pas dire l'absence d'éditions plus récentes, est la meilleure preuve du dédain où a été tenue sa mémoire. Jusqu'à quel point un tel dédain est-il justifié et le nom de Dufresny mérite-t-il d'être sorti de la demi-obscurité où il est resté enseveli? C'est ce qu'il nous reste à examiner.

'Dufresny n'a pas eu cette bonne fortune de rester populaire et joué. Son nom vit encore; les titres de ses comédies demeurent; de

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rares lettrés en ont lu quelques-unes, et c'est tout. C'est peut-être trop peu.' C'est ainsi que s'exprime un des historiens les plus autorisés de notre littérature dramatique[1]. C'est à peu près ainsi que s'expriment tous ceux qu'une heureuse curiosité a poussés à lire son théâtre et qui ont eu la surprise d'en découvrir pour eux-mêmes les précieuses qualités. D'où vient donc cet oubli étrange et tel qu'un des manuels les plus complets et qui ont le plus fait pour répandre la connaissance de la littérature française, ne mentionne même pas le nom de Dufresny au chapitre du théâtre?

L'injustice peut être expliquée, sinon justifiée. Une première raison vient sans doute de l'excentricité même de sa vie. Il est resté dans la mémoire des hommes le poète-jardinier, cousin de Louis XIV, bohème funambule dont on se rappelle la vie accidentée sans jamais lire les œuvres. Mais ses œuvres même, il faut l'avouer, nous fourniront des raisons plus solides. Ses comédies sont brillantes d'esprit: on peut être trop spirituel. Rien ne lui échappe; son œil subtil aperçoit mille rapports ingénieux et inattendus entre les choses, mille nuances à peine perceptibles dans les sentiments; ces rapports, ces nuances, il cherche à les traduire avec finesse dans son théâtre. C'est ce qui produit à la lecture de ses pièces un plaisir délicat d'une nature toute particulière; mais c'est aussi ce qui les empêchera de réussir auprès du grand public. D'Alembert l'a dit; le public ne prit plaisir à ses finesses que lorsqu'il en eut été averti par les connaisseurs. Bon nombre de plaisanteries ne passaient pas la rampe.

Ceci pourtant ne suffirait pas à expliquer le dédain des lettrés si Dufresny n'avait laissé que des œuvres bien faites. Malheureusement notre auteur porte avec lui le châtiment de son incurable paresse. Il n'a pas pris la peine de faire valoir les idées neuves et fructueuses qu'il apportait à la scène. Ses intrigues, tout ingénieuses qu'elles soient, restent parfois incohérentes, faute de travail. La seule comédie vraiment parfaite que nous ayons de lui est une comédie en un acte. Ses dernières œuvres donnent l'impression d'un auteur jeune et manquant d'expérience. Selon le mot de Petit de Julleville: 'jusqu'à 73 ans, il a donné des promesses brillantes.' Devant ce génie resté, pour ainsi dire, 'en friche' on se prend à regretter qu'il n'eût point trouvé un collaborateur honnête autant qu'adroit. Sa brouille avec Regnard est encore une des raisons qui nuisirent à sa popularité; il eut le tort de s'opposer à un auteur glorieux incontesté, il commit la

[1] H. Lion, dans *l'Histoire de la littérature française* de Petit de Julleville.

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maladresse d'obliger le public à comparer une œuvre polie et bien faite avec une comédie, peut-être plus originale, mais d'exécution fort inférieure et négligée.

Dufresny eut le sort des inventeurs. Il manquait de méthode, d'autres vinrent qui surent tirer profit et gloire de ses idées: bonne raison pour tenir dans l'ombre le nom d'un confrère dont ils étaient secrètement les obligés. Quant à ceux qui n'avaient pas le même besoin de le tenir à l'écart, puisqu'ils ne lui devaient rien, ils se contentèrent de répéter les affirmations arbitraires et injustes des frères Parfaict dans leur *Histoire du Théâtre Français*, jugeant, sans les avoir lues, les comédies de Dufresny 'fort au-dessous de celles de Dancourt' pour la conduite de l'intrigue et l'entente de la scène[1]. Seuls quelques historiens plus exacts[2] ont essayé de redonner à Dufresny et sa physionomie réelle et la place qu'il doit occuper dans l'histoire du théâtre français—entre Molière et Marivaux.

Parmi les ouvrages de Dufresny, autres que ses comédies, les *Entretiens Sérieux et Comiques* attirent notre attention par leur titre un peu inquiétant et piquant, et l'allure dégagée de leur préface. Dès les premières pages nous savons que nous avons affaire à un homme d'esprit. Cet esprit est tout pénétré de raison: 'Je me mets au-dessus de tout, nous dit-il en effet, excepté du *bon sens*.' Et plus tard il le répétera d'une façon plus mordante: 'Je n'affecte jamais d'être singulier, et le bon sens seul m'éloigne ici de l'usage ordinaire.' Cependant il y aura moyen d'être original et neuf sans jamais s'écarter de la nature. C'est à trouver ce moyen que Dufresny s'est appliqué. Les *Entretiens* nous en convainquent bientôt. Le livre se compose d'une série d'observations sur les mœurs contemporaines. Là, comme dans *Les Caractères* de La Bruyère auxquels les *Entretiens* peuvent servir de complément, l'auteur rend au public ce qu'il lui a prêté. Il répond au savant qui lui recommande l'imitation des anciens: 'Je vous entends, il faut piller; mais je ne pillerai ni dans les Livres anciens, ni dans les Livres modernes; je ne veux piller que dans le Livre du monde.'

Là comme dans *Les Caractères* quelque chose annonce le XVIII^e^ siècle. On commence à s'intéresser aux hommes plutôt qu'à l'homme. Les *Onuphres* remplacent *Tartufe*: il n'y a plus d'avare mais des

[1] Il est certain que les comédies de Dufresny n'ont pas l'intérêt documentaire de celles du 'Premier des Vaudevillistes.' C'est en grande partie la valeur 'numismatique' des pièces de Dancourt qui lui a assuré une gloire plus durable.

[2] En particulier M. H. Lion (Petit de Julleville); M. Lintilhac, *Histoire du Théâtre en France*, vol. IV.

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avares. Ce sont des silhouettes assez précises que crayonne Dufresny. Mais comment les fera-t-il défiler devant nos yeux? Pas de galeries de tableaux comme chez La Bruyère, avec du vide entre les cadres: il faut relier entre eux ces amusements. Et Dufresny s'avise d'un procédé inédit: il fera venir un Siamois à Paris. Tout sera étrange et nouveau pour cet habitant d'un autre monde. Ainsi seront expliquées et excusées les remarques les plus malicieusement naïves sur la société contemporaine. L'idée est aujourd'hui connue de tous: c'est celle des *Lettres Persanes*. Il est curieux que Montesquieu, qui n'a pu cacher son emprunt à personne (car les *Entretiens* étaient entre toutes les mains à son époque), n'ait même pas salué Dufresny dans sa préface.

Notre Siamois donc, est effaré du brouhaha des rues de Paris, et encore plus de l'animation des Parisiens. Le Persan de Montesquieu s'en souviendra. Mais le Siamois et lui ne vont pas aux mêmes endroits. Dufresny mène son héros à l'opéra, puisque c'est la mode. De là il part en excursion pour le pays de mariage. Nous sommes alors tout étonnés de constater que la carte du Tendre sert encore de guide aux jeunes romanesques. Boileau vieilli n'a plus guère la force de brandir sa fourche à l'entrée de la chambre du goût et les rééditions de la Calprenède se multiplient. Passons avec le Siamois à l'Université pour laquelle il n'a pas le plus grand respect. Dufresny partage déjà la défiance du XVIII^e^ siècle pour la métaphysique. Plus loin nous tombons au milieu des médecins, auxquels il est toujours bon de décocher quelques épigrammes. Molière ne les a pas tués et il est mort sans eux.

Mais continuons notre voyage: nous voici dans un cercle bourgeois, 'assemblée grave et mal assise sur de petits tabourets arrangés en rond; où toutes les femmes parlent et pas une n'écoute, où on raisonne sur rien, où on décide de tout.' On y rencontre le magistrat dogmatisant, le vaniteux qui sourit sans les comprendre aux épigrammes dont il est l'objet, et l'esprit de travers qui les prend pour lui et quitte brusquement la compagnie. Voici des personnages que nous retrouverons dans les comédies: la joueuse acharnée, le faux sincère fou de probité, le nouveau riche vaniteux et maladroit. Tous ces gens là vivent, s'agitent, jouent devant nous le drame ou la comédie de leurs passions. Si la peinture en reste inférieure à celle des *Lettres Persanes*, elle occupe à côté d'elle un rang très honorable. On peut y glaner des traits, des observations dignes de La Bruyère. Telle est cette remarque que Dufresny avait faite avant M. Perrichon: 'Nous n'aimons guère ceux à qui nous devons; nous aimons mieux ceux qui nous doivent.'

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Dans ce petit livre l'auteur a essayé d'étudier les hommes, mais il désespère d'y atteindre, 'car, dit-il, la vie est trop courte pour connaître un seul homme.'

Il s'y essaya de nouveau dans les feuilles du *Mercure Galant*, le futur *Mercure de France*, dont il reçut le privilège après la mort de son fondateur Vizé et qu'il dirigea pendant cinq ans, de 1710 à 1715, jusqu'à la mort de sa deuxième femme.

Ce journal, le plus ancien en France après la *Gazette* de Théophraste Renaudot, était très lu à cette époque; Dufresny y publia les articles les plus divers, depuis des contes arabes, un parallèle d'Homère et de Rabelais, des expériences de physique, jusqu'à des chansons à siffler. Un certain nombre de ces articles, dont quelques-uns sont du meilleur Dufresny, ont été compris dans l'édition complète des ses œuvres.

Dufresny n'aborda la comédie qu'à l'âge de 44 ans. Il n'était pas tout à fait un nouveau venu dans le monde du théâtre, car au temps de sa grandeur il s'était plu à jouer le rôle de Mécène au royaume des comédiens. Il y rentrait cette fois par la petite porte, la main dans celle de Regnard. En cette année 1692, l'auteur des *Folies amoureuses* écrivait encore pour les comédiens italiens.

*Les Chinois*, *La Baguette de Vulcain*, *La Foire St Germain*, et d'autres sortirent de leur fructueuse collaboration. *La Foire St Germain* eut tant de succès que les comédiens français se crurent obligés de lui opposer, sans grand succès, une pièce du même titre écrite par Dancourt. En outre de la peinture très animée d'une foire parisienne, la pièce contient quelques parodies de fables ou de tragédies antiques fort amusantes. Les éditeurs de Regnard y voient partout la main du maître et font bon marché du talent de Dufresny. Pourtant dans l'originalité des plaisanteries, dans l'inattendu des situations, on peut aisément reconnaître la marque personnelle de l'auteur des *Entretiens*. Ne faut-il pas lui attribuer une boutade comme celle-ci: 'une femme, c'est un composé harmonique où se trouve quelquefois bien des dissonances.' Du reste, avec *L'Opéra de Campagne* et *Les Contes de la Mère Loye*, Dufresny saura atteindre le succès sans l'aide de Regnard.

La plupart des pièces données aux Italiens sont sans aucune valeur littéraire. Car on allait au Théâtre Italien comme nous allons aujourd'hui au 'Palais Royal.' On allait là pour rire; et on oubliait à la porte les règles et les unités. Grâce à la faveur royale, et à l'immunité qu'on accorde aux théâtres 'à côté,' les Italiens avaient joui d'une entière indépendance. C'est dans cette liberté, allant jusqu'à l'extrême licence, où rien ne gênait la fantaisie des auteurs, que les Regnard et les

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Dufresny vinrent faire leurs premières armes. Boileau, nous dit Brossette, déclarait que depuis Molière il n'y avait pas eu de bonnes pièces au Théâtre Français et qu'il fallait aller aux Italiens: là il y avait de bonnes choses et de véritables plaisanteries—et du sel partout. De fait les plus grosses saillies n'étaient souvent que l'exagération d'une observation juste. Tandis que la tragédie se meurt dans une pâle imitation d'une imitation, la comédie renouvelle ses forces en reprenant contact avec la vie, à travers la farce. Qui dira tout ce que la haute comédie doit aux pantalonnades des Italiens?

L'année même où il débutait aux Italiens, en 1692, Dufresny abordait seul la scène des comédiens français avec les cinq actes en prose du *Négligent*. Le succès n'en fut que médiocre. Il continuait cependant à écrire des farces avec Regnard, lorsque brusquement leur collaboration prit fin comme tant d'autres, par une querelle.

Le 16 décembre, 1696, Regnard donnait son *Joueur* aux Français. Deux mois après, sur le même théâtre, Dufresny faisait représenter le *Chevalier Joueur* et dans un prologue il accuse Regnard de plagiat. De son côté, dans sa préface, Regnard parle d'un 'plagiaire' qu'il accuse de reproduire en prose sa comédie. Le poète Gacon en fit une épigramme qui se termine ainsi:

> Chacun vola son compagnon;
> Mais quiconque aujourd'hui voit l'un et l'autre ouvrage
> Dit que Regnard a l'avantage
> D'avoir été le bon larron.

En effet le public prit parti pour Regnard et la pièce de Dufresny tomba sans appel. Le public avait raison, car le *Joueur* est bien supérieur au *Chevalier Joueur*, ouvrage curieux, plein de saveur mais hâtif et mal bâti. Les deux compères devaient pouvoir dessiner la physionomie d'un joueur: ils n'avaient qu'à s'observer mutuellement. C'est du reste un caractère qui semble hanter Dufresny; il l'avait déjà esquissé dans les *Entretiens*, il le reprendra en 1709 dans la *Joueuse*. A partir de 1696, Dufresny travaille seul pour le Théâtre Français, qu'il ne cesse d'alimenter de ses comédies jusqu'à sa mort.

La partie la plus durable de l'œuvre de Dufresny c'est le Théâtre joué par les comédiens français. Cherchons à y pénétrer et à démêler les impressions successives qu'il produira sur nous. D'abord notre curiosité est piquée, amusée: rien n'est épargné pour la tenir en éveil. Notre auteur a l'esprit fin. Il n'a pas cette gaîté de Molière, si mâle et si profonde

> Que lorsqu'on vient d'en rire, on devrait en pleurer.

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Mais ce n'est pas davantage, cette fête perpétuelle, ce feu d'artifice dont Beaumarchais éblouira son auditoire: c'est une gaîté assez nouvelle, une gaîté entre deux, subtile, pleine d'ingéniosité, d'imprévu, de ressources neuves, une gaîté délicate qui fait sourire plutôt qu'elle ne fait rire. L'esprit y crépite, pétille plutôt qu'il n'éclate. On le sent partout et il est presque insaisissable. Il semble sortir naturellement des caractères et des situations. Il pare le dialogue sans y ajouter de faux brillants. Mais surtout, et le sévère La Harpe lui-même, tout en reprochant à Dufresny de le prodiguer trop à tous ses personnages, le proclame hautement, c'est un esprit absolument original.

On a trouvé le style des comédies un peu sec. La faute en est peut-être moins à notre auteur qu'à son époque. L'impression de dureté qu'il peut donner est souvent due à un excès de précision. Mais c'est là le défaut de ses qualités. Sa prose est nerveuse, serrée. Elle moule la pensée comme un vêtement bien fait (la pensée, il est vrai, prend souvent une forme imprévue). Dufresny a l'honneur d'avoir été un des premiers à combattre en faveur de la prose dans la haute comédie. Auparavant on exigeait qu'elle fût en vers; la poésie était, si l'on peut dire, comme un habit de soirée rendu de rigueur par le voisinage de la tragédie. Or la comédie devenait de plus en plus réaliste, et Dufresny et Dancourt lui rendirent un grand service en la débarrassant d'un vêtement trop roide.

Les vers de Dufresny sont plus inégaux que sa prose. On y trouve quelques rares traces de l'influence de Regnard, des cascades de vocables sonores:

> Mais pendant quelque temps, agiote, grappille,
> Contrôle, taille, rogne, en plein pille et repille;
> A force d'encaisser, de compter, d'escompter,
> Tu pourras parvenir à te faire écouter.
>
> (*La Coquette du Village*, I, 3.)

Mais en général ses vers sont bien à lui. Il y en a d'heureux dont l'aisance et la tournure piquante méritent d'être retenues. Telle est cette description de la jeunesse où le poète semble d'être dépeint lui-même:

> J'admire la jeunesse et sa vivacité,
> Passant toujours de l'une à l'autre extrémité,
> De l'excessive crainte à l'espérance folle;
> Parlant, parlant, parlant, puis perdant la parole;
> Courant, courant, courant, puis s'arrêtant tout court,
> En un seul jour, aimant et perdant son amour,
> Pour un amant nouveau le retrouvant ensuite;
> Voulant, ne voulant pas; sans règle, sans conduite,
> Sans arrêt, sans raison: que de défauts elle a,
> Cette jeunesse! On l'aime avec ces défauts-là.
>
> (*La Réconciliation normande.*)

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Le dialogue est vif, menu, un peu haché peut-être. Les répliques se succèdent comme des parades d'escrime dans un cliquetis continuel qui tient en éveil l'attention.

*Damis (à la Présidente)*: Quand on a de l'esprit, on se tire d'affaire.
*La Présidente*: L'on n'en a pas besoin quand on est innocent.
*Damis.* Il en faut pour le monde; il est si médisant!
*La Prés.*: Je fermerai les yeux sur tout ce qui se passe,
Mais vous m'accorderez une petite grâce:
Pour me la refuser vous êtes trop sensé.
*Damis*: Je fermerai les yeux sur ce qui s'est passé,
Mais vous m'accorderez une grâce assez grande.
*La Prés.*: Accordez-moi d'abord ce que je vous demande.
(*Le Mariage fait et rompu*, III, 5.)

On sait gré à l'auteur de ses trouvailles, qui chatouillent l'esprit, sans jamais s'éloigner du naturel. · Le dialogue dans son ingéniosité répond absolument à *l'invention.* Ni Regnard ni Dancourt ne se sont préoccupés de renouveler le magasin d'intrigues de la comédie française. Peu importe, au fond, la donnée d'une pièce lorsque les caractères en modifieront l'action comme chez Molière. Mais le secret de son art semble perdu. Ce sont des 'trucs,' toujours les mêmes, que les autres emploient. Dufresny arrive, le sac plein d'idées neuves.

On a taxé d'incohérence certaines de ses intrigues. Un tel défaut peut paraître surprenant chez un homme qui avait au suprême degré le génie de l'organisation artistique. Car tout se tient, et son habilité à composer des tableaux avec des découpages, à dessiner des jardins, à bâtir une intrigue, n'est-ce-pas cet instinct de l'artiste qui le guide dans l'arrangement des parties? L'instinct, chez Dufresny, n'était pas modifié par l'étude des règles. D'où une certaine irrégularité, et un peu de confusion qui trahissent le manque de travail. Il n'a pas su déduire patiemment les conséquences de son idée et faire difficilement des choses faciles. Il n'a pas vécu avec son sujet pendant de longs jours. Une idée aussitôt conçue est aussitôt notée.

Une seule comédie échappe entièrement à ce reproche, c'est un acte en prose dont la réputation a été grande, qui a été traduit et joué en plusieurs langues: *L'Esprit de contradiction.*

Mme Oronte est d'humeur contrariante. Sa volonté, comme le dit pittoresquement le jardinier Lucas, est du naturel des hiboux: elle ne va jamais de compagnie avec la volonté des autres. Elle s'est mis dans la tête de renvoyer son jardinier. Elle le renvoie du reste tous les jours. C'est un besoin chronique. Mais cette fois, M. Oronte prend le parti de Lucas et c'est pour sa femme une raison de plus d'exiger son renvoi. Lucas connaît sa maîtresse. Il est fin. Il fait semblant d'être enchanté de partir. Toutefois pour plus de vraisemblance, il

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affecte de cacher poliment sa joie. Dès lors les choses changent de face, et rien ne pourra empêcher Mme Oronte de garder le jardinier à son service. C'est ainsi que l'auteur nous présente son héroïne en une jolie scène d'exposition. Or M. Oronte veut marier sa fille Angélique à un riche négociant de ses amis, Thibaudois—un gros rustaud qui a des bagues à tous les doigts et qui a la mauvaise habitude de tutoyer tout le monde. Angélique ne se sent pas beaucoup d'inclination pour ce butor, et naturellement elle aime le jeune et beau Valère. Il s'agit pour les deux compères Oronte et Thibaudois, de s'assurer du consentement de Mme Oronte, car comme dit Thibaudois: 'C'est une terrible femme que l'esprit de ta femme.' Si tout le monde est d'accord pour marier Angélique, Mme Oronte trouvera bien moyen de contredire. On a recours au malin jardinier: l'expédient qu'il imagine est simple: on dira que l'époux choisi par M. Oronte est Valère, et Mme choisira immédiatement Thibaudois. Les choses se passent comme on l'avait prévu. Mais on avait compté sans Angélique. La jeune rusée fait parvenir à sa mère un billet dans lequel elle dénonce la ruse de Lucas. Mme Oronte comprend et feint de se soumettre aux volontés de son mari. Oronte n'en revient pas: 'Il faut être bien malheureux, dit-il. La seule fois de sa vie qu'elle ne me contredit pas, c'est pour me contredire.' Sur ces entrefaites, Valère revient. En amoureux inquiet, comme tous les Valère, il prend au sérieux les amabilités qu'Angélique prodigue à Thibaudois. Ce malentendu amène entre les amoureux une querelle dont Mme Oronte est témoin. Sur le champ elle décide de marier Valère et Angélique, puisqu'ils ne s'entendent plus. Ainsi elle fera pièce à son mari et contredira tout le monde à la fois.

La pièce semble donc terminée, lorsque reparait Lucas. Il a flairé un complot qui dérange le sien et menace de tout révéler. Tout est perdu! Heureusement Lucas est très sensible aux arguments sonnants, et si Thibaudois est riche, Valère est généreux. Lucas ne dira rien et le tour est joué.

'On aime à voir des caractères soutenus, une intrigue nette et suivie, des situations qui surprennent, quoiqu'elles soient bien préparées, et de temps en temps quelque plaisanterie sans grossièreté.' Voilà l'idéal de la comédie, tel qu'il nous est présenté dans le prologue du *Double Veuvage*. Il ne s'agit donc pas seulement d'une trame légère et spirituelle; il faut des caractères. Rien ne pique plus notre auteur que d'être traité en homme simplement spirituel. Il s'en plaint dans une préface[1]:

[1] *La Coquette du Village.*

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Un ami zélé me dit: 'La pièce est bonne, mais il y a des défauts.' 'Au contraire, la pièce ne vaut rien,' dit un autre, 'mais il y a de jolies choses.' Je vous entends: vous faites ensuite l'éloge de *quelque saillie brillante.* Je vous reconnais; vous êtes auteur, Mons. Vadius. J'aperçois dans les Tuileries un docte censeur; il est de la clique d'Aristophane, il a l'air ennuyé et dégoûté, car il sort de ma comédie; il me voit, il prend un autre visage et me dit gracieusement: 'Je vous félicite, il y a de l'esprit dans tout ce que vous faites.' Je vous connais, masque; vous me vendez cher cet esprit-là, quand vous faites mon éloge à d'autres qu'à moi.

Dufresny continue la comédie de mœurs. Si ses caractères ne sont pas tous très creusés, ils vivent pourtant. C'est un défilé d'originaux: voici en tête, les amoureux, car en cela Dufresny n'a pas innové et toutes ses comédies finissent par un mariage. C'est d'abord la jeune Angélique de l'Esprit de Contradiction, adroite, tranquille et fine. Elle oppose à sa mère une force d'inertie qui oblige la bonne dame à imaginer les réponses de sa fille pour pouvoir les contredire. Alors que tout le monde s'agite, elle tire tranquillement son épingle du jeu. C'est elle qui mène l'action. Mais personne ne s'en doute jusqu'à la fin, pas plus les spectateurs que les autres personnages de la comédie.

Voici la joyeuse Thérèse du *Double Veuvage* toujours riant, toujours dansant. Il est tout naturel qu'avec un caractère aussi gai, elle soit tombée amoureuse d'un homme mélancolique comme Dorante, affligé d'une délicatesse inquiète. Le rire de Thérèse le fâche et elle rit de le voir fâché. Si elle est trop empressée, elle n'est pas sincère; si elle tarde à venir, c'est qu'elle ne l'aime pas. Ce Dorante-là est par certains côtés l'ancêtre d'un personnage de Sheridan, le Faulkland des *Rivals*, qui croit trouver 'something unkind in the violent, robust, unfeeling health' de sa maîtresse. Écoutons Dorante: 'Ravie de me voir! Ah! je ne confonds point cette gaieté dissipée avec le plaisir sensible et passionné que doit causer la vue de ce qu'on aime.' 'Si vous aimiez, on vous verrait comme moi inquiète, agitée; et dans l'horreur d'une incertitude cruelle, languir, soupirer, gémir.'

Dufresny reprend ce type un peu indécis dans le Valère du *Mariage fait et rompu.* Valère est un rêveur qui passe des heures les yeux perdus sur la mer. Nous sommes en 1720. On n'attend guère cette attitude avant Rousseau. C'est un chapitre d'avant-garde à ajouter à l'étude du sentiment de la nature au XVIII$^{e}$ siècle.

Le mieux venu de ces caractères, c'est peut-être la coquette du village. La jeune Lisette qui à neuf ans était déjà une coquette fieffée voit ses talents se développer prodigieusement grâce aux leçons d'une veuve experte en l'art de séduire. Elle a du reste soin de passer aux yeux de sa maîtresse pour plus sotte qu'elle n'est; elle ne veut pas

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exciter sa jalousie. En vraie fille de paysan, elle a un but pratique. Elle est aimée d'un jeune intendant, mais qu'est cela pour elle? il lui faut pour le moins un homme riche, sinon le seigneur du village lui-même. Pour n'en manquer aucun, elle parvient à se faire aimer des trois à la fois. Lorsque son manège est découvert, elle se tire d'affaire avec une habileté surprenante et nouvelle. Cette jeune personne qui élabore des plans machiavéliques, se décide brusquement, par à-coups. Elle n'en est que plus vraie. Son intelligence aiguë parviendrait à ses fins, sans un stratagème imaginé par le jeune intendant qui la ramène au bon sens et punit cette Célimène en sabots par où elle avait péché.

Le père de la coquette, le fermier Lucas, est une des meilleures figures de paysans qui soient au théâtre. Ce sont de réels paysans que Dufresny nous montre, et qui parlent leur jargon. On appelait cela des 'Dancourades,' parce que Dancourt avait ramené ce réalisme sur la scène française. Lucas a pris quarante billets de loterie. On lui fait croire qu'il a gagné le gros lot, et le voilà aussitôt fier et insolent, daignant dans sa bonté assurer son seigneur de sa protection. Il ne rêve plus qu'une chose: c'est d'aller à Paris. On sent en lui le désir de jouir et la haine de ses supérieurs.

Presque tous les personnages épisodiques seraient à citer; tel est le couple amusant du Président et de la Présidente dans le *Mariage fait et rompu.* Le mari marche derrière sa femme dont il admire et craint la volonté, tout en essayant piteusement de garder sa propre dignité:

> Oui, ma femme, agissez seule, je vous l'ordonne.

Tel est encore le personnage souvent cité de Glacignac, le froid gascon, pince sans rire; le meilleur gascon, dit La Harpe, qu'on ait mis au théâtre. Il faut encore nommer l'hôtesse à la langue bien pendue, bonne et autoritaire, disant à chacun son fait, quitte à arranger toujours les choses pour le mieux de chacun. Ces derniers personnages sont tirés du *Mariage fait et rompu* qui avec la *Réconciliation normande* nous offre le plus grand nombre de scènes parfaites. Car il faut plutôt chercher les scènes que l'ensemble chez Dufresny. Dans ce cadre restreint il déploie toute son intelligence, toute sa connaissance des hommes. Il évite avec grand soin tout ce qui peut ressembler à une psychologie conventionnelle, il nous fait sentir le contact avec la réalité. Il en résulte une impression de grande fraîcheur et d'originalité.

Destouches avait senti en Dufresny un rival redoutable. Ils

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croyaient se rencontrer sur le même terrain et, partant, se méprisaient. Destouches refusait à Dufresny le *bon sens*, Dufresny prétendait que Destouches n'avait pas d'*esprit*. En réalité ils ne se ressemblaient guère et la différence de leur talent a été mise au jour avec beaucoup de soin par D'Alembert dans son éloge de Destouches. On trouve chez Destouches la régularité du jardin français tandis que Dufresny a toute la fantaisie du parc anglais. Moins sérieux que Destouches, plus solide que Dancourt, Dufresny se trouve, sur le même plan, entre les deux. En profondeur il rejoint la comédie de Molière à une comédie toute différente et qui se croit absolument originale, la comédie de Marivaux. Ce n'est pas là le moindre mérite de l'auteur de *L'Esprit de Contradiction*, et les historiens de Marivaux le lui ont âprement disputé[1]. Pourquoi cette injustice, alors que Marivaux lui-même, franc comme l'était Dufresny, prononce le nom de Dufresny avec déférence?

Marivaux avait trouvé en Dufresny un esprit altéré d'indépendance, profondément original et fier de l'être. Lorsque Dufresny avait débuté au théâtre, deux influences y dominaient; celle de Molière, et celle de l'opéra. Dès sa première comédie, *Le Négligent*, Dufresny s'attaque délibérément aux deux. Il parodie l'opéra sur la scène des Italiens.

'Molière, s'écrie-t-il, Molière a bien gâté le théâtre. Si l'on donne dans son goût; bon, dit aussitôt le critique, cela est pillé, c'est Molière tout pur; s'en écarte-t-on un peu: oh! ce n'est pas Molière!' Marivaux dut savoir gré à Dufresny de ces paroles et tous deux se rencontrèrent dans un irrespect, nécessaire à la vie de la comédie.

Mais il y eut d'autres points de contact. Cet esprit si original de Dufresny, cette gaîté qui provoque peu le rire éclatant, n'est-ce pas un avant-goût de Marivaux? Tous deux s'adressent plutôt aux délicats. Il y a aussi chez Dufresny une pointe de romanesque et un certain tour précieux qui contrastent singulièrement avec le réalisme de Dancourt ou la folle gaîté de Regnard. Il y a dans l'analyse des sentiments de ses personnages, des nuances qui échappent au regard, une subtilité toute nouvelle. Il y a enfin dans son dialogue un peu de recherche mêlée de beaucoup de naturel, un certain besoin de néologisme, et, il faut l'avouer, un peu de finasserie et d'affectation. N'est-ce pas là ce qu'on trouvera dans le marivaudage? Il ne faudrait pas dire que Dufresny pût être mis à côté de Marivaux, mais bien plutôt qu'il a l'honneur au XVII^e^ siècle d'annoncer un des auteurs qu'on s'accorde à trouver les plus heureusement originaux.

1. 'Les contemporains de Marivaux lui faisaient trop d'honneur en le comparant volontiers à Marivaux.' Cf. Larroumet, *Marivaux*.

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Il suffit pour s'en rendre compte de lire les Scènes v et xix de *L'Esprit de Contradiction.*

Les contemporains, eux, ne s'y trompèrent pas, car un journal critique[1] jugea ainsi la *Vie de Marianne* à son apparition: 'Si le nom de M. de Marivaux ne paraissait pas au-devant de ces Mémoires, on les prendraient pour un ouvrage posthume de Dufresny. C'est la même manière de conter, vive, légère, courte et gaie; des expressions employées d'une manière nouvelle, mais agréable; le même art d'amener la morale et de la faire goûter; des réflexions justes et fines sur les mœurs du siècle, des portraits bien frappés.'

Style personnel et piquant, observations fines et justes, quelque chose du marivaudage: Voilà bien ce qu'on trouve chez Dufresny, quinze ans avant Marivaux.

Il faut donc redonner au nom de Dufresny la place qu'il doit occuper dans l'histoire de la littérature: c'est un anneau nécessaire de la chaîne qui relie Molière à Marivaux. Peut-être alors le relira-t-on. Piqué, étonné par l'allure originale de l'homme et de son œuvre, on regardera cette œuvre de plus près. On savourera comme ils le méritent, la verve de son style, la vérité et l'imprévu de ses observations, la richesse et l'ingénuité de ses idées dramatiques. On verra que si dans sa vie, comme dans son œuvre, il a manqué de cette volonté patiente qui couve, règle, cordonne, organise, il avait en lui l'étoffe d'un excellent écrivain. Et cela vaut bien qu'on ne l'oublie pas tout à fait.

ÉDOUARD FANNIÈRE.

OXFORD.

On trouvera ci-contre une bibliographie très succincte des œuvres de Dufresny:

Œuvres, recueillies par d'Alençon, Paris, Briasson, 1731 (6 vol. in-12). [Cette édition, réimprimée en 1747, est la seule à peu près complète que nous ayons des œuvres de Dufresny. Néanmoins elle ne contient pas les pièces écrites pour le théâtre italien; on les trouvera dans le *Théâtre Italien* de Gherardi.]

Œuvres, publiées par Barrois l'aîné, Paris, 1779 (4 vol. in-12).

Œuvres choisies de Dufresny (précédées d'une notice sur sa vie par Auger), F. Didot, Paris, 1801.

Le tome II des 'Chefs-d'œuvre des Auteurs comiques,' F. Didot, Paris, 1879, contient quatre des plus importantes pièces de Dufresny: L'esprit de contradiction—Le double veuvage—La coquette du village—Le mariage fait et rompu.

Théâtre choisi publié par G. d'Heylli, Paris, 1882, et précédé d'une introduction sur la vie et l'œuvre de l'auteur.

[1] *Le Journal littéraire de la Haye* (t. XXII).

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Gherardi, Théâtre italien, Tome 6, Paris, 1741, 8°.

Entretiens ou amusements sérieux et comiques, Paris, 1699.

Les mêmes, édités par D. Jouaust, Paris, 1869, in-16. [Réimpression de l'édition publiée à Amsterdam chez E. Roger, en 1705.]

Les mêmes, édition accompagnée d'une traduction anglaise, la Haye, 1719.

Le Mercure Galant, de 1710 à 1715.

(Pour plus amples détails, cf. Guérard, La France littéraire.)

Sur Dufresny, cf.:

Les frères Parfaict, Histoire du Théâtre Français (en particulier le tome XV, p. 14).

La Harpe, Cours de Littérature.

D'Alembert, Eloge de Destouches.

C. Lénient, La Comédie en France au XVIII^e siècle, Paris, Hachette, 1888 (t. I, p. 100).

J. Lemaître, La Comédie après Molière et le Théâtre de Dancourt.

Petit de Julleville, Histoire de la Littérature Française, VI, pp. 564 ff.

Lintilhac, Le Théâtre en France, vol. 4.

É. F.



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# ALLUSIONS IN 'ADONAIS' TO THE POEMS OF KEATS.

Mr W. M. Rossetti, in his notes to the seventeenth stanza of *Adonais*, writes: 'It is possible...that Shelley singled out the nightingale for mention in recognition of the consummate beauty of Keats's *Ode to the Nightingale*, published in the same volume with *Hyperion*,' and adds that 'the epithet "lorn" may also be noted in the same connexion; as Keats's Ode terminates with a celebrated passage in which "forlorn" is the leading word (but not as an epithet for the nightingale itself)—

Forlorn!—the very word is as a knell, etc.'

Confirmation of this view is obtained on examination of the context of Shelley's poem. I quote the relevant stanzas.

14

All he had loved, and moulded into thought
From shape, and hue, and odour, and sweet sound,
Lamented Adonais. Morning sought
Her eastern watch-tower, and her hair unbound,
Wet with the tears which should adorn the ground,
Dimmed the aerial eyes that kindle day;
Afar the melancholy thunder moaned,
Pale Ocean in unquiet slumber lay,
And the wild winds flew round, sobbing in their dismay.

15

Lost Echo sits amid the voiceless mountains,
And feeds her grief with his remembered lay,
And will no more reply to winds or fountains,
Or amorous birds perched on the young green spray,
Or herdsman's horn, or bell at closing day;
Since she can mimic not his lips, more dear
Than those for whose disdain she pined away
Into a shadow of all sounds:—a drear
Murmur, between their songs, is all the woodmen hear.

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16

Grief made the young Spring wild, and she threw down
  Her kindling buds, as if she Autumn were,
Or they dead leaves; since her delight is flown,
  For whom should she have waked the sullen year?
  To Phoebus was not Hyacinth so dear,
Nor to himself Narcissus, as to both
  Thou, Adonais; wan they stand and sere
Amid the faint companions of their youth,
With dew all turned to tears; odour, to sighing ruth.

17

Thy spirit's sister, the lorn nightingale,
  Mourns not her mate with such melodious pain;
Not so the eagle, who like thee could scale
  Heaven, and could nourish in the sun's domain
  Her mighty youth with morning, doth complain
Soaring and screaming round her empty nest,
  As Albion wails for thee: the curse of Cain
Light on his head who pierced thy innocent breast,
And scared the angel soul that was its earthly guest!

In introducing personifications of the Powers of Nature and creatures of the woodland as lamenting the death of Adonais, Shelley follows the precedents of Moschus, four lines of whose *Lament over Bion* he prefixed as a motto to his poem, and of Bion himself, from whose *Lament over Adonis* he probably derived the name of Adonais. The question is what determined Shelley's choice of the mourners whom he names, and whether there is any special reason to believe that he associated them with Keats's poems. A clue to the answer is given in the opening words of stanza 14: 'All he had loved and moulded into thought...lamented Adonais.' With this encouragement it seems worth while to examine the poems of Keats in some detail.

The mourners are Morning, accompanied by Thunder, Ocean and Winds (st. 14), Echo (st. 15), Spring (st. 16), Hyacinth and Narcissus (st. 16), and Albion, whose mourning wail is compared with the Nightingale and Eagle (st. 17).

Of the first of these, Morning, there are four personifications in Keats's poem:

(*a*) In the first poem of his early volume ('I stood tiptoe, etc.'), the buds on the trees are said not yet to have lost

their starry diadems
Caught from the early sobbing of the morn;

(*b*) In the first sonnet of the early volume (*To my brother George*) he describes first among 'the wonders' he that day had seen

The sun, when first he kist away the tears
That fill'd the eyes of Morn;



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(*c*) In the *Imitation of Spenser* published in the same volume Morning is said to come 'from her orient chamber,'

> And her first footsteps touch'd a verdant hill;

(*d*) In *Endymion* (iii, 113) the hero lay half-entranced under the ocean until Aurora's hand lifted 'the rosy veils mantling the east'...

> and sober'd morning came
> Meekly through billows.

The simile of the first two passages, (*a*) and (*b*), is recalled by Shelley's line:

> Wet with the tears which should adorn the ground,

and there is a certain likeness between the third passage, (*c*), and the 'eastern watch-tower' which 'Morning sought.' The fourth passage, (*d*), is one of three passages in *Endymion* selected by Shelley for special commendation in his letter to the editor of the *Quarterly Review* (Letter xliii), written shortly before the death of Keats (but never sent). Thus internal and external evidence alike suggest that Keats's references to Morning were present in Shelley's thoughts when he wrote the earlier half of stanza 14.

There is not the same evidence for the other three personifications in this stanza. Winds and Thunder, as might be expected, are in close juxtaposition in more than one passage of Keats, and both are definitely personified by him. In *Endymion* (iii, 652) there is 'muttering of winds morose' and (iii, 952) the rebel tempests of Æolus make 'gruff complaint'; and in *Hyperion* (i, 61) the

> thunder, conscious of the new command,
> Rumbles reluctant.

But none of these passages is recalled by Shelley's words.

Mr Rossetti notes that 'Ocean is personated in' stanza 14: 'he is a cosmic deity, lying pale in unquiet slumber.' But he seems to find some difficulty in accounting for the introduction of Ocean here; for he says 'not only the real Keats but also the figurative Adonais died in Rome,' where the ocean is not 'a feature in the immediate scene: it lies in the not very remote distance, felt rather than visible to sight.' But a reader of Keats will remember that the Ocean is among the wonders named in the sonnet (*To my brother George*) which speaks of the tears in the eyes of Morn; that Ocean appears as a cosmic deity in *Hyperion*; and that the Ocean is personified in Glaucus (*Endymion*, iii, 193) in whose 'cloak of blue' was woven

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every ocean-form
. . . . . storm,
And calm, and whispering, and hideous roar
. . . . . with every shape
That skims, or dives, or sleeps, twixt cape and cape.

This passage of *Endymion* is the last of the three specially commended by Shelley to the notice of the editor of the *Quarterly Review*.

In tracing the source of allusions in Shelley's poem, we must not forget the two Greek poems upon which it is in part founded, the *Elegies* of Bion and Moschus. Neither of those poems indeed introduces any of the mourners of stanza 14. Echo, however, the mourner of stanza 15, appears in both, as well as in the poems of Keats. In Bion's poem she resounds to the cry that Adonis is dead. In Moschus's poem she no longer mimics the voice of Bion but laments his silence and remembers his songs. In *Endymion* (i, 947) Echo is described as inhabiting a cell amid woods beside a stream.

The 'young Spring' of stanza 16 is no doubt primarily brought in by the date of Keats's death, which occurred on February 23, though the precise date was not known to Shelley when he wrote *Adonais*. Both in Bion and in Moschus the 'flowers are faded,' but neither Greek poet mentions leaves, Spring or Autumn. In the *Ode on a Grecian Urn*, Keats writes of the

happy happy boughs! that cannot shed
Your leaves, nor ever bid the Spring adieu,

and the songs of Spring are contrasted with the music of Autumn in his poem *To Autumn*.

Next come Hyacinth and Narcissus, the two youths who in Greek legend were changed after death into flowers. Allusion has already been made in stanza 15 to Narcissus, the youth beloved by Echo, 'for whose disdain she pined away'; here, in stanza 16, Hyacinth and Narcissus are presented in both aspects, as young men, and as flowers of the Spring:

wan they stand and sere
Amid the faint companions of their youth,
With dew all turned to tears, odour, to sighing ruth.

Both legends are told by Keats. In the first poem of the first volume ('I stood tiptoe' etc.) he tells the story of

Narcissus pining o'er the untainted spring,

and how

on the bank a lonely flower he spied.

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The story of Hyacinth is twice referred to in *Endymion*, allusively by the 'Indian Lady' (iv, 68) who wishes

> That woodland Hyacinthus could escape
> From his green prison,

and earlier (i, 326) where the quoit-pitching recalls

> the sad death
> Of Hyacinthus, when the cruel breath
> Of Zephyr slew him,—Zephyr penitent,
> Who now, ere Phoebus mounts the firmament,
> Fondles the flower amid the sobbing rain.

Moschus introduces the hyacinth flower with its graven letters, but makes no mention of the human Hyacinthus, and Narcissus is not mentioned by either Moschus or Bion.

The figure of Albion, in the next stanza, recalls the lamentations of Lesbos for Alcaeus, and of Mitylene for Sappho, in the poem of Moschus. Her wailing is compared by Shelley with the mourning of the nightingale, 'thy spirit's sister,' and with the complaint of the eagle,

> who like thee could scale
> Heaven, and could nourish in the sun's domain
> Her mighty youth with morning.

Mr Rossetti's suggestion that Shelley chose the nightingale in recognition of the beauty of Keats's *Ode* may be reinforced by two considerations. In the first place Keats's frequent references—there are eleven, besides the *Ode*—show that he had a special admiration for the nightingale's song. One of these (*End.*, i, 831) follows, as Shelley does in *Adonais*, the classical precedent which makes the bird feminine, and departs, as Shelley does, from the classical story of Philomel, by making the bird sing to her mate:

> . . . . . bless
> The world with benefits unknowingly;
> As does the nightingale, up-perched high,
> And cloister'd among cool and bunched leaves—
> She sings but to her love, nor e'er conceives
> How tiptoe Night holds back her dark-grey hood.

In the next place Shelley has himself indicated that when he wrote *Adonais*, the *Ode to the Nightingale* was not far from his thoughts, for in his preface to *Adonais* he describes the Protestant Cemetery of Rome, where Keats was buried, in words directly reminiscent of the sixth stanza of Keats's poem: 'It might make one in love with death, to think that one should be buried in so sweet a place.'

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The eagle also seems to have been a special favourite of Keats. There are sixteen references to the eagle in his poems, ten of them being in *Endymion*. The opening of Neptune's palace gates (iii, 859, 860) made the dazzled onlookers

> veil their eyes
> Like callow eagles at the first sunrise,

till

> Soon with an eagle nativeness their gaze
> took all the blaze.

But the nearest parallel to Shelley's words is earlier in the poem (ii, 635), where Endymion, who has been

> Vex'd like a morning eagle, lost and weary,

is carried by an eagle to the jasmine bower where he finds the 'known Unknown.'

As with Albion, so with the birds, Shelley has followed to some extent the precedent of Moschus. Moschus compares the songs of Bion with the singing of the nightingale and of the sea-bird, and their lamentation over Bion with that of the birds, Memnonides, over Memnon from whom they took their name. But Shelley, while keeping the nightingale of the Greek poet, has introduced the eagle, both these birds having, as I think, special associations for him with Keats. If this is so, if he has introduced into the elegy on Keats allusions to things made lovely by the poet whose death he laments, he has again followed the precedent of Moschus. For Moschus names as flowers which—in Bion's own phrase—are to 'redden in sorrow' the windflowers which in Bion's poem spring from the blood of Adonis and the tears of Aphrodite.

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# 'COMMENCEMENT' AND 'COMMISSARY.'

THE *New English Dictionary* gives under the headings 'Commence' v., 'Commencement' sb., the general and original sense of 'beginning,' and, as a special application, 'graduating at a University.' The two words were since the early years of the Middle Ages, and are still in general use throughout the Romance languages in the sense of 'beginning.' In the sense of 'graduating,' the words 'commence,' 'commencement' are peculiar to English. An examination of the authorities quoted in the *New English Dictionary* seems to indicate that we have to do with two distinct stems or groups of words, which (presumably in the South of France) were blended together at an early date, before the fourteenth, and possibly before the thirteenth century.

'Commence' v., 'to begin,' is derived from the Med. Latin 'cominitiare' (com- [intensive] + initiare), 'cominciare,' 'comenciare,' 'to begin.' 'Commencement' sb. is a noun of action based on the verb and derived from the Med. Latin 'comenciamentum,' 'beginning.' In France, 'comencer,' with one *m*, was the regular way of spelling till the thirteenth century; in England, both words, when meaning 'beginning,' were before the sixteenth century commonly spelled with one *m*,—although the form 'commencement' ('beginning') occurs as early as 1250.

Of 'commencement' in the sense of 'graduating' the *New English Dictionary* says that the word denotes, 'The action of taking the full degree of Master or Doctor; esp. at Cambridge, Dublin and the American universities, the great ceremony when these (also in some cases other degrees, esp. in U.S., that of Bachelor) are conferred, at the end of the academical year.' A quotation of the year 1587 (Harrison, *England*, II [1877], 175) informs us that in Oxford this 'solemnitie' was then called an Act, 'but in Cambridge they vse the French word Commensement.'

Turning to 'Act' sb., we learn from the quotations that 'Acts' (which usually took place half a year after the preliminary ceremony of the 'License') were kept at Cambridge as well as at Oxford; the word

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denoted the public maintaining of a thesis by the licentiate with a following disputation under the supervision of his former master and in presence of the masters and scholars of the University, after which the doctorandus had the biretta (magisterial cap) placed upon his head and received the book (the Bible) and the kiss of fellowship, and took his seat on the cathedra. We see, then, that as early as in 1587 the term 'Commensement' as the name of a ceremony was unknown at Oxford, and that at Cambridge it denoted, like the word 'Act,' the public disputation together with the bestowing of the magisterial insignia and the reception into the fellowship of doctors, that is to say, the ceremonial graduation. A hundred years later, we find the word 'Commencement' when denoting 'graduation' replaced by the word 'Inception.' We find a jest based on the double sense of the word as early as 1597, Shakspere 2 *Henry IV*: 'Learning [is] a mere Hoord of Gold...till Sack commences it, and sets it in act and vse.'

The *Encyclopædia Britannica* of 1888 ('Universities,' p. 835) says: 'By Inception was implied the master's formal entrance upon, and commencement of, the functions of a duly licensed teacher, and his recognition as such by his brothers in the profession.' His first lecture, the beginning of his career as a 'duly licensed' teacher, need not have been identical with his public disputation and was certainly subsequent to his graduation or recognition. We learn from some quotations in the *New English Dictionary*, given below, that in the seventeenth century the term 'Inception' was used interchangeably with 'Commencement' in the sense of 'graduation.'

The earliest authority quoted for 'commencement' as a University term is Trevisa, *Higden* (Rolls) II. 259, of 1387: 'By a Statute of the universite of Oxenford whan eny man is i-congyed' (licensed) 'þere to commence in eny faculte, he schal not spende at his comencement passynge þre þowsand of grootes turonens' (3,000 Touraine groats, equal to about £50).

About the year 1387, therefore, we find a 'com(m)encement' as an event of the curriculum at Oxford as well as at Cambridge. 'Act' and 'Commencement' must originally have been two different events, leading up to, and each of them required for, the full degree (not the lesser degrees). This is also indicated by a passage in Fletcher's *Elder Brother*, of the year 1625: 'Come, doctor Andrew, without disputation, Thou shalt commence i' th' cellar.'

The passage quoted from Trevisa indicates that there was an occasion for the doctorandus 'at his comencement' to spend lavishly,

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and even so much of a temptation to do so, that the University found it necessary to pass a special sumptuary law restricting the expenditure. It is difficult to see how the public disputation, the receiving of the Bible and the biretta, or the kiss of fellowship could afford any such occasion.

The medieval 'Act' opened with the statement of a thesis at a public meeting of the masters and scholars, the maintaining of the thesis by the doctorandus first by direct argument and then against all comers by disputation; its modern counterpart is the 'examen rigorosum.' The second part of the 'Act' consisted of the ceremony of investing and seating the doctorandus, of his actual 'graduation': he received 'the book,' the biretta was placed upon his head; thereupon he 'received the kiss of fellowship' from the other masters and doctors and was seated upon the cathedra. He was now a master (or doctor) fully recognized. The ceremony was practically the same as the enthronization of the bishop and as the coronation of the king of England. The new king—he is king as yet only by the rule, 'Le roy est mort, vive le roy!'—in presence of the peers of the kingdom is vested with the royal vestments by the bishops and receives sceptre and mound, has the royal crown placed upon his head by the Primate, bestows upon the bishops the 'kiss of peace' and is seated upon the royal throne, whereupon he receives the homage of the peers of his realm[1]. He is now the crowned and enthroned and fully recognized king; so far, he has received, and it is now his turn to give: he entertains the peers at a ceremonial feast, and shows himself bountiful to his assembled people; the banquet closes the coronation ceremonies.

We find in the *New English Dictionary* some suggestive quotations of the year 1680 under the heading of 'Inception' sb.: Wood *Ann.* (ed. Gutch, 1792), 'After he had feasted the Scholars at his Inception, they like clownes left him.'...'There was no scholar, if of any account, but did show himself bountiful at his Inception.'

What did the words 'at his comencement (Inception)' originally mean?

I think we have here a plain reference to what was universally known in those centuries at the Continental Universities of Europe as an essential and as the most expensive—and for impecunious scholars

[1] The 'kiss of peace' and also the 'kiss of fellowship' may originally have been expressions of thanks for the attendance and assistance given at the ceremony of the coronation by the bishops, or at graduation by the doctors. It seems that the similarity of the two ceremonies was felt as late as 1689, when at the coronation of William and Mary the 'receiving of the book' was introduced.

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the most burdensome and often a prohibitive—part of the exercises leading up to the full degree, namely, the ceremonial banquet. See, for instance, Goethe, *Faust,* Paktszene:

'Ich werde heute gleich beim *Doktorschmaus*
Als Diener meine Pflicht erfüllen.'

The 'Commensement' was the feast given by the new doctor to the masters and scholars, to the assembly which attended and took part in the 'Act,' the public disputation; it may be presumed that they stayed together for the subsequent banquet, the 'commensement.'

For the gradual extension of this sense of the word 'commensement' we find evidence in a quotation of the year 1593 (Nashe, *Four Letters Confut.*): 'Shewe mee the Vniuersities hand and seale that thou art a Doctour sealed and deliuered in the presence of a whole Commensement.' The word seems to denote here either the 'University' or the 'Faculty' (see Trevisa), the whole 'company assembled at the delivery of the diploma as well as the feast.'

The passage indicates that the magisterial diploma was delivered at the banquet, 'at the Commensement.' It suggests that about the year 1590 the diploma had in England the character of a deed. In the Middle Ages, the graduation was completed by the seating of the doctorandus upon the cathedra, and the diploma was merely evidence of the fact that the 'Act' had taken place. It seems that at some time in the history of Cambridge University the individual banquets of the new doctors (perhaps in order to restrict the expense) were merged into a general magisterial banquet given by all the new Masters and Doctors together at the end of the academical year, and that at that banquet the diplomas were distributed; by and by, the banquet shrank into oblivion, and the delivery of the diplomas became the principal and finally the sole event of the ceremony. I conclude therefore that, about 1587 to 1593, 'Act' denoted in England the ceremonial graduation, and 'Commensement' was used at Cambridge for 'the delivery of the diploma'; the diploma having assumed the character of a deed, 'Commensement' came to denote at Cambridge the actual graduation, 'the conferring of the (full) degree.' Compare Parke tr. Mendoza's *Hist. China,* XIV, 95 (of the year 1588): 'To commence or graduate such students as haue finished their course.'... 'The day appointed...for to commence or giue degrees.'

The magisterial banquet was still in vogue at that time everywhere. What were the vernacular words denoting it in the Middle Ages at Oxford and at Cambridge and at Dublin? And what were the French

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terms for it at Paris, and what in the countries of the Langue d'oc? And what Latin words were used for it at the different universities and high schools?

If the above derivation is correct, the academical use of the word 'commensement' would be a special application of its general meaning: '(the company assembled at) a ceremonial banquet.' For the use of the word in that sense we have a record, though of late date: 1563—87, Foxe *Actes and Monuments* (1596) 162/1, 'The princes of Almanie assembled a Commensement, where they did consult and so conclude to elect another emperor.' This quotation suggests that the original sense of the word may have been 'eating together at the same table,' and, derived from it, 'a feast,' 'a ceremonial banquet'; 'the assembly gathered for a ceremonial banquet.'

If this is correct, the word 'commensement' must have passed (possibly between the fifth and the twelfth century) through an evolution similar to that of '*συμπόσιον*' sb. in ancient times and much like that of the word 'parliament' sb. That word is based on the Anglo-Latin 'parliamentum' of the thirteenth century, derived from 'par(o)lare (parabolare)' v., 'to discourse, talk.' 'Parliamentum,' 'parlement' in French, meant (1) the action of speaking; a 'spell' or 'bout' of speaking; (2) a formal conference or council for some matter of general importance; specially, it was the name applied in the early times of the French monarchy to the assembly of the great lords of the kingdom.

As the quotations show, the word now spelt 'commencement' was spelt in the later years of the Middle Ages, when it denoted 'graduating,' promiscuously 'commensement,' 'commencement' or 'comencement'; but 'commensement' seems to have been the commonest form. This spelling would lead up to a Medieval Latin noun 'commensamentum,' based on a verb 'commensare,' 'to commense,' 'to feast.'

I have found no record of the verbal form[1]. It may be that the word has survived as a substantive in the phrase of the Essex and Sussex dialects, 'Here's a pretty commence!' which is or was equivalent to 'Here's a pretty mess!' But the earliest quotation known of that phrase seems to be of the year 1794 (Southey, *Letters*).

We find in Provençal at the time of the trobadors, about 1160 to 1230, two groups of verbal forms meaning 'to begin': 'comenchar'

[1] Since this was written I have been informed by Mr G. C. Macaulay that the forms 'commensare' and 'commensacio' are found in the Cambridge University Grace-books (about 1474).

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(Raimon Vidal de Bezaudun), 'comenhar,' 'comenzar' (Bertran de Born, 1180 to 1195), on one hand; and, on the other, 'comensar' (Peire Vidal), 'comesar' (*Prise Jér.*), 'comenssar' (Gaucelm Faidit, died 1216). Mistral (*Lou Tresor dóu Felibrige*, 1879) gives as the modern form 'coumença.' Should the old forms not be derived, respectively, from 'comenciare' v. and 'commensare' v.? And are not the forms 'comenssar,' 'comenzar' blendings of 'comensar' with 'comenchar'? The old forms of the noun in Provençal are 'comensamens' (Folquet de Marseille, about 1180), 'comensamen' (G. Magret). 'Comensament,' 'comenssament,' 'comessament,' are cited by Mistral; as modern forms he quotes 'coumençamen'; 'coumençoment,' 'beginning.' In Catalan it is 'comensament' sb. (Old Catalan and Provençal 'coméns,' sb. m.), 'beginning.' These forms plainly go back to 'commensamentum' sb. Italian, on the other side, in its literary speech has preserved unblended the forms derived from 'initiare' v., namely 'cominciare' v. (Dante, *Inferno*, about 1300), and 'cominciamento' sb. (Dante, *Convivio*, 1306–9; *Paradiso*). In the dialects of Northern Italy, however, we find forms approaching the Provençal: 'comenzar' v. in Venetian; in Bellunese, 'cominziar,' 'scomenzar' v.; in Milanese, 'comenzà' v. (Cherubini, 1839), 'comenciâ' v. (Angiolini, 1897), 'inzà,' 'ninzà' v. (Cherubini), from Latin in + initiare v.; Como: 'comenzà,' 'ininzà' v., in manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; in Genovese, 'insâ' v.; in Bresciano and Bergamasco, 'comensâ' v.; in Piemontese, 'comenssè' v. In Neapolitan, we find 'accommenzare' v., 'accommenzaglia' sb.; in Sicilian, 'accuminzari' v., 'iniziari' v., and 'accuminzagghia' sb. In Spanish it was until modern times 'començamiento' sb., from 'començar' v.; modern, 'comienzo' sb. (Med. Latin 'comencium'?), from 'comenzar' v.

In French, we find, according to Littré, in the tenth century 'comencier' v.; eleventh century, 'cumencer' v.; twelfth century, 'commencier,' 'comencer,' 'commencer' v.; thirteenth century, 'commencher,' 'commencier,' 'commencer' v. In Bourguignon, it was 'quemancé' v.

That the verb 'commensare,' 'to feast,' did exist in early Medieval Latin, is shown by a noun of action based on it, 'commensation'; the earliest record of the latter, however, is of late date, 1682 (1645). The *New English Dictionary* gives as its meaning 'eating at the same table.' In support of this it quotes from Sir Thomas Browne, *Tracts* (1682): 'When Daniel would pollute himself with the diet of the Babylonians, he probably declined Pagan commensation, or to eat of meats forbidden to the Jews.' The 'Pagan commensation' forbidden to the early

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Christians, to which reference is here apparently made, was not the mere eating at the same table with the 'Heathen,' but participation in the 'Pagan' feasts and banquets, where the meat of victims was consumed and sacrifice was offered to the emperors and other 'Pagan' gods; the religious ceremony of the feast was the ground of the prohibition. I think therefore that the passage quoted indicates that 'commensation' was used in the sense of 'feasting,' 'banqueting.'

It seems therefore likely that in France and England from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century two groups of words existed side by side, both spelt promiscuously 'commenser' (French), 'commense' (English) v., 'commensement' sb.; 'comencer' (French), 'comence' (English) v., 'comencement' sb.; 'commencer' (French), 'commence' (English) v., 'commencement' sb.; 'comenser' (French), 'comense' (English) v., 'comensement' sb. One of these words (the younger one) was originally spelt 'comence(r),' 'comencement,' and denoted originally 'beginning,' whereas the older word was originally spelt 'commense(r)' v., 'commensement' sb. and had originally the general meaning of 'feasting,' with special application in England to the magisterial banquet.

I think that we have traces of similar mixing of two different but like-sounding words in Provençal. The form 'comensazon' sb. (Rom.) (in Daurel; also *Crois. Alb.*, 7785, 7797) was used in the sense of 'beginning'; 'comensazon' seems to have been derived from 'commensatio' sb. rather than from 'comenciatio' sb. The same applies, respectively, to the Provençal forms 'comensansa' sb. fem. (Old Catalan 'comensenza'), Old Italian 'comincianza,' from a Latin form 'commensantia'; and 'comensailla' sb. fem., Old Italian 'cominciaglia,' Old French 'commenchaille,' from a Latin form 'commensalia,' all with the meaning of 'beginning.' The French 'commenchaille' suggests an early French verb 'comencher' (which later was changed to 'comencer'; see Provençal 'comenssar,' Spanish 'començar'); it may have been derived from 'comencialis' adj., based on 'comencium' sb. Old Italian had a form 'comincio' sb. m., 'beginning.' Provençal 'comensaire' sb. can scarcely be derived from anything else but Latin 'commensarius'; nor can the Provençal form 'comensador' sb., 'one who begins,' be based on anything but 'commensator.' The corresponding Italian forms are 'cominciatore,' 'cominciatrice' (Boccaccio, about 1350)[1].

[1] Compare 'degree' sb., French 'degré,' based on Provençal 'degrat,' 'degra,' which was derived from Late Popular Latin 'dēgrad-um' ('dē,' down + 'gradus,' step), 'a step downward (or upward).' 'Grad-um' sb. (step) and 'grat-um' adj. (pleasant) were blended

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The verb 'commenser,' in the sense 'to feast,' must have disappeared from French at an early date. If it has been obliterated by its more common homonym 'comencer' v., 'to begin,' the double *m* which appeared in the latter in the thirteenth century may well be a vestige of the lost word. But another question arises now: if it is correct that the words 'comence,' 'comencement' came to England from France, and passed into French from the Langue d'oc at a time when the blending had already taken place, there must have been some other potent factor in England which resisted the introduction of that second *m* for generations and which kept alive the words 'commense,' 'commensement' in their original sense of 'feasting.' Was that factor the common use of the Latin tongue among professional men in England? The use of Latin was as common in France as in England. Or was it some other foreign influence, coming from some scholarly country (Ireland?) which was outside of the influence of the Langue d'oc? In fact, the word 'commensamentum' must have been known in England in the sense of 'feasting' before the introduction of the Provençal blend for 'beginning,' else it could not have survived.

Littré's earliest quotation of 'commencement' is taken from Couci, the 'trouvère,' who died about the year 1200; he also quotes 'el commenchement,' thirteenth century; he gives as of the twelfth century the phrase 'au commencier' from Couci, equivalent to the modern 'au commencement.' Littré mentions as Old French forms, 'commencence' sb., and 'commensaille' sb. Dante uses in the *Inferno* the verbal substantive 'lo cominciare' for 'beginning'; in his later works, *Convivio* and *Paradiso*, he does use 'cominciamento,' but only a few times. The *Vocabolario della Crusca* (1878 ed.) quotes as the earliest use of 'cominciamento': 'il cominciamento del savere' in a translation of Albertano's *Tre Trattati*, written between 1235 and 1246 and translated 'nei medesimi tempi in volgar fiorentino'; and, 'el cominciamento e l' uscita' in Giamboni's translation of the *Tesoro*, written in France and in French about 1270 by Brunetto Latini (a Florentine, who lived long in Paris, 'eccellente scrittore francese'). The *Crusca* does not give any of the other substantive forms of the Provençal. It seems possible that 'cominciamento' was an importation from the French, adapted by Giamboni to the Italian verbal form then in common use. The Provençals used, in the sense of 'beginning,' the Med. Latin forms 'commensamentum,' 'commensatio,' 'commensalia,' 'commensantia,'

together into the Provençal 'grat'; this passed into 'gré,' as the Latin 'amat-um' passed into 'aimé.'

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'commensator' (Boccaccio studied the trobadors in early life), 'commensarius.' If 'cominciamento' was the French 'commencement' in Italian dress, the use of these forms in the sense of 'beginning' must have originated in the Langue d'oc, and not in Italian. It seems also significant that a 'trouvère' is the earliest known user of the word in France, and that was as late as the end of the twelfth century.

'Commensation' sb. is referred in the *New English Dictionary* to 'commensalis' adj., which originally meant 'belonging to the same table'; in a derived sense, it meant 'eating at the same table'; 'companion,' 'conviva.' It was used as a noun at an early date, as appears from the quotations in the Du Cange *Glossarium* (1842 ed.), and was employed as a title and a dignity in or before the twelfth century and throughout the Middle Ages. 'Commensalia' was in the ninth century or earlier ('Isidorus Mercator,' Falsus, *Corpus Canonum Hispaniense*, known since 852) the Vulgar Latin name of the 'contributions to the common table' of the early Christians. The Du Cange *Glossarium* gives an instance of early date (Atto, Langobard bishop of Vercelli, about the year 950), where the form 'commessalia' is used instead of the normal 'commensalia' in the sense of 'contributions.' We find the same variation in the Provençal 'comessament' sb., and in Portuguese, 'começo' sb., 'começar' v., meaning 'to begin.' The same variation of sound, 'commessation' for 'commensation,' appears in an English quotation of the *New English Dictionary* dated 1645 (Howell, *Letters*): 'Ther could be no true frendship without commessation of a bushell of salt.' See also tr. Bouhours' *St Ignatius*, of the year 1686: 'The Agapes, or Commessations of the Primitive Christians.'

The *New English Dictionary* associates 'commessation' sb. with 'comessation' sb.; the latter was derived from the Latin 'comessatio' sb., which in its turn was derived from 'comessari' v., a variation of the Classical Latin 'comissari' v. (from '*κῶμος*'), 'to celebrate a Bacchanal,' 'to carouse, revel,' 'to banquet.' The quotations from Atto, Howell and Bouhours seem to indicate that 'commessation' was merely a variation of the normal form 'commensation.'

On the other hand, it is also possible that, in the sense of 'to feast,' 'commensare,' 'commessare' v. was superseded by the Medieval Latin verb 'comessare (comesare),' the frequentative of 'comedere' v., 'to eat.' This is indicated by a passage in Wyclif's Sermons (*Select Works*, II 224) of the year 1380: 'Sich ofte etingis of men ben clepid commessaciouns.' It may be that the alteration of 'comissari' v. to 'comessari' was caused by its association with 'comessare' v., 'to eat frequently (and

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well).' If 'commensare' v. was superseded by a word derived either from 'comissari' v. or from 'comesare' v., we find again the influence of the obliterated word in the doubling of the *m*.

I know of no record of the verbal forms 'comessare,' 'comesare.' But the Du Cange *Glossarium* records (under the heading 'Comestores') some forms directly derived from 'comesare' v., namely, 'comesator,' and 'comesatio.' 'Comesare (comessare)' v. seems to have been obliterated early in the Renaissance by 'comessari (comissari)' v. The past participle of 'comedere' v., viz., 'comesus,' 'comessus,' was used in Late Latin in the sense of 'lacerated.' 'Esus' sb. is used in the year 1342 for 'breakfast.' A parallel form is also recorded by Du Cange in Tertullian: 'Mus comesor, qui comedit.'

To the same stem belongs the word 'comesarius' sb., for which the Du Cange *Glossarium* gives the definition: 'Officium monasticum, cui ciborum cura est demandata.' It cites an authority of the year 1290: (Tom. 7 *Ordinat. reg. Franc.* p. 615, art. 29), 'Quod illos (illi) reditus quos habent in castro, monasterii sacrista et comesarius et eleemosinarius, remaneant semper salvi,' 'Let the income which the sexton, the commissary and the almoner of the monastery (minster?) have in the borough, ever remain inviolate.'

This is the Modern English word 'commissary' sb. (Mil.). The *New English Dictionary* derives the word from Medieval Latin 'commissarius' (from 'commissum' sb., 'committere' v.), and gives as its sense (Mil.): 'an officer or official who has charge of the supply of food, stores, and transport, for a body of soldiers.' It quotes Caxton, *Faytes of Arms*, of the year 1489: 'There shal be wyse comyssaryes that gode hede shal take that for couetyse of the payement of the souldyours noo decepcion be made.' See also *Nomina Dignitatum Clericorum*, in Wright-Wülker, 680/37, about the year 1450: 'Hic comissarius, comyssari.' The form 'comissarius' sb. seems to have been associated in the fifteenth century with the Latin verb 'comissari.'

The Du Cange quotation of the year 1290 taken from the Ordinances of the Kings of France traces the English words 'commissary' (Mil.), 'commissariat,' two hundred years farther back, into the monastic life of France.

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[NOTE. At the suggestion of the author of the above paper I add a note on the use of the words 'commensare' and 'commensacio' in the Cambridge Grace-book A. They are not of regular occurrence, but in the Proctors' accounts for the year 1474–5 we have the following fines recorded:

Item pro caucione Magistri Frank quia non commensauit infra annum iij$^{li}$ vij$^{s}$ v$^{d}$.
Item pro caucione Magistri Bellamy quia non commensauit infra annum xl$^{s}$.
Item pro caucione Magistri Dallyng quia non commensauit infra annum xl$^{s}$.

More commonly 'incipere' is used, apparently with the same meaning, as 1456–7:

Item receptum de magistro Derewarde quia non incepit infra annum sue admissionis v$^{li}$.

Under the year 1470–1 we have this:

Item a doctore Fratre Haward die commensacionis sue scil. in festo sanctorum processi et martiniani quia non conuiuauit v$^{li}$ vj$^{s}$ viij$^{d}$.

This is a commutation in respect of the feast, and occurs rather often in the case of friars, e.g. 1456–7:

Item de fratre Walkfelde pro non conuiuando xl$^{s}$;

and 1458–9:

Item de fratre Roberto Chabyrlein quia non conuiuauit regentes xl$^{s}$.

But also in other cases, e.g. 1462–3:

Item receptum a doctore Cambryge pro commutacione conuiuii v$^{li}$ vj$^{s}$ viij$^{d}$.

G. C. MACAULAY.]

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# EIN NEUES BRUCHSTÜCK AUS DER 'ROSE' HEINRICS VAN AKEN.

Vor einiger Zeit übergab mir Sir George F. Warner das unten abgedruckte Bruchstück—nun Add. 38,091 P—welches sich unter anderen Fragmenten, sämtlich unbekannter Herkunft, vorgefunden hatte, zur Bestimmung. Es zeigte sich mir bald seine Zugehörigkeit zur *Rose* Heinrics van Aken (herausg. von E. Verwijs, 's Gravenhage, 1868), von der zwei vollständige und Bruchstücke dreier anderer Codices bekannt sind. Das Londoner Bruchstück entstammt keiner dieser drei zerschnittenen Handschriften, ist also der klägliche Überrest eines vierten und zwar ursprünglich sehr schönen und stattlichen mnl. Manuskripts. Davon repräsentiert das Erhaltene den unteren Streifen eines noch zusammenhängenden Pergament-Doppelblattes und stammt aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach aus einem Bucheinband. Streifen 1 misst noch: Höhe am linken Rand 6·8 cm., am rechten nur 5·2 cm., da die vermaledeite Buchbinderscheere einen Teil des unteren, ursprünglich 4·3 cm. hohen Blattrandes schräg abgeschnitten hat; die Breite beträgt 14·1 cm. Streifen 2: seine Höhe beträgt am linken Rande gemessen 6·9 cm., am rechten aus gleichem Grunde wie oben, nur 5·9 cm.; die Breite 16·4 cm. Der Breitenunterschied der beiden Streifen wird dadurch bedingt, dass der bei Streifen 2 gut erhaltene äussere Blattrand (2·4 cm.) bei Streifen 1 gänzlich der Scheere zum Opfer gefallen ist zugleich mit den Anfangsbuchstaben der Verse auf $1^{va}$.

Diesen Doppelblattrest hat nun eine Hand, die noch in die erste Hälfte des vierzehnten Jh. zu setzen sein wird, mit klarer, etwas gerundeter gotischer Schrift beschrieben und zwar in zwei Spalten, innerhalb welcher die Verse abgesetzt stehen, so dass der grosse Anfangsbuchstabe eines jeden etwas herausgerückt ist. Als Schmuck finden sich noch, je einen neuen Abschnitt einführend, zwei rote, drei resp. zwei Zeilen hohe Initialen mit blauen, über die Ränder sich ausdehnenden Zierraten auf $1^{rb}$ und $2^{ra}$, während sich der unterste, abgeschnittene Rest einer solchen nebst blauen Zierraten auf der Schnittfläche von $2^{vb}$ zeigt. Von irgend welcher Interpunktion weisen



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die Bruchstücke keine Spur auf. Aus dem Umfang der Lücken zwischen den erhaltenen Versen lässt sich leicht berechnen, dass die vollständigen Spalten je 33, resp. 32 (auf Bl. 1ᵛ) Verse umfasst haben müssen. Nun fehlen zwischen Bl. 1ᵛ und Bl. 2ʳ 549 Verse d. h. so viele als bei entsprechendem Spaltenumfang (33—32 Zeilen) auf 4 Bll. gegangen wären: es ist also wahrscheinlich, dass unser Bruchstück einen Teil des äusseren Doppelblattes eines Quinio der zerschnittenen Handschrift repräsentiert.

Was endlich die Textgestalt anbetrifft, so stellt sich unser Fragment nahe zu A (der Amsterdamer Handschrift), jedoch besteht zwischen den beiden Zeugen keineswegs das direkte Verhältnis von Vorlage und Abschrift, vgl. die Lesarten zu V. 1840, 1874, 1906.

Ich lasse nun einen möglichst diplomatischen Abdruck der beiden Streifen folgen.

1ʳᵃ (v. 1153) I c ſegge ſekerlec wel dat
D at den ioncfrouwen ſtaen uele bat
W itte kedele wel geploit
D an enech ander cleet dede noit
D ie witte kedel toende wel

1ʳᵇ (v. 1186) S ine warde heilen eñ breken
G erne dede hi den lied[en ere]
D ies mīnen ſine van hertē ſere
L edecheit die ſcone maget
Daer ic v uore af hebbe [geſaget]

1ᵛᵃ (v. 1218) [B i] gode het mochte elkē lustē
[T] e ſiene alſo ſoeten ſpel
[D] ie ionchere hi waſ oec wel
[V] an der ouder dat ſceen ſin
[J] oncheide ſijn ſoete mīnekijn

1ᵛᵇ (v. 1250) D ie daer ſtoden ſoe menegertirē
I c ſciet van daer eñ ginc allene
I n dat uergier daer groet eñ clene
H arde wale die uogle ſongen
S oete eñ ſcone na haren tongē

1157 *fehlt in* A.
1187 *die eingeklammerten Buchstaben sind durch einen Einriss ins Pergament zerstört.*
1190 geſaget] *muss, wenn nicht überhaupt ausgelassen, auf dem weggeschnittenen Aussenrande (s. oben) gestanden haben.*
1250 ſoe] *fehlt in* A *und* C (*Comburger Hs.*).

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2ra (v. 1804) M aer int ſaluen was ſi ſachte
S i maecte in deen ſide wōden groet
D ieſe in dander ſide toe ſloet
Te mi wert quam hirē binnen
S ere uerſtormt die god vā mīnē

2rb (v. 1836) [V an dien die v noit ne ſagen]
D ies geuic v here hier ter ſtede
H erte eñ ſen ende dlijf mede
W ant ic noch hope den tijt te ſiene
D at mi van v ſtaet te geſciene
G oet eñ ere eñ alle genade

2va (v. 1869) . . g . . .
E ñ oec van ſoe groten name
W ant die baniere voert die mīne
D aer alle houeſcheit es inne
W ant ſi es van ſelker manierē
D at ſi es edel eñ goedertieren

2vb (v. 1903) E n wetti doch die waerheit wale
D at gi van mi hebt altemale
M ine herte geheel tuwen gebode
A l ẇoudict enech ſens bi gode
V an v keren en holpe niet

1836 *nur die unteren Spitzen der Buchstabenschäfte und der grössere Teil des g erhalten.*
1840 f. A... staet goet te sciene | Goet ende
1869 *nur ganz geringe Spuren von* 5 *Buchstaben und der unterste Teil der g Schleife erhalten.*
1874 edel] hovesch AC.
1906 woudict] wildic AC.

ROBERT PRIEBSCH.

LONDON.

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# CARL FRIEDRICH CRAMERS ZWEITE PETRARCAODE.

AN das in der vorigen Nummer dieser Zeitschrift (S. 198) Gesagte anknüpfend, teile ich hier die andere Petrarcaode Cramers mit. Nach ihrem Platze in der Handschrift bezeichne ich die dort (S. 192 ff.) gedruckte Ode *Petrarch an Laura* fortan als '**12**' und die hier mitgeteilte als '**13.**'

## [13] ODE.

### PETRARCH AN LAURA.

Heller als in dem Lenz, funkelte hoch herab
Von dem Himmel die Sonn, sandte voll Mildigkeit
Unsern schwankenden Saaten
Wärme, fruchtbare Wärme her.

Zwar es seufzte das Feld, dass schon der Frühling entflohn
Der mit Freuden erfüllt, alles was Leben hat,
Und in schattigten Hainen
Lechzten durstige Hindinnen.

Auch Philomele schwieg, klagte voll Zärtlichkeit
Ihrem Itys nicht nach, und in dem dunklern Laub
Wehte säuselnd kein Zephir
Der die glühende Wange kühlt.

Und doch war die Natur, in majestätischer Pracht,
Schön. Noch schöner ward sie als du o Laura tratst
Auf die lechzenden Fluren
Die durch dich ein Valhalla sind.

Eilend trug dich dein Fuss, hin zu der Sorgue Fluth,
Die mit silbernem Nass blumigt' Ufer bespült
Und durch schlängelnde Gänge
Durch mäandrische Krümmen flieht.

Da, da seztest du dich unter dem duftendem[1] Busch
Der balsamische Blüth', streut' auf die Blume der Welt
Ungern rauschte die Sorgue
Von dem schönsten der Füsse weg,

[1] Zu dieser grammatischen Eigentümlichkeit vgl. Muncker in *Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstocks Oden*, hrsg. v. Muncker u. Pawel, 1. Band, Stuttgart 1889, S. XIII. unten.

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Der sie jemals betrat, und an dem weissestem Knie
Wie der blendende Schnee, weilte der Tropfen sich
Und floss später als andre
Zu der tönenden Rhone hin.

Schüchtern sahst du umher, legtest den Schleyer ab
Nahmst das dünne Gewand, weg von der schönsten Brust
Denn du wusstest nicht Laura!
Dass ich hinter der Myrthe war.

O was sah da mein Aug! Laura! was fühlt' ich da
Als das silberne Nass deine Hüften umfloss
Und der wallende Busen
Von den Wellen gehoben ward.

Da ich plätschern den Fuss, rudern die Arme sah,
Stärker klopft' in mir da, mein empfindendes Herz
Als dem Sänger Thorlaugurs
Da er sah der Blakullur Bad

Wo im Lichtstrahl der Fluss, springend den Felsen herab
In dem heiligen Hain, nah bey des Skalden Grab
Diamantene Tropfen
Wie im Silberschein blizen lässt.

Stärker klopfte mein Herz; Ja! denn Blakullur war
Eine Göttinn Valhalls, aber du Laura bist
Eine Göttinn der Erden
Und ein Erdebewohner ich.

Ja es klopfte! Und ich konnte mich länger nicht
Halten hinter dem Busch, und es eilte mein Fuss
Zum bezauberten Flusse
Wo die Göttinn der Erde schwamm.

Doch, sehr bald sah ich nichts: In den Augen empfand
Ich das triefende Nass, das (wie Diana einst
Dem neugiergen Actæon)
Mir die Göttinn entgegen goss.

Als die Blendung verschwand, suchte mein Aug' umsonst!
Traurges Schicksal! Umsonst, sucht' es die Göttliche
Und das Echo nur tönte
Von den Felsen mir: Laura, nach.

Die beiden Petrarcaoden des jungen Cramer gehören zunächst darin eng zusammen, dass in ihnen die gleiche asklepiadeische Strophe in gleicher Weise misshandelt wird. Es enthält nämlich

**12** statt 36 asklep. Verse : 22 askl. Verse, 13 Pentam., 1 Zwittervers,
**13** „ 30 „ „ 18 „ „ 11 „ 1 „ .

Von den Pentametern sind nach dem strengen Schema der Alten gebaut (mit zwei dreisilbigen Füssen nach der Cäsur): 9 resp. 6 (**12**. 1, 5, 9, 13, 21, 25, 53, 54, 70; **13**. 5, 13, 21, 22, 25, 41), die anderen 4 resp. 5 gehören der freieren, bei unseren deutschen Klassikern häufigen Art an, deren zweite Hälfte mit einem zweisilbigen Fuss beginnt (**12**. 45, 46, 62, 69; **13**. 18, 34, 38, 50, 53). Zwitterverse nenne

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ich **12.** 17 und **13.** 9, weil sie aus der ersten Hälfte eines Pentameters und der zweiten Hälfte eines asklepiadeischen Verses bestehen. Verse, die einen Namen fremden Ursprungs enthalten—**12.** 17 'Cynthia,' **13.** 9 'Philomele'—sind in Cramers Jugendgedichten oft unregelmässig.

Die Anregung zu den beiden Petrarcaoden und die darin herrschende Auffassung des Verhältnisses zwischen Petrarca und Laura schöpfte Cramer aus *Les Vies des Hommes et des Femmes illustres d'Italie, Depuis le Rétablissement des Sciences et des beaux Arts; Par une Société de Gens de Lettres.* Tome Premier. A Paris, Chez Vincent, Imprimeur-Libraire, rue Saint Severin. MDCCLXVII. S. 1 bis 68 'La vie de Pétrarque' und S. 118 bis 145 'La vie de Laura, amante de Pétrarque[1].' Die beiden Lebensbeschreibungen verarbeiten das autobiographische Material, das besonders die lateinischen Schriften Petrarcas an die Hand geben, mit vielen Zitaten aus diesen und der Beschreibung einiger Bilder im Hause Petrarcas zu Arqua. Ich stelle Cramers Entlehnungen hier zusammen, wie sie sich bei der Lektüre der beiden Viten ergeben, indem ich gleichzeitig angebe, wo diese letzteren aus Petrarca selbst schöpfen:

| Aus 'La vie de Pétrarque': | Cramer: |
|---|---|
| S. 19: De-là nous est venu ce fameux recueil de chansons dont les charmes se firent sentir par quiconque avoit éprouvé ceux de la tendresse. Tel étoit le sentiment de Pétrarque même, qui écrivit ces sonnets... | Anmerkung zu **12**: *Petrarch* dieser empfindsamste Dichter Italiens, dessen Sonnets, die höchste Stufe von Zärtlichkeit erreicht haben, die Gedichte von dieser, d. i. der zärtlichsten Art erreichen können ist zu bekannt, als dass sein Name, einer Anmerkung bedürfte.... |
| S. 37 bis 39: là, coulent des sources vives...où, sous une ombre épaisse, serpente un ruisseau salutaire, qui...vivifie dans son cours et fait accroître l'herbe... le murmure de la fontaine...Ce lieu enchanté est sous un berceau de feuillage ...On y respire l'odeur suave du parfum le plus délicieux. Ce séjour, image des Champs Elysées,...(Nach Petrarcas poetischem Brief an Barbato da Sulmona | **12.** 1 bis 5:<br>Da wo rieselnd und schön, unter balsamischem Duft<br>Durch die Gräserchen hin, murmelnde Fluthen wälzt<br>(In dem heiligen Haine<br>Der das reizende Vauclus schmückt)<br>Mein geliebtester Bach...<br>**13.** 51:<br>Zum bezauberten Flusse |

[1] Das Werk—2 Bände in 12. Paris 1767—ist eine Übersetzung des französischen Grammatikers A. d'Açarq aus dem Italienischen des Giulio Roberto di Sanseverino. Eine 'Edition considérablement corrigée,' in der u. a. die Vita der Laura fehlt, 2 Bände in 8. erschien Yverdon 1768. In demselben Jahre zeigt die *Deutsche Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* (Siebentes Stück, S. 555) den ersten Band einer deutschen Ausgabe an: 'Italienische Biographie aus dem Französischen übersetzt, nebst einer Vorrede von Herrn Klotz, Erster Band. Frankfurt und Leipzig, bey Dodsley u. Comp. 1768. 422 Seiten 8°.' Der Übersetzer war Johann Georg Meusel. Das *Gelehrte Teutschland*,[5] V. Band, S. 195, nennt unter seinen Werken 'Italienische Biographie; aus dem Französischen. 2 Bände. Leipz. 1769. 1770. 8.'

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'Dulcis amice vale. Tua si mihi semper imago,' V. 23 bis 46. Petrarcae Opera latina Venet. 1503, fol. 484ª. Vgl. *Franz Petrarcas Poetische Briefe*, übers. v. F. Friedersdorff, Halle 1903, S. 173 f., V. 35 bis 66.)

S. 43 f.: la...nouvelle de la mort de sa Laure,...a quel point le consterna cette fatale nouvelle: on peut le voir encore dans le recueil de ses chansons qui ne respirent que sa profonde douleur.

Il nous dit lui-même que, durant dix ans entiers, il la pleura sans cesse;...la beauté du corps n'étoit pas ce qu'il aimoit en elle...'Je la prends, s'écrie-t-il, je la prends à témoin dans le ciel d'où elle m'entend, en joignant à son témoignage celui de ma conscience, que j'aimois moins son corps que la belle ame qui le vivifioit. En voici une preuve évidente. Plus les années s'accumuloient sur sa tête par l'âge qui a coûtume d'être le fléau cruel de la beauté des femmes, plus mon amour devenoit fort et constant. Les outrages du temps sembloient ajoûter au prix des qualités de son ame céleste tout ce qu'ils retranchoient des fleurs de son visage; et comme ce fut son ame qui alluma mes premiers feux pour elle, ce fut son ame encore qui les entretint toujours.' (Nach Petrarcas *Secretum... de contemptu mundi...colloquium tertii diei*, Opera latina, Venet. 1503, fol. 384 K: 'Hanc praesentem in testimonium evoco' u. s. w. Zu 'Hanc praesentem' ist 'Veritatem' zu ergänzen. Durch die falsche Beziehung der Worte auf Laura im Himmel und die unmittelbar vorhergehenden Sätze wurde Cramer verleitet, die Stelle für ein Zitat aus Petrarcas Gedichten in morte di Madonna Laura zu halten.)

S. 45: 'Tout ce que j'avois de plus cher, nous dit-il, un seul naufrage l'a englouti; et la fureur d'une tempête soudaine a brisé mon laurier toujours verd.' (Nach *De rebus familiaribus*, 8. Buch, 3. Brief, vgl. Fracassetti, *Francisci Petrarcae Epistolae de reb. fam. et variae*, 1. Band, Florenz 1859, S. 421.)

S. 53: Pétrarque qui y est aussi, a les yeux fixés sur le charmant visage de Laure; et en le considérant, il commence déja à éprouver peu-à-peu le sort de Daphné. (Beschreibung eines Bildes im Hause Petrarcas in Arqua.)

**12.** 20, 64, 72 (mit Anlehnung an Klopstocks Ode 'Der Zürchersee,' M.-P., 1, 85):
Und das Thal dir Elysium?
Dieses Thal uns Elysium?
Diese Thäler Elysium.

Anmerkung zu **12**: Ich glaube dass die Empfindungen welche ich ihm in dieser Ode beylege denen sehr nahe kommen die er wirklich gehabt hat. Wenigstens scheint folgende Stelle aus seinen Gedichten, nach der Laura Tod, (!) es zu bestätigen. 'Ich rufe sie' spricht er, 'zur Zeuginn in dem Himmel an wo sie mich hört, und verbind' ihr Zeugniss, mit dem Zeugnisse meines Gewissens, dass ich weniger ihren Leib liebte, als die Seele die ihn bewohnte. Hier ist ein Beweis davon: Je mehr sich die Jahre auf ihrem Haupte häuften, durch das Alter, welches grausam die weibliche Schönheit zu verstören pflegt, je stärker und beständiger ward meine Liebe. Die Beleidigungen der Zeit schienen dem Werthe ihrer himmlischen Seele, alles das zuzulegen, was sie von den Blumen des Gesichts raubten und da 's ihre Seele gewesen war, die mein Feuer angezündet hatte, so war es auch sie die es stets unterhielt.'

**12.** 60 bis 62:
Denn ich liebe der Laura Herz
Nicht den Schimmer allein...
Ist nicht im Alter dann, wenn die
Schönheit verwelkt

**12.** 25, 45 bis 47:
Plözlich kam ein Orkan,
...soll ein Orkan...verwehn?
Soll ein grausamer Sturm...tödten?

**12.** 48, 65 f. (mit Anlehnung an Klopstocks Elegie 'Daphnis und Daphne,' M.-P., 1, 58):
Reisst dich Laura das Schicksal fort?
Reisst die tödtende Zeit, dich mir o
Freundinn weg
Oder muss ich vor dir, nach dem Olymp
hinauf.

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Aus 'La vie de Laura, amante de Pétrarque':

S. 119: *la Sorgue*, qui est, comme il l'appelle lui-même, *la reine de toutes les fontaines.* (Nach *Epistola ad posteros*, s. Fracassetti, a. a. O., S. 7.)

S. 124: il n'y avoit...aucune femme qui...montrât sur son teint un mêlange de lys et de roses mieux combiné,

S. 125 f.: un portrait qui représente Laure a la fleur de son âge...sur les joues beaucoup de lys et un peu moins de roses,...

S. 125: que les eaux de la Sorgue devenues sensibles réchauffoient leur froid murmure pour caresser avec ardeur ces pieds, et qu'elles ce précipitoient pour les baiser avec empressement.

S. 130: Rien de plus flateur pour la mémoire de Laure, que ce témoignage que lui rend Pétrarque avec ingénuité. Rien ne seroit plus glorieux pour les *Laures modernes*, que de travailler comme celle de Pétrarque, et de parvenir à former de grands hommes;

S. 131 f.: Pétrarque lui-même en convient dans l'entretien que nous avons cité. 'Petits soins; tendres protestations; pressantes assiduités; séduisantes prieres; pour la fléchir, je mis inutilement tout en usage. Rien ne fut jamais capable, dit-il, de faire oublier un moment à Laure cette aimable pudeur qui sied si bien à une femme. Elle sçut toujours réprimer la bouillante impétuosité de l'âge mobile où nous étions l'un et l'autre, et repousser continuellement beaucoup d'autres motifs qui eussent subjugué une ame moins forte que la sienne. Ce qu'il y a de certain, et j'aime à l'avouer ici, c'est que les sages conseils de cette jeune personne m'instruisoient de ce qu'il convenoit que je fisse pour me comporter en homme sage; ses mœurs qui étoient le modele de la plus parfaite retenue, me reprochoient sans cesse celle que je n'avois point. Dès qu'elle me vit enfin tel qu'un furieux coursier qui a brisé son frein, et qui est près de se perdre dans la profondeur d'un abyme, elle aima mieux m'abandonner que de me suivre. Jamais elle ne changea de résolution, elle fut toujours semblable à elle-même.'

(Nach Petrarcas *Secretum...de contemptu mundi...Colloquium tertii diei.* Opera latina, Venet. 1503, fol. 384 N:

Anmerkung zu **13**: Sorgue, ist der Fluss bey Petrarchs Landgut, der von ihm die *Königinn aller Flüsse* genannt wird,...

**12.** 45, 47, 57 bis 59:
...diese Rosen...
Diese Lilien...
...den Wangen...
Diese Rosen!...
Diese Lilien...

**13.** 23 f.:
Ungern rauschte die Sorgue
Von dem schönsten der Füsse weg,

Anmerkung zu **13**: Nichts kann schmeichelhafter für Laura seyn, als das ungezwungne Zeugniss das ihr Petrarch giebt, und nichts würde ruhmwürdiger für die *heutigen Lauren* seyn wenn sie sich so bemühten grosse Männer zu bilden.

Anmerkung zu **13**: Den vortrefflichen Charakter der Laura wird man aus folgender Stelle aus einem von Petrarchs Briefen (!) ein wenig kennen lernen. 'Kleine Verbindlikeiten, zärtliche Betheurungen, drängende Aufmerksamkeiten, verführerische Bitten, alles wurde vergeblich gebraucht sie zu bewegen. Nichts war jemals möglich zu machen dass *Laura* einen Augenblik diese liebenswürdige Schaamhaftigkeit vergässe die einem Frauenzimmer so wohl steht. Sie wuste stets die heisse Ungestümheit des flüchtigen Alters in dem wir waren zu unterdrüken, und beständig viele andre Bewegungsgründe zurück zu stossen, die weniger starke Seelen als die ihrige würden überwunden haben.— Das was gewiss ist, und ich gern gestehe, ist: dass die Rathschläge dieses jungen Frauenzimmers mich lehrten, weise mich zu betragen, und ihre Sitten, die das vollkommneste Muster der Zurückhaltung waren, warfen mir ohne Unterlass vor dass ich sie nicht hätte. Zulezt da sie mich einem wilden Rosse ähnlich sahe dass den Zaum zerrissen hat, und sich in einen tiefen Abgrund stürzen will, verliess sie mich lieber als dass sie mir gefolgt wäre. Niemals änderte sie ihre Entschliessung sondern war sich immer selbst gleich.'

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'...cum nullis mota precibus' u. s. w. Cramer verkannte die Bedeutung von 'l'entretien' trotz 'ses trois entretiens avec S. Augustin' (S. 42) und dem Hinweis auf 'l'entretien du troisieme jour' (S. 128) und verlegte die Stelle in einen 'von Petrarchs Briefen.')

S. 132 ff.: Un jour d'été, à l'heure où le soleil darde avec la plus de violence sur le globe de la terre ses rayons enflammés, assise aux bords d'une onde claire, elle en contemploit dans le silence et dans la tranquillité la tremblante surface qui traçoit l'image du plus beau crystal; s'y voyant seule, elle crut pouvoir céder à l'invitation que sembloit lui faire le murmure frais et délicieux du liquide fugitif et transparent. A peine fut-elle deshabillée et descendue sans aucun voile artificiel dans le sein de l'humide élément qui couloit devant elle, que Pétrarque se montra inopinément sur l'une des deux rives. Quel plaisir d'un côté! Quelle peine de l'autre! Il n'y a qu'une femme pénétrée des mêmes sentiments que Laure, qui puisse juger de l'extrême surprise et du chaste embarras où se trouva celle-ci. Elle rougit également de dépit et de honte, et ne sçachant comment remédier à l'inconvénient qu'elle n'avoit pas même soupçonné, elle employa ses deux mains à lever des lames d'eau qu'elle lança avec rapidité dans les yeux de son amant pour les fermer au moins jusqu'à ce qu'elle se fût dérobée à leur indiscrétion; le strategême eut tout son effect. Cette aventure galante fut consignée dans un tableau....Ce tableau montre non seulement Laure plongée dans la fontaine jusqu'à la ceinture, et Pétrarque les yeux couverts de deux lames d'eau, mais encore dans le lointain une expression parfaite d'Actéon métamorphosé en cerf,...

(Nach Petrarcas Kanzone 'Nel dolce tempo della prima etade,' Stanze 8, V. 8 ff.)

S. 139: Ainsi finit ses jours, Laure, pour qui le flambeau de l'hymen ne s'alluma jamais; elle mena la vie la plus irréprochable.

Anmerkung zu 12. 23 f.: ...'An einem Sommertage, in der Stunde wo die Sonne mit der grössten Heftigkeit, ihre entflammten Strahlen auf die Erde schiesst, sass *Laura* am Rande eines klaren Wassers. Sie betrachtete in der Stille, und in der Ruhe die zitternde Oberfläche des Wassers, die dem schönsten Crystalle ähnlich sah, und da sie allein war, glaubte sie die Einladung annehmen zu können, die ihr das frische und reizende Murmeln, des schnellen und durchsichtigen Baches zu thun schien. Kaum war sie ausgekleidet und in das feuchte Element ohne einigen künstlichen Schleyer gestiegen, so erschien Petrarch unvermuthet an einem der beyden Ufer. Welche Freude auf der einen, welche Verwirrung auf der andern Seite! Niemand als ein Frauenzimmer, von eben den Empfindungen als Laura durchdrungen, kan von dem äussersten Erstaunen und der verschämten Verwirrung urtheilen wo sie sich befand. Sie erröthete gleich viel aus Schaam als aus Verwirrung und Verdruss, und da sie nicht wusste wie sie dem Unfalle abhelfen sollte, den sie nicht einmal hatte vermuthen können, so schöpfte sie mit beyden Händen Strahlen von Wasser die sie mit Schnelligkeit ihrem Liebhaber in die Augen sprüzte, um sie wenigstens so lange zuzuschliessen, bis sie sich der Neubegierde derselben entzogen hätte. Diese List, hatte die erwünschte Würkung' etc.

13. 53 ff.:

In den Augen empfand
Ich das triefende Nass, das (wie Diana einst
Dem neugiergen Actæon)
Mir die Göttinn entgegen goss.

Anmerkung zu 13: Sie starb auch, ohne dass Hymens Fackel war für sie angezündet worden, ohne jemals die sinnlichen Süssigkeiten der Liebe empfunden zu haben...

Vorsichtig und mit einer gewissen Methode hat der junge Cramer von dem, was ihm jene 95 Druckseiten im Duodezformat aus der

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Gedankenwelt Petrarcas übermittelten, nur das benutzt, was als Zitat aus Petrarca oder auch als Gegenstand bildlicher Darstellung sich ihm als authentisch empfahl. Wie wenig er Petrarca kannte, beweist die Tatsache, dass er für seine Schilderung von Vaucluse Farben borgt bei einer französischen Prosawiedergabe lateinischer Hexameter, in denen Petrarca die Waldeinsamkeit von Selvapiana (zwischen Parma und Modena) besingt; dasselbe beweisen ferner die Anmerkungen, in denen er Stellen aus dem dritten Gespräch mit dem heiligen Augustin in die 'Gedichte nach der Laura Tod' oder die 'Briefe' Petrarcas verlegt. Darum glaub ich auch nicht, dass er die *Mémoires pour la vie de François Pétrarque* des Abbé de Sade kannte, denn diese enthalten im zweiten Bande, Amsterdam 1764, S. 101 bis 138, eine so ausführliche Inhaltsangabe oder vielmehr gekürzte Übersetzung der Gespräche mit Augustin, dass er jene Zitate aus dem dritten Gespräch als solche wiedererkannt haben müsste. (Sieh besonders *Mémoires* II, 117.)

Zum Schluss noch ein Wort über die Entlehnungen der beiden Petrarcaoden aus der Skaldendichtung.

Zu **12.** 69 bemerkt Cramer: '*Allfadur*, oder *Allvater*, war das höchste Wesen bey den alten Deutschen, die andern Gottheiten, als: Thoor, Herta, Freya, u. a. waren eigentlich nur Untergottheiten. Die Begriffe die sie sich davon machten, waren vielleicht die reinsten die sich jemals Heiden von Gott gemacht hatten...' Zu dieser Anmerkung vgl. Gerstenbergs 'Erläuterung der Eddensprache' im *Gedicht eines Skalden* (hrsg. v. A. v. Weilen, *DLD. d.* 18. *u.* 19. *Jh.*, 30, S. 357), zu den Versen **12.** 69 f. Klopstocks *Hermanns Schlacht* am Anfang der 8. und am Ende der 12. Scene (*Werke*, hrsg. v. R. Hamel, IV, S. 106 u. 139).

Zu **13.** 40 bemerkt Cramer: 'Der Liebhaber des Fräulein P. hat in seinem Gedichte *die Skalden*, worinnen er Sandholm besingt, bey Gelegenheit der sich badenden nordischen Göttin *Blakullur*, über diese feine und reizende Materie, die schönste Stelle die jemals aus der Feder eines Dichters geflossen ist. Es ist freylich wahr, *Gerstenberg* lebt 500 Jahre später als *Petrarch*, aber was geht den Dichter die Chronologie an? Wenigstens glaube ich doch keinen grössern Fehler begangen zu haben, als *Virgil* da er die Dido mit dem Aeneas sprechen lässt, oder *Milton* bey dem der Teufel zur Zeit der Schöpfung ein Gleichniss von Mosis Zeit borgt. Und am Ende darf man sich nur den Verfasser dieser Ode als einen *Zweyten Petrarch* und seine * * * als eine *Zweyte Laura* vorstellen und das übrige wie sichs gehört hinzu-

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denken, so wird es nicht einmal ein Fehler seyn.' Wenn Cramer, wie Gervinus sagt, mit seinem übermässigen Selbstgefühl und Dünkel die Mitglieder des Hains abstiess, so sehen wir hier, dass er auch vor seiner Göttinger Zeit sich nicht durch übermässige Bescheidenheit auszeichnete. 'Der Liebhaber des Fräulein P.' ist Gerstenberg mit Bezug auf das zwölfte Stück des *Hypochondristen*[1]. Sandholm, das Landgut seines Vaters bei Kopenhagen, war Carl Friedrich Cramers Vaucluse. Hier fand er Hain und Quelle der Petrarcastätten. Hier wandelte er als ein '*Zweyter Petrarch.*' Sandholm war aber auch der Schauplatz von Gerstenbergs *Gedicht eines Skalden.* Die Brücke von Laura im Bade (*Les Vies*, I, 132 f.) zu Blakullur im Bade (*Gedicht eines Skalden*, a. a. O., S. 361) war schon durch die einleitenden Sätze der beiden Stellen geschlagen:

| | |
|---|---|
| dans le silence et dans la tranquillité | Still war die Luft..... |
| la tremblante surface qui traçoit l'image | Der See vom Hauch der Luft bewegt, |
| du plus beau crystal ; | Crystallne Wellen von sich jägt. |

Und nun zieht sich die Erinnerung an Gerstenbergs Verse durch die ganze Ode Cramers. Vgl. besonders:

| | |
|---|---|
| Im Schatten dieses Eichenhayns,... | 13. 7 |
| Still war die Luft, in Majestät<br>Lag die Natur ..... | 10 bis 13 |
| Ein breiter Quell, schwillt auf zum breitern Fluss,<br>Springt donnernd über jähe Spitzen,<br>Und diamantne Tropfen blitzen,<br>Im Lichtstrahl und im Silberschein | 41 bis 44 |
| .....der weissen Glieder | 25 |
| .....Hüften | 34 |
| Die runden Arme rudern durch die Fluth ;<br>Die kleinen Füsse rudern..... | 37 |
| Der volle Busen wallt auf zarten Wogen. | 35 f. |

In der nächsten Nummer dieser Zeitschrift hoffe ich meine Mitteilungen über Cramers Jugendgedichte abzuschliessen.

JULIUS FREUND.

SHEFFIELD.

[1] *Der Hypochondrist*, eine hollsteinische Wochenschrift, Schleswig 1762. Das zwölfte Stück, 'Aus dem Liebesarchiv meines Neffen,' enthält mehrere Liebesbriefe 'An das Fräulein P.' (S. 191 ff.)

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# MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

## The Cambridge Play 'Lælia.'

In my edition of this play (1910) I argued that Fuller's statement, to the effect that *Lælia* was performed before Lord Essex at Queens' College after he had become Chancellor[1], was not to be depended on, and I gave grounds for thinking that the performance of the play before Lord Essex at Queens' took place really on 1st March, 1595. To this opinion I still adhere, but I find that in the course of my argument I over-stated my case. I said 'I believe there is no other evidence of any visit paid by Essex to the University as Chancellor.' This appears to be wrong, as Harleian MS. 7038 fol. 68 et seq. (in Baker's hand, with this note by him, 'Ex MS° Tennisoniano [aucto ex collect. MS. Guil. Dillingham, S. T. P.]') has the following note[2].

An. 1598.

Hoc anno moriente Gul: Cecilio Aug. 4. An. 1598 ætatis 77 succedit Robertus D. Comes Essex: Comes Essex. Cancellar. invisebat Acad: publicis Comitiis. Respond. D^re^ Branthwaite Forma precum publicarum est necessario præscribenda. Patres Gentilesq*ue* Scriptores in concionibus licet et expedit allegare. Respond. M^ro^ Shaxton Col. Trin. Idem effectus principalis Scriptorum veterum et novorum. Specialis Dei misericordia in Christo est fidei justificantis objectum. Bac. A. 175/ MA 114/ Bac. Juris 3/ Mus 1/ Lib. Comp.

Now Essex as Chancellor could not have been present at the July Commencement either in 1598 (when he was not yet Chancellor) nor in 1599 (when he was in Ireland). If he was present at a Commencement at all, it must have been at the Bachelors' Commencement held in February or March 1599—but Cooper in his *Annals of Cambridge* makes no mention of such a visit, and we know nothing of any acting of plays before Essex at this time. It is true that plays were given at Trinity, and at great expense (54*s.* being spent on a supper to the

[1] There is no such statement, as Mr E. Abbott kindly tells me, in Jesus College MS. R. 3. 42, which is Fuller's earlier form of his History of the University.

[2] Partly quoted in Heywood and Wright's *University Transactions* under the same year.

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actors), and if Essex was in Cambridge, he was no doubt present. But the accounts of Queens' College show no signs of any performance of plays there. Moreover the whole tenor of the note quoted above points clearly to the 'publica comitia' being the 'Magna Comitia' held in July, and not the 'Comitia Bacchalaureorum' held in February or March.

I therefore maintain (i) that if Essex visited Cambridge in 1598–9 it was at the time of the Bachelors' Commencement (which is hardly consistent with the only record of the visit we have) and (ii) that this was not the occasion when he saw *Lælia* at Queens' College—which was rather, as I argued before, on March 1st, 1595.

G. C. Moore Smith.

Sheffield.

## Shakespeare, 'All's Well,' iv, v, 14—22.

*Laf.* 'Twas a good Lady, 'twas a good Lady. Wee may picke a thousand sallets ere wee light on such another hearbe.

*Clo.* Indeed sir she was the sweete Margerom of the sallet, or rather the hearbe of grace.

*Laf.* They are not hearbes you knaue, they are nose-hearbes.

*Clowne.* I am no great *Nabuchadnezar* sir, I haue not much skill in grace.

*First Folio.*

Rowe most needlessly altered 'grace' to 'grass' in line 22. In the Shakespearean pronunciation 'grace' and 'grass' were much more alike than they are at the present day. It is a pity that all subsequent editions have adopted Rowe's alteration and thereby spoilt the Clown's little play on words.

A. Joanna Partridge.

Hockham.

## The Authorship of 'Absence, hear thou my protestation.'

This poem has been ascribed to Donne in recent years almost entirely upon internal evidence. It was not printed in any of the older editions of Donne's poems (1633, 1635, 1650, 1654, 1669 or 1719) and although included in Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody* (1602, 1608, 1621) it was not there ascribed to Donne. It was first printed as Donne's in *The Grove*, a collection of miscellaneous poems issued by W. Mears in 1721. A note prefixed to the poem says, 'This Poem was found in an old Manuscript of Sir John Cotton's of Stratton in Huntington-shire.'

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Of the particular manuscript I know nothing, but we know that many poems are ascribed to Dr Donne in late seventeenth century manuscripts which are none of his. The poem does, however, occur in some fairly good manuscript collections of Donne's poems, but, as said above, it was not included in the editions, it was not, although published, ascribed to Donne during his life-time, and it is not found in either of what I hope to show are the two most authoritative groups or families of manuscripts of Donne's poems.

It is on internal evidence that Mr Bullen and Professor Saintsbury rely. 'There can not be the least doubt,' the former says in his introduction to a reprint of Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody* (1890), 'that the Ode is by John Donne. What other poet would have written in this strain?

> By absence this good means I gain
> That I can catch her,
> Where none can watch her,
> In some close corner of my brain.
> There I embrace and kiss her
> And so I both enjoy, and miss her.'

Professor Saintsbury is equally emphatic, 'All the best authorities agree (and for my part I would almost go to the stake upon it) that the piece is Donne's' (*Donne's Poems*, Muses' Library, 1896). Mr Bullen and Professor Saintsbury are high authorities on seventeenth century song, none higher; but I have never felt sure that in this case they are right. The metaphysical, subtle strain of thought in the poem certainly suggests Donne, but the passionate, confident mood of feeling expressed has in it more of Sidney, of lines like 'I, I, O, I may say that she is mine.' When Donne is gay, he is more cynical; when he writes of absence, it is in a more passionate and troubled vein. There seems to me a great difference between any of Donne's 'Valedictions,' as

> Let me pour forth
> My tears before thy face, while I stay here,

or

> So, so, break off this last lamenting kiss,

or even the more consolatory

> As virtuous men pass mildly away,

and such an airy strain as

> By Absence this good means I gain.

But to a discussion of this kind there could be no end. What I wish to do is to present some facts which seem to confirm the view that the

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poem is not by Donne, and to point to the actual author. 'Absence, hear thou my protestation' is one of the poems contained in a small manuscript volume of poems preserved, with other manuscripts of William Drummond of Hawthornden, in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries at Edinburgh. This manuscript has a much better authenticated history than is usual in the case of these manuscript collections of seventeenth century poems. It is in Drummond's own handwriting and is stated by him to consist of 'poems belonging to Jhon Don. Transcribed by William Drummond.' It is a small collection of miscellaneous poems including a few by Donne himself. Most of them are clearly initialled; Donne's own with an interwoven JD. Other initials are E. P. (apparently Earl of Pembroke), J. R. (John Roe), B. R. (Benjamin Rudyard). This particular poem is initialled J. H. Mr Chambers (*Donne's Poems*, Muses' Library, II, 275) in mentioning this added 'perhaps the initials of Sir John Harrington,' and I, writing from memory, made this ascription more absolutely in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*. There is, however, no likelihood that Harrington could or would have written the song. Moreover 'Absence, hear thou my protestation' is not the only song initialled J. H. in the manuscript. There is another beginning, 'Love is a foolish melancholy.' Now *this* song appears also in a manuscript preserved in the Chetham Library at Manchester, which was published by Dr Grosart, in 1873, as the Farmer-Chetham Manuscript (*Chetham Society Publications*, Vols. LXXXIX, XC). In this manuscript it appears alongside some other poems by John Hoskins, and is signed 'Mr Hoskins.' If this ascription be correct (and the ascriptions of this manuscript seem generally accurate), then clearly the J. H. of the Hawthornden MS. is John Hoskins, and we have Donne's own authority, reported by Drummond, for ascribing 'Absence, hear thou my protestation' to Hoskins.

Not much of Hoskins' poetry has been preserved, but Wood says 'he was the most ingenious and admired poet of his day,' and the friend of, among others, Donne, Rudyard and Jonson. He left a volume of poems 'bigger than those of Dr Donne,' which was lent by his son 'to a certain person' in 1653 and never recovered. Of his extant poems some, e.g. 'Love is a foolish melancholy,' 'Dreams' in the Chetham manuscript, and the dialogue with Wotton in Hannah's *Courtly Poets*, suggest that he might well, in a happy moment, have composed 'Absence.' If he did (and the evidence to my mind seems stronger than for many ascriptions of seventeenth century poems), it is only



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right that he should come by his own. The happy chance which has restored to us the works of Traherne may yet give us Hoskins' lost volume.

H. J. C. GRIERSON.

ABERDEEN.

## 'HOSTAGES TO FORTUNE.'

'He that hath Wife and Children, hath given Hostages to Fortune,' Bacon, *Of Marriage and Single Life.* I do not know if it has been remarked before that the origin of this famous sentence seems to be Lucan, *Pharsalia,* VII, 661—2, where Pompey is made to say

si plura iuuant mea uolnera, coniunx
est mihi, sunt nati ; dedimus tot pignora fatis.

W. H. WILLIAMS.

HOBART, TASMANIA.

## 'LOVES EXTREAMEST LINE.'

In Dryden's *Palamon and Arcite,* I, 404, Arcite, restored to liberty, but banished from Athens, envies Palamon, still a prisoner, the privilege of seeing Emily daily from the window of his dungeon:

Thou daily seest that Sun of Beauty shine,
And *lov'st at least in Loves extreamest Line.*

Professor Saintsbury (*The Works of John Dryden,* Scott and Saintsbury, Vol. XI, p. 267) explains the last phrase as 'outermost region'; Professor Noyes (*The Poetical Works of John Dryden,* Cambridge Edition) as 'A metaphor from the two poles of the earth, where day and night are each six months long.' But it is taken from Terence, *Eunuchus,* 640, where Phaedria says:

si non tangendi copiast,
eho ne uidendi quidem erit ? si illud non licet,
saltem hoc licebit. *certe extrema linea*
*amare* haud nil est.

Lewis and Short well explain the meaning as 'to love at a distance, i.e. to see the beloved object only at a distance, not be able to speak to her.'

W. H. WILLIAMS.

HOBART, TASMANIA.

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## A Critique by Horace Walpole.

In one of his letters to Mason (22 March 1796)[1], Walpole is unusually savage against a certain 'trumpery prosaic poetaster' named Knight, whom he dubs 'the Knight of the Brazen Milk-Pot,' who had attempted 'to re-establish the superannuated atheism of Lucretius,' by means of an 'insolent and self-conceited poem.' The person referred to is Richard Payne Knight, the well-known numismatist and collector. Mitford's note on this passage begins:

> Mr Knight. This 'new, insolent, and self-conceited poem,' is *The Landscape*, a Didactic Poem, in three Books, addressed to Uvedale Price, Esq., by R. P. Knight, 4to.' Walpole's anger was excited by the disparagement shown in this new School of Landscape Gardening, advocated by Mr Knight and Mr Price, of his friend, Mr Brown, of whose abilities he thought, and justly, very highly, etc.

Cunningham merely follows Mitford. Mrs Toynbee is less confident; her brief note is:

> Probably *The Landscape, a Didactic Poem*, of which a second edition appeared in 1795.

All three editors, however, are in error. It is true that Walpole, in his third paragraph, refers to *The Landscape*, in which Knight 'has given an ugly clumsy Etruscan brass milkpot as a model of the line of beauty.' But the poem which here chiefly aroused the aged Walpole's wrath was *The Progress of Civil Society. A Didactic Poem in Six Books.* London. Printed by W. Bulmer and Co. for G. Nicol. 1796. 4to. It is a poem of some three thousand two hundred lines, in heroic couplets, based on the fifth book of Lucretius beginning with line 923; the author also acknowledges indebtedness to Pope, whose *Essay on Man* obviously formed a model. It is divided into six books, with the following titles: I. Of Hunting. II. Of Pasturage. III. Of Agriculture. IV. Of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. V. Of Climate and Soil. VI. Of Government and Conquest. The whole performance was harmless and insipid, and might have been speedily forgotten had it not been for 'the liberties he has taken with our late great and respectable friend'—not Mr Brown, as Mitford supposed, but Thomas Gray.

[1] *Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Toynbee, No. 2996, xv. 397 ff.



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The passage dealing with Gray is found in Book III, ll. 395—426, and begins thus:

> See, of Reviews and Baviads in despite,
> Each month new swarms of Baviuses write;
> While Lloyd's light laugh, and Johnson's growl could lay,
> In dumb repose, the genius of a Gray!
> Too timid bard! by feelings nice oppress'd,
> He shrunk abash'd from envy's paltry jest;
> And, with fastidious modesty, resign'd
> To learned trifles all his mighty mind.

By 'Lloyd's light laugh,' Knight of course meant the *Odes to Obscurity and Oblivion* which Robert Lloyd and George Colman perpetrated at a meeting of the Nonsense Club (they were published in 1760), and which certainly did not disturb Gray much. But to what extent Johnson's growl helped to lay Gray's genius 'in dumb repose,' is not by any means so clear. Everybody knows what opinion each had of the other; but what evidence is there that Gray was aware of Johnson's opinion and was influenced by it?

One would also like to know who was the near relation and intimate friend of Walpole who had such admiration for Knight; but this is not an important question and its solution must wait for the present.

In his second paragraph Walpole speaks of Knight's 'presuming to pronounce [Lucretius] the best of the Roman poets, just as he allots the same rank to Sheridan over Gray and our first Bards.' The passage to which he refers occurs in a note on page 120:

> It is a melancholy reflection, that though Great Britain has been more fertile in poetical genius, during the present age, than at any preceding period of her history, no important work has been produced. Johnson, Goldsmith, Churchill, Gray, and Chatterton, were all, in a great measure, lost to the Muses for want of proper encouragement; and a still greater genius, who is now living, has sacrificed poetry to politics; in which, whatever parties prevail, or whatever abilities he may display, he will have the mortification to find, that the cringing servility of a drudge in office is a more effective recommendation to places of power and emolument, than all the splendours of the sublimest eloquence.

This passage, it may be remarked, would indicate that although Knight may not have been a poet, he is entitled to be counted among the prophets. Incidentally his confusion of poetry and drama may be noted; Sheridan wrote very little verse.

Contemporary opinion of Knight, which may or may not have influenced Walpole, is indicated by the following quotation from *Literary Memoirs of Living Authors of Great Britain*, London, 1798, i, 345:

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The proficiency of this gentleman in classical knowledge and polite literature are such, as to entitle him to a very respectable estimation in the republic of letters; but we are sorry to add that he is the author of a book, which has been justly called one of the most unbecoming and indecent treatises which ever disgraced the pen of a man who would be thought a scholar and a philosopher. We refer to his first publication, viz. a Disquisition, in quarto, on the Worship of Priapus, with plates, printed in 1786, and never published, but liberally distributed, etc.

Knight defends himself against the charge of immorality in the preface to *The Progress of Civil Society*. See also Warwick Wroth's remarks in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. Knight.

CLARK S. NORTHUP.

LONDON.

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# DISCUSSIONS.

## Spenser's Sonnets 'As Published.'

Mr J. C. Smith, in his complimentary but unfortunately incomplete review of my paper on *Spenser and Lady Carey*, hesitates to accept either its position (in entirety) or the traditional view of the *Amoretti*, and finally proposes a new, definite theory of their composition[1]. He says (p. 280): 'It seems to me possible that Spenser *did* indite a series of complimentary sonnets to Lady Carey; that some misunderstanding arose between them just before his departure for Ireland, and that they afterwards had, or feigned, a quarrel; or, more simply, that absence soon wore out his conventional devotion; that, in either case, he presently fell genuinely in love, and used up parts of this complimentary series in addresses to her whom Prior would have called his "real flame."'

This conclusion accedes to my main contention, restoring the series (in first intention, at least) to Spenser's courtly mistress, Lady Carey[2]. Mr Smith, however, suggests that it was reshaped to apply to Elizabeth Boyle, and he notes in this connexion (p. 280, *n.* 2) that: 'Mr Long himself glances, in one sentence, at the plausibility of just such a *contaminatio*, but in the opposite sense; i.e., he thinks that sonnets originally written to Spenser's wife may have been incorporated in the complimentary set.' This is news to me, and unwelcome. I did state (p. 264) that: 'In this event [Spenser's supposed marriage in 1594] the utmost that can be claimed for Elizabeth Boyle is the appending or interspersing of later sonnets[3].' This is not opposite to, but identical with, what Mr Smith has chosen to claim.

The view is beset with difficulties. It implies that Spenser, in finishing the work prepared for his 'real flame,' was an astonishingly

[1] See *The Mod. Lang. Rev.*, Vol. III, pp. 256—67 (April 1908) and Vol. V, pp. 273—81 (July 1910).

[2] Mr Smith's attitude toward the question whether Charillis is Lady Carey vacillates. Where he rejects it (p. 276) before accepting it (pp. 279, 280), he passes over the entire argument (Vol. III, p. 259, *n.* and pp. 264—5), merely rejecting two suggestions as to why Spenser and the records disagree. He offers a third (p. 280), the possibility of which I admit. But, in any case, Spenser's ignorance of the relative ages of two married sisters—seventh and tenth among eleven children—proves no 'want of intimacy' with the family. And it is always possible that Spenser may have been right, and the scanty record a case of miscopying.

[3] More explicitly yet I stated (p. 262): 'In this case [that Spenser, when paying court to Lady Carey, was already married] the *Amoretti* could not have been addressed to the lady who became his wife.'

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negligent craftsman; for he leaves the *Amoretti*, as Mr Smith admits[1], with a glaringly inappropriate ending. Spenser's finish is nowhere more exquisite than in the *Epithalamion*. If the two are intended as companion pieces—regardless of the unrelated fragments printed between, regardless too of the fact that the *Epithalamion* has a separate title-page—Spenser's omission of all trace of connexion is anomalous and incongruous with his usual delicate transitions[2]. Again, the marriage date (June 11th) is precise: it renders disproportionate the stretch of twenty-one sonnets (in a sequence of eighty-eight) after the second Easter and ending some time before the marriage. This is incontestable evidence that Spenser did not make over the structure to harmonize with his marriage song. Indeed, Mr Smith admits (p. 280) that: 'The parting which Spenser bewails [at the end of the sequence] would thus belong to the original series.' It does, in fact, harmonize with the opening sonnet of the series, and is an ending paralleling those of the sequences by Thomas Watson and Sidney. At most, then, Spenser interspersed a number of sonnets and changed, tacitly, the last—though not the first—name of the lady.

If Spenser was thus a slovenly poet in praising his 'real flame,' he was also for once curiously tactless. The court circle, familiar with Spenser's service of Lady Carey, must have seen in the series one more tribute to her whom Nash says 'in all his writings he [Spenser] prizeth.' Intimation that another Elizabeth now was meant must have cost Spenser the enmity of one of the Queen's intimates. On the other hand, if Spenser gave no intimation—and we know of none—these praises of his 'real flame' were an unworthy equivocation, praises inevitably misunderstood by all but a narrow circle—a circle, too, where poetry cannot have been highly valued (for the name of Elizabeth Boyle never appears conjoined with that of Spenser). Surely, the game was not worth the candle.

Nor can I admit that Mr Smith has disposed of the envoi to the *Epithalamion*. 'It is,' he says (p. 275), 'in vain to try to rehabilitate the traditional view while the epilogue to the *Epithalamion* blocks the way.' He therefore proposes a diverse reading of the line:

Song! made in lieu of many ornaments.

The ornaments, I contend, are poetic tributes in the same sense as in the sixth line:

Be unto her a goodly ornament.

This explains the envoi as an apology for the absence of other poems in honour of Spenser's 'owne love[3].' Mr Smith, to differentiate the lines, considers the ornaments to be 'the bridegroom's presents,' which he supposes may have arrived late because the wedding had been set

[1] See *The Mod. Lang. Rev.*, Vol. v, pp. 279 f.

[2] No such separation is found in *Astrophel* or in the *Fowre Hymnes*.

[3] Spenser further indicates this by invoking the Muses (st. 1) who have often helped him 'others to adorne' now to

Helpe me mine owne loues prayses to resound.

He cites the example of Orpheus in apology for such unconventionality.

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forward. This involves no little historical fiction. Moreover, it is the poem and not the wedding which Spenser accuses of 'cutting off' the ornaments; and one can readily understand how such a noble theme, when once conceived, 'would not stay' its 'dew time to expect,' but would demand immediate expression. Mr Smith admits that his explanation is prosaic; is it, then, Spenserian? A case parallel to this is found in the *Shepheardes Calendar*, toward the close of the December eclogue, in 'the fragrant flowres' (l. 109):

> Ah! who has wrought my Rosalind this spight,
> To spill the flowres that should hir girlond dight?
> (ll. 113—4.)

E. K. glosses this: '*The fragrant flowres*, sundry studies and laudable partes of learning, wherein our Poet is seene, be they witnesse which are privie to this study.' If then the ornaments must naturally be regarded as poetic tributes, one cannot link the poem to the *Amoretti* as they stand: for the sequence contains too many poems, rather than too few, to fit the circumstances.

Mr Smith's argument against my (supposed) position is directed chiefly (p. 275) against a courtship of Lady Carey and Elizabeth Boyle at the same time. No one, I think, has entertained the idea. Not that it is in itself unreasonable, as Mr Smith urges: for Spenser's patron, Raleigh, carried on such a dual courtship of the Queen and Elizabeth Throckmorton; and, as to publication of the praises of two women in one volume, it may be noted that Spenser dedicated *Astrophel* to Sidney's widow, while in that poem he told of Sidney's exclusive and whole-souled devotion to another woman, Stella. But the idea is a chimera. Mr Smith says of me (p. 275): 'He evidently feels the difficulty of allowing the real and the imaginary wooing to synchronize, and he seeks to avoid it by disputing the received date of the former.' But such synchronism never occurred to me: my suggestion of an early date for Spenser's marriage was due to quite another reason (see the note at the end of this paper). Spenser could hardly have courted Elizabeth Boyle during his stay in London; and it is to that time—to 1589–91—that I referred the composition of the *Amoretti*[1]. Although I stated (p. 264) it to be 'almost incredible' that they were not written then, Mr Smith infers (p. 275) that I date them 'as published' to 1592–3–4, on four grounds which I do 'not indeed urge' but 'would probably admit.' All these Mr Smith makes no attempt to controvert when he suggests (p. 280) the date 1589–91; nor need he, for they all depend on *Am.* LXXX, which he therefore must regard as one of the later sonnets addressed to Spenser's 'real flame.' The assumption is made because this sonnet alludes to the completion of six books of the *Faerie Queene*. It is none the less unnecessary. (1) The version alluded to may have been a first draft, and

[1] In *Am.* LIV the imagery drawn from the theatre connotes the environment of London; and it may not be merely fanciful to read in *Am.* XXIV an allusion to Lyly's *Woman in the Moon*.

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probably was, since the sonnet was written fully two years before their publication. (2) The allusion in *F. Q.*, v, xi (necessarily later than July 1593) is likely to have been, as Mr Smith admits, an afterthought. (3) The last lines of Book III appear to have been a makeshift to round off the volume rather than the original ending of the Amoret-Scudamour story. No other book has so definite an ending—it is Spenser's custom throughout to suggest an immediate continuation—except Book VI. There a similar artifice appears. (4) The completion of Books IV—VI in 1591–2 does not imply anomalous speed. In part they may have been planned and written before Spenser went to London in 1589. In part they are regarded as early material reworked. Mr Smith, in his edition of the *Faerie Queene* (Vol. I, p. xi), allows but intermittent work on the first instalment until 1588–9, and therefore reduces the earlier—and probably more difficult—work to a period not very dissimilar in length.

Not only is *Am.* LXXX no obstacle to dating the sequence within Spenser's stay in London: it ceases to be even a drawback in view of the fact that the episode concluding Book VI—the marriage of Essex with Sidney's widow—was of greatest interest at that time. This was therefore probably composed then, at first perhaps as a separate pastoral[1]. Its incidental praise of the lady of the *Amoretti* (*F. Q.*, VI x) further confirms the evidence that they were then in the making. Should Mr Smith insist, notwithstanding, that *Am.* LXXX must be regarded as a later insertion, he must then reckon with it as a positive argument that Spenser had not altered his first intention; for it terms Spenser's lady 'the handmayd of the Faery Queene'—an expression very appropriate in the case of Lady Carey[2], very inapt in the case of Elizabeth Boyle.

If, despite these considerations, we are to believe that Spenser reshaped the *Amoretti* to suit the bride of the *Epithalamion*, some evidence of such reshaping should be perceptible. Mr Smith accordingly advances (pp. 277—8) certain 'positive evidence that would lead us to identify the mistress of the *Amoretti* with the bride of the *Epithalamion*.' The evidence consists of two 'general correspondences,' four 'striking' correspondences, and the 'tone' of certain sonnets.

Of the first 'general' correspondence (*Am.* LXXX with *Epi.* 14), it may be said that to sing one's 'loves prayses' is no very close parallel, and might be used for a diversity of loves. As to the second, the refrain of the *Epithalamion*, though approximated in *Am.* XIX, l. 7 (not 14), is equally foreshadowed long before in *Sh. Cal.*, August, ll. 151—2, 159—60, 166, and in *The Teares of the Muses*, ll. 21—2.

Still less convincing are the four 'striking' correspondences. The

[1] Spenser's close relations with Essex in 1591 are evident from his fulsome praises of Essex's secretary Alabaster in *Colin Clout*, ll. 400—15.

[2] The high favour of Lady Carey is evidenced (in Nichols' *Progresses*) by Queen Elizabeth's New Year gift to her in 1588–9 of 34 oz. of gilt plate. This exceeded in value her gift to any other lady of her rank. Of twenty baronesses only two received more, and of fourteen countesses only three. Among fifty-eight in all, Lady Carey in this count ranked seventh—a place markedly above her station.

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first (*Am.* XIII with *Epi.* IX) is in fact a striking contrast. In the sonnet, the lady's bearing is 'proud'; in the song, 'So farre from being proud.' Though in both the eyes are fixed on the ground, in the sonnet, 'Her faire face she reares up to the skie,' and 'That same lofty countenance seemes to scorne'; whereas in the song, 'Her modest eyes' are 'abashed to behold So many gazers,' and she 'Ne dare lift up her countenance too bold.' The first explicitly constitutes a symbolic portrayal of 'goodly temperature,' of 'Myld humblesse, mixt with awfull majesty' (ll. 4—5; see also *Am.* XXI), precisely paralleling the 'temperance' of Charillis in *Colin Clout* (l. 551), as Mr Smith might have observed I had noted (p. 265). In the song, however, there is no admixture of pride[1]. Mr R. E. Neil Dodge (*Spenser's Poetical Works*, pp. 716—7) rightly singles out this pride as a characteristic of the lady of the Amoretti[2]. It is but fair to suggest that the disappearance of this pride in the *Epithalamion*, if taken to indicate the gradual and finally complete triumph of the lover, creates an artistic link between the poems, the trait being conventional and perhaps naught but a literary artifice. Yet, as Mr Dodge notes, in the sonnets the lady's 'friends' accuse her of something like a *mésalliance* (see *Am.* LXVI). Certainly nothing parallels this in the marriage song.

The second 'striking' correspondence (*Am.* XV with *Epi.* X)—dwelling on the charms of the person—consists of the opening lines addressed respectively to 'Ye tradefull Merchants' and 'ye merchants daughters' (though the lady is in no wise besmirched with mercantile relations), and the concluding lines descriptive of the beloved's spiritual excellence as seen by 'few' or 'no' eyes. But 'Her mind adornd with vertues [accomplishments] manifold' suggests intellectual attainments suitable to the learned Lady Carey rather than the vivacity implied in 'The inward beauty of her lively spright.' The physical resemblance amounts to eyes like 'saphyres,' and red lips (one's like rubies, the other's like cherries). In the sonnets are figured an ivory forehead, silver hands, and golden locks; in the song, a neck like marble, cheeks like red apples, paps like lilies, and a breast like a 'bowle of cream uncrudded.' The diversity of perspective is obviously suited to the more intimate occasion. From all this there issues no conclusive point of resemblance[3].

The third 'striking' correspondence (*Am.* LXXXIII with *Epi.* XI) falls with least difficulty under the category of virtues: in them the resemblance is confined to two, modesty and chastity, qualities which a lover might well attribute to divers lady loves. In each case the lady appears too holy to be solicited by things evil. But this is characteristic of Spenser's general attitude toward love as heaven-born

[1] See *Epi.*, ll. 159—64, 210—4, 222, 234—5. In l. 306 is shown not pride, but modest dignity.

[2] See (enlarging Dodge's list) *Am.* V, XIII, XXXIII, LXV, LXXX, LXXXV, and less markedly *Am.* II, XVII, XXVII, XXXI, XXXII, XXXVIII, LV.

[3] The similarity to Desportes' sonnet beginning 'Marchands' (*Diane* I, xxxii) has been pointed out by H. Littledale (*Mod. Lang. Rev.*, Vol. VI, p. 203). He fails to note that it had been pointed out before by L. E. Kastner and by Sidney Lee.

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and pure (see *Teares of the Muses*, Erato, ll. 383—96; *Hymne to Love*, ll. 169—89; *Colin Clout*, ll. 782—90).

The fourth and last parallel (*Am.* LXIV with *Epi.* X), though Mr Smith fails to note the fact, was dealt with in my paper (p. 261, *n.*) because it had been advanced by Todd. It is unfortunately even less in point than the rest; for the sonnet deals with odours, the stanza with things visible. The impossibility of grounding an argument here is evident when in the sonnet we read that the lady's sapphire eyes resemble 'pincks.'

In short, the comparison reduces itself to red lips and cheeks, blue eyes, and a white bosom. 'Hath white and red in it such wondrous powre?' (*Hymne to Beautie*, l. 71). One may add that both have a smile like sunshine (*Am.* X and *Epi.* 119) and 'golden tresses' (*Am.* XV, XXXVII, LXXII, and *Epi.* 154). But yellow hair and sunshine smiles are no less conventional than ivory foreheads. Rosalind of the *Shepherd's Calendar* had 'golden locks' (June, l. 46); so has Spenser's figure of abstract beauty (*Hymne to Beautie*, ll. 92—105), and her eyes are also 'a parcell of the purest skie.' The less such comparisons are sought in the field of objective realizations of the poet's vision, and the more in his abstract conceptions of love and beauty (both in the *Hymnes* and the *Faerie Queene*), the ampler will be the investigator's reward.

As final evidence that Spenser inserted later sonnets to his 'real flame,' Mr Smith urges that some are convincingly 'loverlike' and 'matter-of-fact.' But the circumstance that Spenser must have addressed Lady Carey without aspirations toward marriage does not necessitate the absence of a semblance of physical attraction. Platonic love did not demand such austerity. In point of fact certain sonnets (*Am.* X, LXVIII), which Mr Smith will perhaps admit were addressed to Lady Carey[1], are certainly not less intimate than the few he mentions. Altogether, it is inapt to draw a distinction between 'the real and the imaginary courtship' (p. 277) in view of the way that love-making and marriage were then conducted in court circles. What contemporary sonnet sequence have we that was addressed to the poet's future wife? Was Sidney's courtship of Stella 'imaginary,' and that of Frances Walsingham 'real'? Sixteenth-century passions must be read in the light of sixteenth-century ideals: Prior and Spenser had very different conceptions of Platonic love.

Nor is it reasonable to discount the evidence of Spenser's dedication of *Muiopotmos* by speaking of its 'comparative ardour' (p. 276). It is superlative. One could hardly say more than: 'I have determined to give my selfe wholy to you, as quite abandoned from my selfe, and absolutely vowed to your service.' This is quite another matter than his addresses to her sisters: 'To intimate my humble affection to your Ladiship' (*Teares of the Muses*, Ded.), or 'To make knowen to your Ladiship the humble affection and faithfull duetie which I have alwaies

[1] The first, because of its likeness to the sonnet to Lady Carey (see also the *Hymne to Love*, ll. 148—61); and the second, because it is an Easter sonnet, and therefore an integral portion of the structure.

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professed, and am bound to beare, to that house from whence yee spring' (*Mother Hubberds Tale*, Ded.). The dedication to Lady Carey, unmistakable as a vow of service offered by a courtly lover (compare *Am.* LXXXII), places Spenser's ostensible, and therefore at least well feigned, devotion in 1590 beyond discussion[1].

Something might be made, indeed, of the fact that in the sonnets the stages of the lover's progress are well marked, were this unique. But, however 'matter-of-fact,' they are not clearer, except as regards chronological indications, than in Watson's *Hecatompathia*, or in Spenser's other conspicuous literary model, *Astrophel and Stella*[2]. As to the chronology, it will be remarked that the stages are sometimes suggestive of literary artifice; for example, where the lady yields, as a kind of New Year's resolution, immediately after the New Year (*Am.* LXII, LXIII). It is to be borne in mind that, in the *Shepheardes Calendar*, Spenser had already known how to suit his passions to the characteristics of the months. And for this reason a similar suspicion rests on the wedding date (June 11th):

> But for this time it ill ordained was,
> To chose the longest day in all the yeare,
> And shortest night, when longest fitter weare.
>
> (*Epi.*, ll. 270—2.)

This literary use of occasions is evident again in bidding the lady of the sonnets (*Am.* LXX), 'Her selfe soone ready make To wayt on Love amongst his lovely crew.' Mr Smith would render this as 'getting ready for the wedding.' Rather, being in the second sonnet after Easter, this is an allusion to May day.

It should now be abundantly evident that the eighteenth-century assumption of the physical identity of the ladies of the *Amoretti* and the *Epithalamion* remains baseless. I must charge to my own lack of explicitness the misapprehensions into which Mr Smith, by my fault, has been led. His opinion on all matters concerning Spenser will command the attention of those familiar with his excellent work as an editor of the *Faerie Queene*.

PERCY W. LONG.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

The date of Spenser's marriage becomes disengaged from the foregoing contentions, since neither Mr Smith nor I regards Spenser's courtly and domestic love-making as synchronous. I suggested an early date (pp. 262—3) because Spenser's praise of three Elizabeths (*Am.* LXXIV) must seem incongruous if he had just courted and married a fourth—Elizabeth Boyle. It offered 'the only present escape from this dilemma' (p. 263) because the courtship of Lady Carey is patent and the marriage with Elizabeth Boyle rests on evidence which must be given face value, albeit reluctantly. Grosart's evidence of it in his edition of Spenser

[1] No promise of further work is made in the dedication because Spenser therein states that he is engaged in it. One is made, however, as I noted (p. 259) at the close of the appended series of visions, which, in the original issue of the *Complainte*, form part of the sub-division addressed to Lady Carey. It is for this reason that the sonnet following the sixth and last of the *Visions of Petrarch* is in the quarto *not* numbered 7.

[2] That here the final separation may have had a basis in fact is borne out by the omission of the sonnet to Lady Carey in the 1596 edition of the *Faerie Queene*.

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proved entirely inconclusive, and the later surprising, tortuous evidence in *The Lismore Papers*—difficult and fragmentary as they are—leaves one who is familiar with Grosart's publications not sure that it is devoid of flaws (see *Anglia*, 1908, p. 83; also *The Lismore Papers*, I, i, xiv). It is desirable that a competent scholar, versed in palaeography, go over this ground. The suggestion of an early date was made less to further the cause of Lady Carey, than as an offering to Zoilus.

Nevertheless, Mr Smith here does me some injustice. I did not claim 'five children' (p. 276) for Spenser. I said (p. 262): 'Four, possibly five.' I now say: 'Four, very likely five'; for, far from discounting the evidence of Jonson that one of Spenser's children perished in the sack of Kilcolman, I regard it as highly trustworthy on account of his and Spenser's equally close connexion with Essex and Bacon. The sack was a matter likely to be talked of in that circle, at a time when Bacon's ambition was turning toward Ireland. Their friendship with Camden offers another connecting link. But, in any case, the *probabilities* are against even four children in four years and four months of married life.

Secondly, I did not argue that 'Sylvanus was not a minor in 1603.' Grosart says that the court record shows him appearing for himself. To disregard this is useless, since in 1605–6 there are several others to confirm it. If a marriage in 1581 is impossible, as Mr Smith avers (p. 277)—and no less so in 1583–4—why may he not suppose two marriages instead of twins? He would have in support of this the interesting argument of J. P. Collier. Otherwise, it must be admitted that the court records are due to a carelessness natural enough in an unsettled country in the case of a lad arrived at years of discretion (fourteen), but hardly so in the case of a child of eight. Most of Mr Smith's points in objection fall if this age is assumed, permitting a marriage in 1588. He can then depend solely on an assumption that the *Epithalamion* was really written, as the publisher's advertisement implies, 'not long before' 1594. For Spenser's official faithfulness to Rosalind in 1591 proves nothing: he is equally faithful at the time of the publication of *Colin Clout* in 1595, certainly after his marriage. Nor is it clear that the opening of the *Epithalamion* must be, as Mr Smith states (p. 277) without evidence, 'subsequent at least to the first instalment of the *Faerie Queene*, to *Daphnaida*, and to the *Ruines of Time*.' I cannot discern in it any specific allusion to these poems. He might have noted that 'When ye list your owne mishaps to mourne' (l. 7) *does* allude to *The Teares of the Muses*; but that is commonly regarded as an early work. To be sure, the publisher's statement—a very different thing from the absent poet's statement—remains; but its force is lost when one recalls that a number of 'lost poems' of the period of 1580 remained unprinted. 'Written not long since' may have served merely to indicate that the *Amoretti* and *Epithalamion* were not among the poems which had been written 'long since'—some fifteen years before. The phrase is not equivalent to *newly*: it implies some interval.

The year of Spenser's marriage remains uncertain.

## John Donne, Diplomatist and Soldier.

In *The Modern Language Review*, VI, 153, Professor Grierson suggests that the John Donne of my extracts from the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber for 1597—8 (*M. L. Review*, V, 492) was not the poet, but the 'Mr Done' recommended to Essex by Cecil in January, 1599 for services in Ireland. If he will pursue his researches in the *Cecil Papers* (e.g. XI, 419, to take a sample reference noted by me, while preparing my communication of October last, for use in case this suggestion should be made) he will, I think, find that the Mr Done of 1599 was probably Captain Hugh Done.

E. K. Chambers.

Gerrard's Cross.

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# REVIEWS.

*Satiro-Mastix or the Untrussing of the Humorous Poet.* By THOMAS DEKKER. Herausgegeben nach dem Drucken von 1602 von HANS SCHERER. (*Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas*, Band XX.) Louvain: Uystpruyst, 1907. 8vo. xvi + 136 pp.

All students of Elizabethan drama owe a debt of gratitude to the editor of this series for having decided to publish a critical and trustworthy edition of this most interesting and valuable play. It is, indeed, strange that *Satiromastix* should have waited so long for a satisfactory edition. Apart from its primary importance in the history of the War of the Theatres, it is a very mine of allusions to contemporary life and manners, especially to things theatrical, and it gives us an insight of peculiar value into the character and dramatic methods of one of the most charming personalities of his time. Yet except for the eighteenth century edition of Hawkins, which by no means satisfies the requirements of the modern student, and is not easily procurable, the only complete edition of the play hitherto is that included in the *Dramatic Works of Dekker*, edited by the late R. H. Shepherd in 1873. And this edition, like most of the work of Shepherd, is equally unsatisfactory to the scholar and the general reader. Professor Bang and Dr Scherer may therefore well be congratulated on having met an obvious want in our collections of the Elizabethan drama.

The main service that Dr Scherer has rendered us in this edition is the presentation of an accurate and reliable text. He has based it upon the text of what he calls $Q_1$, of which a word hereafter, adopting the corrections which appear in $Q_2$. He has retained the old spelling, except in cases of evident misprints, and the original punctuation except where he has felt himself bound to correct it. Personally I am not sure that I approve of this method. For the purposes of the scholar I am inclined to think that an exact reprint of one of the old copies of the play, recording in foot-notes, or text-notes, the variant readings of other copies and the emendations of modern editors, would be preferable. As soon as the revising hand of an editor is laid upon the text itself, uncertainty creeps in and inconsistencies are bound to occur. In several cases Dr Scherer has retained what seem to me very obvious misprints, while correcting others about which there may be some dispute[1].

[1] Thus, for example, in l. 859 he retains the reading 'your hot beautie's melt,' without note or comment. In l. 1424 he follows the obvious mistake of the old printer in printing

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And this leads me to another point which I think is worthy of notice. Dr Scherer states, p. xiv, that there is one copy in the Bodleian. There are, however, two, one with a torn title-page, Malone, B. 166, the other, evidently the copy inspected by Dr Scherer, bearing the press-mark M. 235. The first lacks a leaf, sig. b. 4, but is otherwise complete, and as a rule corresponds exactly to the other copy. It contains, for example, the readings *Mon Dieu* for *Mon du*, l. 2480, and *Tam* or *Cham* (the proper names are in italics, not in roman, as Dr Scherer gives them on p. 79) for *Tamor Cham*, l. 2490, on the basis of which Dr Scherer proposes to divide the four copies he has inspected into two groups, the first containing the copies in the British Museum, showing, he believes, an old state of the text, the second, containing the copies in the Dyce collection and the Bodleian (i.e. M. 235), a partially corrected text. But I have noted seven instances, ll. 863, 995, 1003, 1012, 1025, 1029 f. and 1998, where the imperfect copy at the Bodleian agrees with the reading of the British Museum copies and not with the other copy at the Bodleian. In four of these Dr Scherer prefers the reading of the British Museum copies (ll. 995, 1003, 1029, and 1998); in l. 1998 the second Bodleian copy (M. 235) appears to stand alone, lacking the support of the Dyce copy which elsewhere, if we may trust Dr Scherer's collations, agrees with it. In five other cases, ll. 1274, 1403, 2476, 2481 and 2490, where slight variations appear, Dr Scherer also prefers the supposed older reading, and to these we may, I think, add l. 1408 for punctuation, and the spelling Liege, rather than Leige in l. 2322. Does not all this go to show, especially when we take into account the fact that the great majority of these variants are concerned with points of punctuation, and not with real variations in the text, that we have to do here with the usual variants which occur in practically all Elizabethan printings, and not with a more or less systematic attempt at correction, which would permit us to classify the copies in question, and denominate them, as Dr Scherer does on p. xv, $Q_1$ and $Q_2$? I can assure Dr Scherer that the variations which he has noted in the copies of *Satiromastix* are considerably less important than those which I have remarked in the various copies of Chapman's *All Fooles* which I have inspected, and yet I should prefer to explain these latter as corrections made by the first printer while copies were being struck off, rather than to assume the existence of two separate editions of the same date; and in this view I am glad to see that I have the support of Mr Greg, who in his *List of English Plays*, notes but one edition of *All Fooles* as of *Satiromastix*.

In fact, until stronger evidence is brought forward, I should decline to believe that the copies of *Satiromastix* so far inspected can even be

'Then' with a capital, whereas the catchword on the preceding page, as he himself notes, gives the true reading, 'then.' I should be glad to know whether 'whorshippe,' l. 1034, is a misprint of the old copies which Dr Scherer has followed, or an accidental misprint of his own. In the former case I would include it among the obvious misprints which might have been corrected, the more so as the Bodleian quartos both read 'worshippe,' a variant not noted by Dr Scherer.

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separated into earlier and later states of the same edition. I have only had an opportunity of comparing Dr Scherer's work with the Bodleian copies, but I have found a number of instances in which he either gives or implies a reading of the copy which he inspected there, which is, to speak frankly, non-existent[1].

The impression left upon my mind by a careful collation of Dr Scherer's work with the copy in the Bodleian which he inspected is that he can hardly have given it the careful study which in view of its good condition it deserves, and that he has too often assumed its agreement with the copies in the Museum, and presumably also with the copy in the Dyce collection.

His brief account of this copy on p. xv is not altogether satisfactory. He states: 'Auf dem Titelblatt ist der Namenszug Dekker's oben auf einem Stückchen Papier aufgeklebt. Wer mag der Schreiber desselben sein?' The signature is not pasted on the title-page, but on a blank page, facing the title-page of *Old Fortunatus*, the first play in this volume, M. 235. And according to Madan, *Catalogue of Western MSS*, vol. iv, p. 431, it is an autograph signature of Dekker's. Doubtless Malone 'conveyed' it from some of the old MSS, possibly those in the Dulwich collection, which he had examined, and pasted it in this volume, in which he bound up a number of Dekker's plays. The marginal notes in this copy are certainly, not questionably, by Malone, as may be seen by a comparison with the Malone manuscript letters in the Bodleian. As I have only examined the Bodleian copies, it is possible that Dr Scherer's statements as to vignettes, p. xv, may be correct as regards the other copies, though I should regard it as unlikely. I can state positively that in the Bodleian copies the 'masks' occur on pp. 7 and 93, not 6 and 76, and that they are identical, not different, as Dr Scherer's words imply.

A few further points in regard to the text remain to be noted. In l. 92 the Bodleian copies appear to read 'ietting,' though the *i* might possibly be mistaken for a broken *ſ*. This reading, which by the way was followed by Hawkins, gives a much better sense than 'setting,' and is doubtless correct. What meaning does Dr Scherer attach to 'setting'?

[1] Thus his note on l. 198 leads us to suppose that the reading of all Qq is *Prickeshaft.*, whereas the Bodleian copies have no punctuation after this word. In l. 433 he notes that 'stray' may be a misprint for 'stay,' but prefers to retain it in his text. But both Bodleian copies have 'sttay,' a palpable misprint corrected by Hawkins in the first reprint of the play. In l. 464 he gives 'struie' as the reading of all copies; both Bodleian copies have correctly 'striue.' In l. 682 the Bodleians have no punctuation after *Exeunt*; in l. 704 they lack the periods after '*Sir*' and '*Vaug*'; in l. 1006 the periods after '*Sir*' and '*Adam*' which Dr Scherer notes as found in all copies. In l. 1050 both Bodleians give the true reading 'shall be,' whereas Dr Scherer gives 'shall he' as the reading of all copies, and prints 'shall be' as an emendation of his own. In ll. 1310, 1312 and 1578 Dr Scherer charges all copies with the misprint of a period after 'Sir,' but in all these cases the Bodleians show a correct reading. In l. 2018 the Bodleian copies both have the misprint 'cheekcs,' which he gives as the reading of the Museum copies only. Likewise in l. 2630 they agree with the Museum copies in the misprint 'wlll.' These are all trifles, except perhaps the case of l. 1050; but since Dr Scherer has thought it worth while to record them in his Text Notes, it is as well that they should be corrected.

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In ll. 406 and 414 Dr Scherer retains the old reading 'Faninus,' though he remarks, p. 88, that it may be a misprint, rather than an intentional distortion of the name. It is almost certainly a misprint, as are 'Fanninus' in l. 600, and 'Flannius' in l. 450.

The punctuation proposed by Dr Scherer (p. 101) for ll. 1026–7 is such an improvement on the old, that I think he might have introduced it into the text, especially as Hawkins here retains the confusing punctuation of the quartos.

In l. 1335 Dr Scherer's emendation 'our' for 'out' is probably correct. Hawkins retained the old, but I doubt whether a satisfactory sense can be obtained from it without wresting the language. On the other hand in l. 1584 I am not sure that he is justified in introducing 'hansomely,' for 'sansomely' into the text. The old form may be one of the Welshman's distortions of the Queen's English, though I have not noted any parallels to it. Hawkins here keeps the old form. So in l. 1408 I should prefer, like Hawkins, to keep the punctuation 'so, tis,' found in what Dr Scherer calls the older group of the quartos, to 'so tis' given by the other group, for 'so' is surely an interjection.

In l. 1509 Dr Scherer, like Hawkins, prints 'Sering' and does not consider that the unusual word calls for any comment. I am strongly inclined to think it a *misprint* for 'string.' In ll. 1562–4 Tucca, the speaker in the present passage, calls Asinius, of whom 'Sering' is here used, a 'Lute-stringe' and threatens to use his legs as tags. The word 'string,' would, therefore, suit the context perfectly. Dr Bradley, whom I have consulted on this passage, suggests that 'Sering' may be the variant of 'Syringe' which appears in Rowland's *Greene's Ghost*, p. 8, and Vicary's *Anatomy*, p. 189 (E. E. T. S.). But the passage referred to above, ll. 1562–4, confirms me in the opinion that 'string' and not 'syringe' was the word in Dekker's mind.

After l. 1782 there should be, I think, either in the text or in the notes an indication of the exit of Sir Vaughan with Tucca. Neither Dr Scherer nor Hawkins mark this.

There can be no doubt but that Dr Scherer is right in rejecting Hawkins' proposal to assign l. 1892 to Tucca. It is, of course, an aside by Horace. On the other hand he takes no notice of Hawkins' emendation 'delude me not' for 'delude we not' in l. 2390 which seems to me an almost certain one. It is at least worth recording.

From his punctuation and comment I should be inclined to think that Dr Scherer has not quite understood l. 2348. I take it that the king first speaks of the corpse as 'Death's motion,' then addresses the corpse with the question, 'motionless?' and finally turns to Terrill and Sir Adam with the words, 'speak you.' Dr Scherer puts a comma after 'motion' (the quartos have either a colon or a semi-colon) which seems to me, when taken along with his note on p. 124, to indicate that he understands the sense of the passage to be: 'This is Death's motion [which is] motionless.' Such a rendering does not seem to me to be warranted by the old punctuation, which Dr Scherer has altered, and it is certainly less effective than that which I take the old punctuation to convey.



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Dr Scherer gives the whole speech ll. 2543–8 to Sir Vaughan, departing in this both from the quartos and from Hawkins, on the ground that the phrase 'by Jesu,' l. 2547, shows it to be by the Welshman. It seems plain to me, however, that the first lines of this speech belong to Tucca. In l. 2532 Crispinus has pronounced the sentence that Horace shall be crowned with nettles. Tucca has asked some one of the company to hand him, Tucca, this crown, and he now forces it upon the poet's head with the words 'this Biggin is yours.' Had Sir Vaughan spoken these words we should almost certainly have had 'piggin.' Sir Vaughan's part of this speech should begin, I think, with the words, 'nay by Sesu,' l. 2547, and the presence of a dash (—) in the quartos before these words adds likelihood to this conjecture. Possibly the first words of Sir Vaughan's speech were illegible in the MS that lay before the printer, who therefore omitted them and ran his speech into Tucca's immediately preceding.

The Introduction is divided into four parts, the first of which deals with Dekker's share in the 'Stage-Quarrel.' It is in the main based upon the work of Small, whose views Dr Scherer adopts, with the exception of the idea that Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* was a contribution to the controversy. Dr Scherer is to be congratulated on the decision with which he has managed to avoid the complications introduced into the account of this quarrel by earlier writers on the subject, but it is unfortunate that he should have added a note, p. vii, which reveals a complete misunderstanding of an utterance of Swinburne. He refers to the late poet's article in the *Nineteenth Century*, vol. xxi, to show 'was alles in den Satiromastix hineingeheimnisst wurde: Rufus sollte Shakespeare sein, Vaughan—Lyly, Tucca—Sir Phil. Sidney, Bubo—Bacon, Flash—Sir W. Raleigh, Cælestine—Queen Elizabeth.' No one who is at all familiar with Swinburne's writings on Elizabethan drama can for an instant suspect him of holding the views here attributed to him; but there are doubtless students of the drama on the Continent and elsewhere who are less familiar than they should be with the poet-critic's brilliant essays, and it would seem an act of piety to clear his memory of this aspersion. As a matter of fact Swinburne, after stating that a modern critic (Cartwright, in *Shakespeare and Jonson*, 1864) identifies William Rufus with Shakespeare and Sir Vaughan with Lyly, goes on to suggest 'a little further development on the principle of analogy.' 'It is equally obvious,' he says, 'that the low-bred and foul-mouthed ruffian, Captain Tucca, must be meant for Sir Philip Sidney; the vulgar idiot, Asinius Bubo, for Lord Bacon; the half-witted underling, Peter Flash, for Sir Walter Raleigh, and the immaculate Cælestine...for Queen Elizabeth.' The epithets alone might have warned Dr Scherer that Swinburne was speaking ironically. But Dr Scherer does not seem very quick to recognise the use of irony in serious discussion of scholarly problems. I cannot help thinking that on p. xiii he has been misled in the same fashion by an ironical remark on the part of Small to the effect that he supposes 'some one will soon try to identify Asinius Bubo (who

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corresponds to Simplicius Faber in Marston's *What You Will*) with Wentworth Smith.' Dr Scherer remarks gravely 'vielleicht wird seine Identität (i.e. Bubo-Faber's) mit dem ziemlich unbekannten Theaterdichter Wentworth Smith noch einmal festgestellt.' It is not in the least likely. Smith was a playwright in Henslowe's employ, 1601–3, who collaborated with Day, Chettle, Munday, Dekker and others, never so far as we know with Jonson. We should expect to find him then in the group of the poetasters rather than in the train of the humorous poet. The satellite of Jonson caricatured by Marston and Dekker must have been, *pace* Swinburne, a gentleman gull; he could not have been a hack playwright.

In one other instance Dr Scherer, it seems to me unconsciously, misrepresents a statement of an earlier writer on the subject. He states that W. H. Browne believes that the phrase 'his belly is like Barathrum' entitles us to find the prototype of Tucca in the Maenius of Horace. This is not quite accurate. Browne holds that Jonson's Tucca is a composite character, the bullying wheedling 'scurra' of Horace with a vocabulary of abuse modelled, perhaps, on that of Capt. Hannam. He refers only supplementarily to the phrase above quoted from the *Poetaster*, which seems to him a reminiscence of Horace, *Ep.* I, xv, 31. In the main I am rather inclined to agree with Dr Scherer than with Mr Browne, for the similarity between Tucca and Maenius seems to me to be of the slightest. As to the phrase in question it is curious that neither Mr Browne nor Dr Scherer note that it is not used in relation to Tucca, but used by him of a certain 'eating player.' I think it quite possible that Jonson, true disciple of Horace as he was, may have lifted the phrase from his master. The examples which Dr Scherer quotes to show the common use of the word 'barathrum' at this time are all later than the *Poetaster*, and with the exception of a passage in the *Furnivall Ballads*, where the word means the pit of hell, Jonson seems to have been the first to employ it in English, and it was Jonson's use of the word which made it current in Elizabethan drama.

In the second division of the Introduction I would note that the playwright's name is spelt 'Decker,' not 'Dekker,' in the S. R. entry. Another misprint on this page should also be corrected: in note 2, for 195 read 76. In regard to the date of composition of *Satiromastix*, Dr Scherer, relying mainly upon two comments of Prof. Bang, is inclined to set the *terminus ad quem* as late as December 1601. This is later than the recorded entry of the play in S. R., and while I do not deny the possibility of the entry of a work before its actual completion, I should prefer stronger evidence than is here offered before I would accept this as likely in the case of *Satiromastix*. Prof. Bang's arguments are 'the repeated allusions' to Christmas, which lead him to believe that this play was written for performance in the holidays, and an allusion to the Lady Furnivall mentioned in *Sir Gyles Goosecappe*, which Dr Scherer converts into an allusion to this play, of which the *terminus a quo* is Sept. 14, 1601. This is, I think, a non-sequitur on



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Dr Scherer's part. Lady Furnivall, of whom I have spoken in my paper on the authorship of *Sir Gyles Goosecappe* (in *Modern Philology*, vol. IV), was apparently a familiar, not to say notorious, character in the London of Chapman and Dekker, and Dekker's mention of her in *Satiromastix* by no means implies the previous existence of *Goosecappe* on the boards. As to the 'repeated allusions' they turn out on inspection to be two, *Satiromastix*, ll. 1587 and 2510. In the second of these Tucca says to Horace: 'you and your itchy poetry break out like Christmas but once a year.' Bearing in mind the old saying 'Christmas comes but once a year,' and Jonson's alleged practice of producing one play a year, can anyone really regard this passage as bearing upon the date of composition of *Satiromastix*? The earlier passage with the phrase 'now at Christmas' seems at first sight to indicate a performance of this play in the holidays, but the whole phrase looks to me very like a gag inserted by the actor who played Vaughan during a holiday performance. *Satiromastix* no doubt held the boards as late as the Christmas holidays of 1601, but that is not to say that it was written for a performance at that season. As for the phrase in the *Epilogus*, 'this colde weather,' which Dr Scherer adduces to support a wintry date for the composition, cold weather is not so uncommon in an English autumn that we must conclude from such a phrase that the speaker is referring to a performance in the Christmas holidays. But after all, the approximate date of *Satiromastix* is closely enough determined by its entry in the Stationers' Register.

The third section deals with the sources of the play, and presents in a brief and satisfactory fashion all that is known of the materials from which Dekker composed this amusing medley of romance, farce, and personal satire. I have already said all that is necessary of the editor's account of the quartos and of earlier editions in my remarks on the text.

Dr Scherer's notes (pp. 81—131) are copious and interesting. They are especially useful by reason of their frequent cross-references to parallel passages in Elizabethan literature, particularly the drama. This is, I believe, one of the surest ways of obtaining definite results in still unsettled questions of authorship. The more we realize that a certain number of words, phrases, proverbs, etc., were the common stock of the writers of the time, the more surely we shall be able to discriminate the peculiar characteristics of each author, the element which makes a play, or perhaps a scene or two in a play, his own, and not another's.

*Satiromastix* is, of course, crowded with allusions to the contemporary drama, many of which are noted by Dr Scherer. Occasionally, however, his desire to discover such allusions seems to me to have led him too far. When Tucca addresses Mistress Miniver as Susanna, l. 1145, for example, it is not likely that the name of the chaste Jewess was particularly suggested by the old play, *The Comedy of Susanna*, 1578. References to Dives, l. 1115, and Lazarus, l. 1951, do not imply a knowledge on Tucca's or Dekker's part of the old 'moral dialogue,' or the old play, mentioned by Scherer in his notes on these lines. The latter

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note seems to me somewhat confusing: one would hardly guess from it that the play in question, *Dives and Lazarus*, was one belonging to the company of strolling players who appear in the anonymous play *Sir Thomas More*[1]. Once or twice Dr Scherer anticipates, and sees allusions where for chronological reasons none are possible. Thus Dekker could not have had in mind the first two lines of Jonson's Prologue to *Everyman in his Humour* when writing l. 2425, since the Prologue first appeared in the folio edition of Jonson in 1616. Nor is it likely that Tucca when using the word 'whirligig,' l. 2489, was thinking of Sharpham's *Cupid's Whirligig*, 1606–7. Sharpham's career as a dramatist appears to begin about 1605, i.e. four years after the composition of *Satiromastix*. The phrase, 'Ist a match or no match' can hardly be an allusion to Rowley's lost play *A Match or No Match*, since this was licensed by Herbert in 1624. I note these instances merely to show that Dr Scherer has sometimes given us 'zu viel des guten.' Once or twice on the other hand he has omitted a reference to contemporary plays that might have been given, for example in l. 1659 to *Huon of Bordeaux*, a play mentioned by Henslowe in 1593, or in l. 2625 to the appearance of a character named Holofernes in *Love's Labour's Lost* and Marston's *What You Will*.

There are, naturally, other omissions in the notes. One editor will pass over in silence what another would wish to explain. Personally I should have liked to see a note on the meaning of such unfamiliar words as 'Lungis,' l. 685, 'flawne,' l. 1773, and 'graines,' l. 2482, especially on the last of these, for which no appropriate meaning appears in the *New English Dictionary*. Dr Scherer does not note the employment by Bubo of technical terms drawn from the language of the Universities in ll. 951 f., 'proceede Poetaster next Commencement if I have my grace'; nor the connection between 'clip' and 'treason' in l. 1913, which might have been illustrated by a passage from Shakespeare, *Henry V*, IV, i, 246 ff., ''Tis no English treason to cut French crowns, and tomorrow the King himself will be a clipper.'

Somewhat more serious than these omissions are the positive errors into which Dr Scherer has now and then fallen. The identification of Rosamond Clifford, Fair Rosamond, Henry II's mistress, l. 988, with the little lady of ten to thirteen years who appears in Miss Edgeworth's *Early Lessons* and its sequel, *Rosamond*, is enough to make that charming moralist turn in her grave. 'Mum,' l. 1576, cannot possibly equal 'Pst!'; it is a verb, not an interjection, and apparently is an abbreviation, unknown to the *New English Dictionary*, of 'mum-chance,' a game of dice. The phrase, 'my little Cutlers shoppe,' l. 1654, is not addressed to Asinius, but to Tucca's boy, 'laden with swords and bucklers,' l. 1611 f., who is here invited to display his wares to Asinius, that the latter may chose from them weapons for the combat to which Tucca has challenged him. 'Mermaid,' l. 1671, does not allude to the famous tavern, but like 'Squirrel,' l. 1670 (for which see

[1] See Brooke, *Shakespeare Apocrypha*, p. 403.

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Small, *The Stage Quarrel*, p. 135) is a cant term for a prostitute. 'Shoulder-clappers,' l. 1675, are not false friends, but sergeants who arrest debtors, as Dr Scherer might have gathered from the reference which he himself cites from Dekker's *Hornbook*. I cannot believe that there is any reference to the Cambridge printer, Thomas Thomasius, in l. 1732. Tucca, who is addressing a Welshman, gives him a characteristically Welsh name, one of the numerous Welsh duplications, Thomas Thomas, John Jones, Griffith Griffiths, etc. Stokes, the author of *An Attempt to discover the chronological order of Shakespeare's plays*, 1878, could not have alluded to *The Wisdom of Dr Doddipol* as far back as 1596, as Dr Scherer certainly implies, in his note on l. 2632. The mistake has arisen apparently from a hasty reading of Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature*, vol. II, p. 89, but mistakes like this have a dangerous trick of perpetuating themselves, and should be corrected. As misprints we may note 'durts' for 'durst,' p. 86, l. 5, 'man' for 'am' in the note on l. 2046, and 'No Whit' for 'No Wit,' p. 129, l. 1. The reference to *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* in the note on l. 1064 should read II, i, 1, 2, and the citation from *Engl. Stud.* (p. 97, last line) should give p. 224, not p. 207.

It is pleasant to turn from such fault-finding as this to commend excellent notes like those on ll. 1287 and 2446, where Dr Scherer really throws new light upon the meaning of the text, and to close with the assurance that in spite of its minor faults Dr Scherer's edition is one which should be on the shelves of all students of the Elizabethan drama.

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*The Cambridge History of English Literature.* Edited by A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller. Vol. v. The Drama to 1642, Part I. Cambridge: University Press. 1910. 8vo. xiii + 508 pp.

The appearance of two new volumes, the fifth and sixth, of *The Cambridge History of English Literature* is an event of the first importance in the world of criticism, not only because the work appears under auspices so august, but because ostensibly it brings to bear upon this most important subject the orderly cooperation of those who may be presumed to be best fitted to set forth the most recent progress of criticism and research in this wide field. It is a difficult thing thus to combine in an organised whole the independent investigations of so many scholars, and this excellent work is not exempt from the limitations that inhere in all cooperative books. But no one can deny that with such tried and experienced leaders as Dr Ward and Mr Waller this work has been well ordered and competently conducted, and its design and proportions for the most part admirably preserved. Moreover, without invidious distinctions, these later volumes seem notable among those that have hitherto appeared.

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The fifth volume, to which for the present we may confine our attention, includes the earlier half of that bewildering growth of our literature known as the Elizabethan Drama and in fourteen chapters by nearly as many contributors discusses English drama from its origin to Shakespeare and the lesser playwrights more immediately surrounding him. After competent discussions by Dr Ward himself of the liturgical and other origins of English drama and by Mr Harold Child of the earlier secular influences upon it, Professor Creizenach contributes an informing chapter on the miracle-plays and moralities. It is of interest, in view of the very recent discussion of this subject by Professors Manly and Wood who come to an opposite conclusion, that Professor Creizenach holds to the English rather than the Dutch origin of *Elckerlijc—Everyman.* Nothing could be better than Professor Creizenach's remarks on the original purposes of the miracle-play as affecting its character and conduct. Professor Cunliffe's chapter on early English tragedy, which immediately follows, contributes more new material to the general subject than almost any other of the book, and is especially commendable (a praise not equally to be bestowed everywhere in this volume) for its full and explicit references to authorities. There can hardly arise a question in a work of this completeness and authority as to the desirability of furnishing the student with the fullest possible guides to the statements and conclusions arrived at in the text. Professor Saintsbury in his chapters on Shakespeare scarcely supplies a reference, and perhaps, as he makes no claim to a statement of the present consensus of scholarship on his great theme, but gives us, admirably as we shall see, only his own unaided and uncontaminated ponderings, the omission in his case is justified. Ninety-seven readers in a hundred may not need notes of reference; to the other three they are indispensable, if the work is to serve its purpose fully. It is fair, however, to add, while on this topic, that the excellent Bibliographies, remarkable for their completeness, and the careful Indices, with which each volume of *The Cambridge History of English Literature* is furnished, justify, for the most part, the reserve which the editors have practised as to the inclusion of foot-references.

The discussion of early comedy by Professor Boas strikes the present reviewer as peculiarly happy, combining as it does a thoroughly competent employment of the most recent scholarship on the subject with a clear apprehension alike of the importance and the unimportance of the exotic beginnings of English comedy. We note but one very minor omission. The name of William Hunnis does not appear in the Index, nor apparently in this chapter. Hunnis is, however, a hypothetically reconstructed dramatist merely, and it is not unlikely that his alleged importance may depend somewhat on the zeal of discovery and reiteration. Of course Mrs Stopes' new book on Hunnis came out too late to be utilised by Professor Boas. Professor Baker, whose work on Lyly, like his other excellent work in the broader fields of our drama at large, has long been favourably known, was precisely

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the man into whose hands to entrust Lyly and the poets immediately surrounding him. We somewhat regret that Professor Baker has chosen to perpetuate for this group the rather unfortunate designation, 'the University Wits,' years ago sanctioned by Professor Saintsbury. However, since Shakespeare's most important predecessors were so dubbed *en masse*, Kyd has fallen out, because it is now found that he went to no University, and Marlowe, also, though why? Marlowe assuredly was both a wit—in the antiquated sense in which this word is here used—and a University man as well. Nashe's touch with the drama was really very slight: collaboration in one tragedy with Marlowe, a lost Latin comedy, and an English play which turns out to be little more than a masque—this is all. However Nashe was most truly the wit among them all and his personal association assuredly places him here. We are glad to find Professor Baker recognising—as he certainly would—the 'exquisite feeling for the value of words' which peculiarly belongs to Peele. Strange to say, no one could find out from the mere reading of the text of this chapter just what was the order of Lyly's plays or to what extent they were similarly or variously euphuistic or allegorical. But perhaps we must come to agree with the recent discovery of Mr Lang 'that in all such books' (he is speaking of histories of literature) 'there is repetition of matter known to the humblest examinees.' And possibly the omission of some of the things that Mr Lang is so weary of knowing may be a step in the right direction.

Professor G. Gregory Smith in his paragraphs on Marlowe presents an evident attempt to treat a subject, long staled with repetition and misconception, in a manner somewhat new. To this end he dismisses with the barest mention the famous legend of Marlowe's death with his repute as an atheist and other slanders. We should have liked, in so important a work, a statement of the flimsy evidences on which these tales were based, together with a recognition that, whether Marlowe met Francis Kett at Cambridge or not, the heterodox opinions which the poet held and those for which Kett was burnt at the stake were in reality much of the same stripe, and theologically unorthodox rather than strikingly blasphemous or atheistical. Marlowe the man (of whom Professor Smith seems to think that we know quite as much as we know of Shakespeare) still needs a candid and unbiassed appreciation. In his account of the works of Marlowe, and the range of his activity, Professor Smith shows a tendency to set up standards for Marlowe's art and then to exclude whatever falls below them. In closer accord than elsewhere with usually accepted criticism, he denies to Marlowe's authorship the rude and boisterous comedy scenes of *Faustus*, a denial, when all is said, wholly gratuitous, and based upon a preconception of the limitations of Marlowe's art. Indeed the very crudeness of these scenes should be an argument that they are the comedy of a genius essentially tragic. Though to the confusion of the critics, these scenes as actually staged of late years not only in England but at Princeton, U.S.A., and Göttingen, Germany, serve their purpose

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exceedingly well, and their very futility and vanity add by contrast to the total effect of this poignant and affecting drama. Marlowe, with all his genius, is really a very unequal poet; and while his career was much too short and ungoverned to exhibit those processes of orderly growth that critics like to dilate on, surely more than difference in theme is necessary to account for the unquestioned restraint and dramatic conception of *Edward II* as compared not only with *Tamburlane* but with *Faustus* and *The Jew of Malta* as well. We cannot agree that there was 'no younger or more mature Marlowe.'

Some of the *obiter dicta* of this chapter, too, call for comment. It is impossible, for example, to accept the statement that 'Marlowe's merit as the beginner of the history play so-called, lies in his humanising of the puppets of the *Kinge Johan* type.' That humanising process had been in progress nearly a decade by the time Marlowe reached his *Edward II*. Again, *The Troublesome Raigne of John King of England*, far from supplying 'a link between the older *King John* by Bale and the later by Shakespeare,' has really nothing in common with the old morality save the topic, but is responsible for the whole conduct of Shakespeare's play, and for a suggestion of most of the personages. And how can it be affirmed, in comparison with this vigorous old play, that Peele's crude piece of journalistic writing, *Edward I*, marks any possible 'breaking with the dull habit of the chronicle play.' Indeed Professor Smith goes still further in these matters, which are unnecessary to the decision of his case, and doubts the very existence of the chronicle history as a separate genre. With equal cogency may we doubt the existence of the tragedy of revenge, the comedy of manners or the farce of situation. There was clearly an unusual interest taken by the England of Marlowe in stories of the nation's past. This interest came with the awakening of the national consciousness, due, amongst other things, to the sense of solidarity and isolation which the separation from Rome and the repulse of Spanish aggression gave to the English people. The chronicle play was only one of several varieties of literature in which this national spirit disclosed itself. To deny the existence of the genre, in view of the group of some one hundred or more dramas, extant and lost, in which this spirit is discernible is to deny ascertained historical fact, and this notwithstanding the circumstance that these dramas mingle other motifs with the national and patriotic one and shade imperceptibly into tragedy of biographical intent (*Richard III*, *Cromwell*), plays of the domestic type (the Shore story in Heywood's *Edward IV*), or even comedies of disguise (*Look About You*). Professor Gregory Smith's paragraphs on Kyd are more orthodox, even though he prefers to place *Soliman and Perseda* before *The Spanish Tragedy* in point of date. Helpful is his statement of the position of Kyd as 'almost exclusively historical,' his frank denial of that poet's claim as a writer of great literature, and his affirmation that Kyd is 'the first English dramatist who writes dramatically.'

The problem that confronts the contributor of any number of

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paragraphs on Shakespeare to a work such as this is difficult beyond measure. It is not alone the embarrassment that attends on the mass of comment which learning and ignorance, originality and ineptitude, have added to the highest monument of dross and precious lore ever reared to the memory of any man, it is the greater embarrassment of the stupendous theme itself. · Professor Saintsbury has chosen characteristically, and with a right of choice which belongs not to younger and less seasoned critics. A history of literature is not a history of opinion, and it was perhaps better to cut absolutely loose from the notions and investigations of other men than to attempt in any wise to act as an arbiter among them. Yet it is a commentary on the conservatism of scholarship, that a book bearing the imprint of the year that has seen the authentic signatures of the world's greatest poet doubled in number, a definite place of abode assigned to him in London, and the nature of his business relations to the stage made clear, should contain not one word with respect to these interesting discoveries, by no means all of them just made. Why, too, every man who writes about Shakespeare must either begin with the affirmation that we know very little about him or, on the other hand, that we really know very much, is a question in the psychology of criticism that must be left to those interested in such topics. Indeed either affirmation would suffice for almost any historical figure; and Shakespeare's contemporaries in literature, deprived as the poet has been often deprived, of the natural processes of reconstruction and a legitimate weighing of historical probabilities, would fare, most of them, quite as ill biographically as Shakespeare himself. Professor Saintsbury is evidently impatient of the whole subject, and who can blame him? Assuredly his healthy negations are worth a score of 'new-minted' probabilities, and it is refreshing to be told that we do not really 'know' that Shakespeare ever married Anne Hathaway, that Greene ever alluded to Shakespeare as a Shake-scene, or that he was personally acquainted with a single one of those whom Professor Saintsbury persists in calling 'the University Wits.' But what, then, do we 'really know'? And how utterly deplorable it is that, foreseeing all this scepticism and historic doubt of an unbelieving and blaspheming age, Shakespeare could not have forestalled posterity by the association with him in all his movements of two notaries-public to attest under signature and seal every act of his life.

In the vigorous paragraphs that follow, Professor Saintsbury gives us his personal opinions about many things Shakespearean; and the opinions of so tried a scholar are always worthy of serious attention. A recognition of 'the exuberant invention and vivacity' of *The Merry Wives*, a refusal to discredit *Pericles* because of its inequality, an extension of the idea that the inequality of such plays as *Measure for Measure* may be referable to Shakespeare's revising of earlier work of his own—these are some of the many points in which Professor Saintsbury has succeeded in seeing old things at a new angle. Excellent is the discussion of the character of Claudius in *Hamlet*, the justification of the soliloquy, and the appeal from the petty reconstruction of

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biographical card houses out of the difficulties of the sonnets, to their sovereign qualities as poetry. Professor Saintsbury always writes precisely as he chooses, and doubtless his long sojourn in 'the Athens of the North' has privileged him in the perpetrations of those offences against Atticism of style that so abound in his pages. *Titus* is described as 'the one play in which (see below) the stiff "single moulded" blank verse line hardly ever—but not never—ruffles itself and grows social.' A well-known underplot is 'the Lorenzo and Jessica "trace-horse" or "outrigger" interest.' 'Shakespeare's Richard *sibi constat* throughout, in weakness as in strength.' Professor Saintsbury loves the 'little Latin' and even the 'less Greek.' Speaking still of *Richard II* he says: 'Of the extreme beauty of the poetry (almost always, however, of the "purple patch" or "fringe" kind and, it would seem, purposely so) in the king's part, it is almost unnecessary to speak.' In *The Merry Wives*, 'Everybody is alive and everything is vividly illuminated—not with the extra-natural, if not non-natural, Congreve rockets, but with a lambent easy light of air.' It is but fair to say that, once through the dangerous breakers that beset the launching of his craft, Professor Saintsbury sails onward in a less turbulent sea. Assuredly to the many congratulations that attend on British birth he may add the circumstance that his idiosyncrasies cannot be pronounced by his critics to be the deplorable consequences of American solecism and barbarism.

It would be difficult to find a more scholarly and thoroughly adequate treatment of the 'Plays of Uncertain Authorship attributed to Shakespeare' than that contained in Dr Moorman's chapter on this theme. Each problem is briefly and fairly stated and each play judicially appraised, with results, which though altogether orthodox, are reached not without independent and informing criticism. We are glad to find Shakespeare not deprived of the delightful and poetic episode of the Countess of Salisbury in *Edward III* nor of his part in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Dr Moorman's hint that Dekker's may be the poetical hand in *The Birth of Merlin* seems happy. Has he considered the possibility that the striking similarities between *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Locrine* may be explained by regarding the latter tragedy as a 'take-off' of the more famous play with its tragic bombast and fury? So Peele ridiculed a certain kind of romance in *The Old Wives Tale*; and Peele was a notorious jester. It is to be regretted that Mr Walder's careful paragraphs on Shakespeare's text should not have taken into account Mr Pollard's convincing analysis of the 'Shakespeare Folios and Quartos' and his theory and that of Greg, now confirmed by Neidig in *Modern Philology*, 'concerning the printing in 1619 of certain of the quartos which bear earlier dates.'

Finally it may be said that Professor Robertson's chapter on 'Shakespeare on the Continent,' with its happy presentation and suggestive generalisations, is perhaps as good as anything in the volume.

This review has already exceeded its due limits. The concluding chapters on the lesser Elizabethan dramatists and the political and

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social aspects of the age may be considered with equal advantage in connection with the succeeding volume.

F. E. SCHELLING.

PHILADELPHIA.

*The Kingis Quair and The Quare of Jelusy.* Edited by ALEXANDER LAWSON. London: A. and C. Black. 1910. 8vo. xcv + 169 pp.

This is an extremely elaborate edition of two poems that have little in common but the word 'Quair' in their titles. The long Preface, extending nearly to 100 pages, is chiefly occupied with the discussion of the question as to whether James I of Scotland was the author of the former poem. It does not seem to be suggested that he was the author of the latter.

New editions of these poems are of course welcome, but it seems a pity that they should have been edited together, as this has at least the appearance of assuming a connexion between them which not only does not exist, but could never have existed. The whole trouble is due to Mr J. T. T. Brown's original attack in 1896 upon the title of King James to the authorship of *The Kingis Quair*, when his object was to bring forward every conceivable argument, relevant or irrelevant, that his ingenuity could suggest. Having discovered that the sole MS. which contained a copy of *The Kingis Quair* also contained a copy of *The Quare of Jelusy*, he suggested that a common authorship of the two poems was possible. The object of the suggestion was palpable, viz. to discredit the former poem by bringing it into connexion with the latter, which could easily be shown to be of a rather late date; whence it would follow that the former is the same. It is sad to find that the present editor has given in his adhesion to this theory, which has really nothing to justify it.

It is not necessary to be a philologist to judge of this question to some extent, though the philological argument, as will presently be shown, is most decisive. It is sufficient to read the poems, that is, if one has no preconceived bias, to see the gulf that separates them. For *The Kingis Quair*, be the author who he may, is at least a pleasing and quite readable poem, as every modern treatise on literature testifies. But *The Quare of Jelusy*, with the exception perhaps of the first hundred lines, which hold out a sort of promise that the poem may be tolerable, is one of the dreariest performances imaginable, one of those miserable things that critics regret that it is their painful duty to read. This, by way of specimen, is what the reader is expected to find agreeable.

> Quho schall me help, allace! for to endite,
> For to be-waill, to compleyne, and to write
> This vice, that now so large is and commoun?
> What sall I say? quhom sall I awite?
> For hie nor law is non estate to quite,
> Now all hath fele of thilkë poysoun.

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Allace! this false and wickit condicioun,
The lustyhede and euery glade delyte
Hath of this world full nere ybrought a-doun.

There is plenty more of this tedious stuff, and some of it is worse. In what way it can possibly remind one of *The Kingis Quair*, it would be hard to say.

It is a pity that neither Mr Brown nor the present editor appears to know fully how to handle philological arguments. Professor Lawson says, for example, at p. liii—'Internal evidence is difficult to estimate, for interpretations of literary features are apt to be subjective.' He obviously does not perceive that internal evidence, rightly handled, is a most valuable thing, because it exhibits matters of fact that are so far from being subjective that they appeal to any one who can appreciate facts at all. I proceed to show what I mean by this.

*The Kingis Quair* abounds with imitations of Chaucer's grammar from end to end. A large number of the lines will only scan if Chaucer's usual rules be observed. The author is not always sound in his use of the final *-e*, but he has a fair notion of it, and is frequently correct. And when a final *-e* is inconvenient, he often contrives (with Chaucer) to provide for its elision, which makes the number of examples less striking.

But how is it with *The Quare of Jelusy*? Mr Brown was so obliging as to collect some of the more obvious examples, at p. 82 of his book, to the number of nine; and adds—'I have purposely selected instances of the use of identical words singled out for comment by Prof. Skeat in his introduction to the *K. Q.*, p. xxvii.' Assuming that this is correct, we see that the author of *The Quare of Jelusy* copies correctly in nine instances. But the fact which is suppressed is that, even if we stretch a point or two, there are only eighteen instances of the final *-e* in the whole poem of 607 lines; whereas in the first 607 lines of *The Kingis Quair* there are at least forty!

Another thing that is suppressed is that the author of *The Quare of Jelusy* frequently forgets all about the matter, and perpetrates such phrases as 'the bricht' instead of 'the brichte' in l. 38, before a consonant; so also 'the derk,' 72; 'this foul' (written 'foule,' but monosyllabic), 182; 'the sad,' 202; 'this fals,' 269; 'this ilk,' 385. The failures of this character in *The Kingis Quair* are much further apart. From such indications as these it is obvious that the dates of these poems must be wide apart instead of near. *The Kingis Quair* belongs to the time when Chaucer's rules were far better understood, certainly to the early part of the fifteenth century; whilst the other must be placed near the end, not only for the preceding reasons, but for the far stronger ones of its atrocious grammar. Thus, at the end of l. 529, we find 'vnknewe,' meaning 'unknown.' The form 'knewe,' for the past participle, will not be found among the four and twenty spellings given in the *N. E. D.*; but it is not a scribal error, for it rimes with 'rewe,' to rue. And observe lines 575—6:

This fantasy to leve, quhich thou hath tone;
And furth among gud falouschip thou gone.

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What are we to say to 'tone' and 'gone,' which are not scribal errors, for they rime with 'dispone'? 'Tone' is known to be a licentious and objectionable variant of 'tane,' taken; for which, curiously enough, *The Kingis Quair* has only 'take' and 'tak,' and not even 'tan' or 'tane.' 'Gone' is not in the Glossarial Index. The context suggests that it is the imperative, and that 'thou gone' means 'do thou go.' A wondrous form for an imperative!

And surely *The Kingis Quair* has nothing like 'thou hath,' 575, or 'thou helpith,' 312, 'thou feynyth,' 469, 'thou gevith,' 470, 'thou virkith,' 489, 'thou passith,' 553, 'thou suffrith,' 559. Its only error of this kind is 'thou wate,' thou knowest, st. 129; owing to a common confusion between *wot* and *wost*, which is not quite the same thing.

Yet one more decisive difference between the poems is that *The Kingis Quair* never uses 'in-to' for 'in,' as in *The Bruce* and in *The Quare of Jelusy*, *passim*; when 'into' occurs in st. 45, it means 'into.' In st. 117, Prof. Lawson's text has 'into' in l. 6; but the MS. has 'in,' and the metre can be amended otherwise. This simple test is quite independent of the scribe, because the one word has one syllable, and the other has two, and we can count the syllables in the line.

We have every right to protest against the association of two poems so dissimilar in liveliness, in metre, and in grammar. And all for the sake of making a point against the unfortunate King James.

Apart from this protest, upon which, unfortunately, it was necessary to enlarge, we can fully appreciate the pains and trouble which the editor has bestowed upon the work. Particular attention should be given to the Preface, which certainly contains much that is useful. The edition is one which all serious students will welcome, and we have much pleasure in recommending it to their consideration.

WALTER W. SKEAT.

CAMBRIDGE.

*The Complete Works of George Gascoigne.* Edited by JOHN W. CUNLIFFE. Vol. II. (Cambridge English Classics.) Cambridge: University Press. 1910. 8vo. viii + 600 pp.

Professor Cunliffe in this volume completes his valuable edition of Gascoigne's Works, the first part of which was briefly noticed in the *Modern Language Review*, Vol. IV, p. 130. The present part contains *The Glasse of Government*, *The Princely Pleasures at Kenelworth Castle*, *The Steele Glas* and other poems and prose works, including some pamphlets which have been almost inaccessible—for example *A delicate Diet, for daintiemouthde Droonkardes*, of which a unique copy exists at Britwell Court. It also contains *The Spoyle of Antwerpe*, Gascoigne's authorship of which was not established till Professor Cunliffe satisfied himself by a comparison of Gascoigne's undoubted signature with that of the agent of the English Merchants, that

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Gascoigne and the agent were the same man (see *Modern Language Review*, Vol. VI, p. 88). Where more than one edition of a work exists, Professor Cunliffe has taken the first as the basis of his text, occasionally introducing corrections from a later edition. He has executed his difficult and laborious task with great care and with sound judgment. One typographical detail for which he is not responsible suggests criticism. According to the rule by which editors of the *Cambridge English Classics* are governed, deviations in the editor's text from that which he professes to follow are indicated by square brackets. It may be doubted whether the rule is a good one. Words like 'Hyme[n]s' are not pretty to the eye; and the square brackets, though they show that the 'n' is due to the editor, do not show what the text was before the editor altered it. If it be said that the brackets at least direct the reader to the Textual Notes, we may reply that where the editor has altered his text by *omission*, the reader is given no hint of the change. If in such cases the Textual Notes are a sufficient resource, would they not be so equally in cases where the editor has changed his text by addition or substitution? The rule about brackets further introduces a new source of error, for the brackets may be accidentally forgotten, as seems to have been the case with the word 'Universitie' (51. 2) which, according to the rule, should have been printed 'Universiti[e]'! Whether there was any reason for the addition of the 'e' here, one may also doubt. Such spellings as 'ari,' 'glori,' 'studdi,' 'likeli,' abound in Gabriel Harvey's *Letter-book*.

Students of English literature are much indebted to Professor Cunliffe and to the Syndics of the Press for giving them a good text of the works of a writer who has perhaps been too little studied hitherto. If Professor Cunliffe would follow up his textual labours with a monograph on Gascoigne's life and art, their debt to him would be still greater.

G. C. Moore Smith.

Sheffield.

*The Oxford Book of Italian Verse.* Chosen by St John Lucas. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1910. 8vo. 576 pp.

La casa editrice oxoniense ci ha da gran tempo assuefatti ad ammirare i volumi che essa reca in luce, sì che non è meraviglia se il florilegio di liriche italiane, amorevolmente curato dal signor St John Lucas, è riuscito un modello d'eleganza, di nitore e di compattezza.

Il mettere assieme un armonico volume, che contenesse quanto di meglio ha prodotto la musa italica dal secolo decimoterzo al Carducci, non offriva lievi difficoltà, e queste erano accresciute dalla lodevole larghezza di criterio che fece accogliere qui anche quelle opere men polite e perfette che stanno a rappresentare le tendenze diverse favorite volta a volta dai dicitori in rima. Il Lucas seppe superare molte di

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tali difficoltà e vorrei mi fosse concesso spazio sufficiente a porre in evidenza i non pochi pregi del volume, mentre sono invece costretto a richiamar l'attenzione su certi difetti, che si vorrebbe sparissero da una ristampa. Compito ingrato che mi è imposto appunto dai meriti complessivi dell' opera.

È sempre malagevole il contenere in un brevissimo ambito una introduzione che voglia dare sinteticamente i risultati delle ricerche antiche e moderne intorno alle varie scuole poetiche e ai vari poeti. Un' esposizione siffatta deve esser garbata e imparziale, e presuppone una vasta e sicura informazione. Sì che non è meraviglia, se il discorso introduttivo presta il fianco a più d'un rimarco. Già, in generale, a mala pena si scorge la necessità di tale discorso. Quanti sono capaci d'intendere le poesie qui raccolte dovrebbero presumersi in possesso d'una più che discreta cultura letteraria, e questa renderebbe la prefazione superflua. Se le notiziuole biografiche relegate nelle note fossero state meno magre e scheletriche, sarebbero, a mio avviso, riuscite sufficienti a rammentare ai lettori quel tanto che di ciascun poeta poteva a loro esser necessario d'aver presente, e quel tanto che un libro di questo genere poteva dare. Ma, per amore di uniformità con gli altri volumi della collana, una introduzione ci voleva, e questa, che ci sta innanzi, non eccede le giuste proporzioni ed è briosamente dettata, ma è anche afflitta quà e là da idee poco chiare e poco precisamente espresse.

Così intorno alla prima fioritura lirica in volgare si sarebbe dovuto meglio lumeggiare come l'incoraggiamento regale del 'secondo vento di Soave' favorisse una tendenza che prendeva le sue mosse di lontano, dall' influsso delle letterature d'*oc* e d'*oïl*. Il Lucas, più oltre, nota a ragione che la poesia della scuola siciliana era essenzialmente di corte, benchè contenesse elementi d'altra natura, ma non è altrettanto giusto d'asserire che la tenzone di Cielo (il Lucas scrive Ciullo) introducesse un motivo nuovo nella lirica del tempo, quando si pensi agli esempi di Francia e di Provenza. A proposito del famoso *Contrasto*, che si poteva benessimo trascurare, se il Lucas pensava non ne fosse adatta la chiusa *virginibus puerisque*, non so a lui perdonare d' averne, sul l' esempio di certa vecchia stampa, tralasciata gran parte senza neppure far cenno dell' omissione. Le righe dedicate alla popolarità dei poemi di lingua d'*oïl*, benchè opportune, peccano d'imprecisione quando dicono di quell' ibrido connubio il dialetto Franco-Veneto. E non so davvero come si possa affermare senz' altro che Paolo e Francesca leggessero di Lancillotto in un rifacimento Franco-Veneto (p. 5). In primo luogo non tutti ammettono come storia che il pietoso romanzo affrettasse il fallo de' due cognati[1], poi Dante in ogni caso non conobbe un testo di tal genere, ma un vero testo francese[2]. Guido Guinizelli non trova

[1] Il Boccaccio nel suo commento dice il racconto sostanzialmente storico; e a lui è propenso a dar fede il Novati in *Freschi e Minii del Dugento*, Milano 1910, p. 57 segg., ma con peritanza che non giustifica la recisa affermazione del Lucas.

[2] Fu anche pubblicato nei *Dante Studies and Researches* di Paget Toynbee, London, 1902, pp. 1—37.

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grazia presso il nostro autore; secondo lui Guido 'sang or rather reasoned' (p. 6), ma, a prescindere dalle lodi dantesche, non è vero che il contenuto filosofico infuso nella lirica dal Bolognese costituisce a un tempo il pregio e la novità della poesia di *stil nuovo*, e che in certi suoi componimenti[1] il Guinizelli appare poeta dotato di cuore caldo e accesa fantasia e una certa rude possanza d'espressione? Qualche volta la parola tradisce il pensiero: il Lucas non può non sapere quanto sia periglioso e dubbio il parlare di pura poesia popolare a proposito di Jacopone. Anche qualche troppo recisa affermazione intorno alla *Vita Nuova* e al canzoniere dantesco può ingenerare errori, ma dopo tutto le tre massime figure del trecento sono delineate con sufficiente precisione, se pur appaiano alquanto isolate nel tempo, perchè purtroppo le condizioni storiche sono tratteggiate con frasi tolte a prestito dalle retorica. Che ci stanno a fare le continue frecciate contro il papato, e perchè Galeazzo e Bernabò (non Bernabo in ogni caso) Visconti son detti 'most bestial of tyrants' (p. 12)? Ben si sceglieva gli amici e i protettori il Petrarca, il quale appunto presso Galeazzo e Bernabò visse tra il 1354 e il 1361; e quanti altri de' signori del tempo, e di prima e di poi, non potrebbero contendere con vantaggio, se si prescindesse dalle condizioni storiche, il posto d'onore tra i *tiranni bestiali* ai due Visconti? Le pagine dedicate all' Umanesimo e in generale al Rinascimento sono assai migliori; anche il Pulci e il Boiardo ricevono lume bastevole; l'Ariosto e il Tasso sono alquanto meno avventurati, l'attenzione dell' autore essendo un po' troppo accentrata intorno a Firenze e alla lirica. L'Arcadia è discorsa sulle orme della Vernon Lee, ma dove ha mai trovata traccia di realtà il Lucas nelle commedie del Gozzi (p. 26)? Il resto, se si eccettui qualche esagerazione a proposito dell' Alfieri, è commendevole.

Il Lucas dichiara un certo letterario disprezzo per la critica professorale, forse per ciò egli ha trascurato di valersi di edizioni critiche; non cita le stampe dalle quali trae i suoi testi, sì che se ne assume, *ipso facto*, la responsabilità e, disgraziatamente, quale più e quale meno tutte le liriche dugentesche son derivate da edizioni non buone[2], quando per esse soccorreva almeno la notissima *Crestomazia* del Monaci. Ma non ho agio di soffermarmi su ciascun autore e vengo all' Alighieri, poichè il modo, in cui questo grande è trattato, è caratteristico per tutti, caratteristico voglio dire anche di una certa fretta con cui i gruppi di rime sono a volte raccozzati[3]. Poichè di tutte le rime non abbiamo ancora un' edizione critica il Lucas si sarebbe potuto giovare della comoda e diffusissima ristampa del Moore, avrebbe evitato

[1] Cfr. la fine della famosa canzone, e i sonetti 'Chi vedesse a Lucia' e 'Volvol te levi.

[2] Già la disposizione strofica delle *Laudi* di S. Francesco, e del *Contrasto* di Cielo ne fanno fede. Perchè poi a p. 6 leggiamo Pier' della Vigna, Ciacco d' Anguillaia, mentre nel testo si ha correttamente Pier della Vigna e Ciacco dell' Anguillaia?

[3] Ecco l'ordinamento delle rime dantesche secondo la numerazione del Moore: prima sei canzoni: XX, *Canz.*, allegorica; VI, *Conv.*; entrambe seriori alla terza: I, *V.N.*, poi II, IV, V, *V.N.*; poi undici sonetti, XXXII, XXIX, XL, *Canz.*; XI, XIV, XV, XVII, XXIII, XXIV, XVIII, XXV, *V.N.*; e infine ancora una canzone, e quale? nientemeno che quella 'O patria degna,' oggimai quasi universalmente ascritta ad Albertino della Piagentina.



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così lezioni ormai universalmente ripudiate[1]. Mi sto contento alle prove recate nelle note, sufficienti, credo a mostrare come alcuni testi richiedano un' accurata revisione; qualche menda si potrebbe segnalare anche per il resto dell' antologia, ma son più piccole a petto dell' altre e tali da non menomarne gran fatto il pregio.

Non son piccole all' incontro le mende che si riscontrano nelle note. Hanno queste, mi sembra, il difetto capitale di non esser metodiche. Vedasi qualche esempio. Mentre di nessuno degli autori più antichi si ricorda un' edizione, a un tratto, giunti a Cino se ne cita una; quale? Non quella poco ragguardevole a cura del Bindi e del Fanfani (1878), non quella del Carducci (1907), non quella del Volpi (1907), ma ancora l'edizione pistoiese del Ciampi (1826). Dopo un considerevole intervallo si trovano ricordate le edizioni carducciane del Poliziano e di Lorenzo il Magnifico, e così via si interrompono le lacune con ricordi, frammisti di buone stampe e di mediocri, finchè, giunti all' Alamanni, non soltanto troviamo menzione dell' edizione Le Monnier (1859), ma anche di uno studio critico, quello dell' Hauvette; ottimo, ma di grazia non v'era proprio nessun scritto degno di memoria intorno agli autori più antichi e a quelli più recenti? Dimenticavo: qualche cosa c'è anche qui: si citano l'opera della Vernon Lee sul secolo XVIII e la vita del Metastasio scritta dallo Stendhal. Ma questo in tal campo è assolutamente tutto.

Le note tuttavia non sono soltanto bibliografiche e le notiziuole intorno alla vita degli autori sono succinte assai, ma precise a sufficienza; lodevoli quindi. Le chiose esplicative invece che avrebbero dovuto agevolare la comprensione dei testi a coloro che non sono versati nel lessico antico o non posseggono precisa informazione degli avvenimenti di cui si tocca, sono di bel nuovo prive di metodo e insufficienti. Eccone pochi esempi, i primi tratti dal *Contrasto* di Cielo. Non si commentano: *focora*, I, 5; *este*, I, 16; *aio*, I, 7; si spiega *abere*, II 5, e allora perchè non *bolontate*, I, 6? Il Lucas chiosa *aggio*, nella canzone di Federico, e non *aio*, I, 7, nè so vedere perchè ritenga una forma dell' altra meglio intelligibile ai profani. E che dire di *veioti*, III, 5; *difesa*, IV, 3; *patreto*, V, 5 (vero è che *patremo*, IV, 3, è spiegato)? Che significa quell' *a* così senza segno di sorta, VI, 7; VII, 6? E che *anno*, VII, 2, e che *er*, VIII, 5? Non erano da chiarir queste forme piuttosto che non *gueri*, VIII, 8, che ha un vicino ed esatto corrispondente nel ben noto *guari*? E non erano da chiosare *sciantora*, IX, 1 e quello strano *aero*, XI, 2, che nulla significa ed è una cattiva lettura d'antica stampa per *cleri*? Potrei seguitare a lungo, ma vediamo per brevità il gustoso casetto che ci si fa innanzi con la canzone di Pier della Vigna. A p. 535 si legge nelle note: *aulente cera = odoroso volto*; nel testo a p. 42 il 21° verso si chiude invece con le parole *aulente lena*. D'onde questa strana discordanza? I MSS. hanno *lena*, che gli antichi editori corressero in *cera* per mantenere la rima con l'ottavo verso della stanza

[1] Per esempio la lezione 'Bice' invece che 'Lagia' al v. 9 del sonetto 'Guido vorrei,' lezione di tanto momento per il problema degli amori danteschi.

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che nei MSS. suona *spera*, mentre è qui *spena*[1]. Non discuto la lezione, il fatto per noi importante è la discrepanza tra il testo e la nota; discrepanza che potrebbe essere per molti versi significativa. *Messo t' ho innanzi, omai per te ti ciba.* Le chiose storiche e personali sono esatte in genere, ma parecchie altre sarebbero ben state opportune[2]. Qualche minuzia si può appuntare quà e là: l' *Aminta* fu rappresentato nel 1573 non nel 1572 (p. 555) ed è un brutto errore di stampa quel *Burisio*, per *Bosisio* a p. 559.

Il guaio precipuo di questo volume si è che i pregi suoi innegabili ne rendon più perspicue le mancanze, che, se su queste fu mio dovere di fermar l'attenzione, miglior ventura avranno i lettori, liberi di gustare in esso le dolci rime in degna cornice presentate.

CESARE FOLIGNO.

OXFORD.

*Stendhal et l'Angleterre.* Par DORIS GUNNELL. Préface de M. Ad. Paupe. Paris, Charles Bosse, 1909. 8°. x + 322 pp.

Cette étude sur Stendhal et l'Angleterre est la thèse de 'Doctorat d'Université' que Miss Doris Gunnell a soutenue en Sorbonne, il y a déjà quelque trois ans; nous ne saurions donc exiger de ce travail, qui est d'ailleurs—et je m'empresse de le constater—de beaucoup au dessus de la moyenne—les solides qualités d'érudition et de jugement critique que nous serions eu droit d'attendre d'une thèse de 'Doctorat-ès-Lettres.' Quoi qu'il en soit, la thèse de Miss Gunnell est d'une lecture facile et agréable et, pour la première fois, nous avons, présentés d'une façon assez méthodique, les jugements que l'incorrigible dandy, 'le père de Taine, de Zola et de Bourget,' porta sur l'Angleterre et sa littérature.

La tâche dont Miss Gunnell s'est honorablement acquittée nécessitait des recherches longues et ingrates: il s'agissoit de parcourir les œuvres de Stendhal, de dérouiller sa correspondance et d'y relever les nombreux passages où, à propos et hors de propos, Beyle fit preuve de son ignorance de l'Anglais, de l'homme aussi bien que de la langue. Les résultats de cette enquête si consciencieuse ne sont pas favorables à l'auteur du *Rouge et noir.* Malgré ses quatre séjours en Angleterre, malgré ses amies et amis d'Outremanche, dont Miss Gunnell nous a peut-être trop longuement parlé, malgré son admiration pour Shakespeare, et malgré ses lectures nombreuses et variées, Stendhal ne fut et ne

[1] I MSS. danno rispettivamente *lena* e *spera*; il Monaci, *Crestomazia italiana dei primi secoli*, p. 57, credette si trattasse di un caso di assonanza. Invece il Butler, *The Forerunners of Dante*, p. 149, propose una nuova correzione: lascia *lena* e muta *spera* in *spena*; la correzione può sembrare ardita, ma il Lucas l'accoglie senz' altro nel testo della canzone, dimenticandosi d'aver chiosata invece l'altra lettura.

[2] Per esempio, p. 88, v. 2; pp. 261, 296 ecc.



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pouvait être qu'un critique fort médiocre. Sa méthode était subjective à outrance, ses jugements variaient comme son humeur et ne sont que des aperçus: 'quel qu'on soit, roi ou berger, sur le trône ou portant la houlette, on a toujours raison de sentir comme on sent et de trouver *beau* ce qui donne du plaisir.' 'This is this to me and that to thee!' et les impressions fugitives de Beyle ont un aspect si déconcertant que l'on se demande si l'on doit prendre au sérieux un écrivain qui déclare que 'rien ne peut égaler son amour pour la littérature des Anglais, si ce n'est son éloignement pour leurs personnes.' En réalité Stendhal fut un psychologue individualiste dans toute la force du terme; il s'est moqué du touriste anglais qui visite musées et églises et qui, lui au moins, ne voit et ne trouve rien; en passant en Angleterre, en se servant de la littérature anglaise pour attaquer la tragédie classique, Stendhal a pu changer de milieu mais il n'a su chercher partout que l'expression de son moi et de ses goûts personnels: il n'a pas voulu se mettre au même niveau que 'ces juges dont l'âme manque de sensibilité et de *folie romanesque*, mais qui du reste ont étudié avec l'exactitude et la persévérance d'un caractère froid tout ce qui a été dit ou écrit sur l'art malheureux qu'ils affligent de leur culte.' Nous aurions tort d'insister.

Un tel système ne peut avoir que de fâcheux résultats: les jugements de Stendhal sur la société anglaise et la littérature manquent de sympathie et de profondeur; la religion pour lui devient le cant et Scott ne pense qu'à décrire...'J'ai oublié de peindre ce salon, Sir Walter Scott et ses imitateurs eussent commencé par là, mais moi, j'abhorre la description matérielle.' Cette masse confuse et mal équilibrée contient, de temps à autre, quelques remarques plus vraies qui nous rapprochent de Taine (pp. 90–91, 105), et Stendhal enfin a reconnu le génie de Fielding: 'Ce roman est aux autres ce que l'Iliade est aux poèmes épiques[1].'

L'intérêt de cette étude semble donc être entièrement biographique et le romancier du *Rouge et Noir* est assez grand pour que l'on puisse se passer du critique. Je laisserai de coté le chapitre qui traite de l'influence de la littérature anglaise sur Stendhal et dont les conclusions sont bien vagues et timides, et je me bornerai à signaler les points les plus nouveaux que nous devons aux recherches de Miss Gunnell. Stendhal écrivit de nombreux articles pour les revues anglaises et le fit 'for fiche' (lisez—'fish'—'argent'); l'on nous en a donné une liste complète et ces articles anonymes parurent dans le *New Monthly Magazine*, le *London Magazine*, l'*Athenæum* et la *Paris Monthly Review*; le cas de Beyle ne fut pas une exception à cette époque car l'*Athenæum* de 1828 contient de longs articles qui lui vinrent d'écrivains français. Miss Gunnell s'est également préoccupée de relever les plagiats d'auteurs anglais; le premier et le plus intéressant (pp. 249–259) nous montre Stendhal empruntant à Johnson tous les arguments dont il se servit pour démolir le théâtre classique. Dans son *Racine et*

[1] Miss Gunnell a oublié de nous dire de quel roman il s'agissait, *Tom Jones* ou *Jonathan Wild*?

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*Shakespeare* Stendhal a non seulement emprunté, mais il a traduit mot pour mot; il était d'ailleurs coutumier du fait. Est-il bien vrai, toutefois, que ce plagiat 'ait échappé à la vigilance des critiques'? Je ne sais, mais, en 1908, l'année où Miss Gunnell a présenté sa thèse (15 juin), Professor W. Raleigh publia *Johnson on Shakespeare*, et je trouve dans l'introduction les deux passages suivants (p. XXIV): 'Like all great critics, he (Johnson) can understand the excellence of opposite kinds. Indeed, in his defence of Shakespeare's neglect of the unities, he passes over to the side of the enemy and almost becomes a romantic.'...'The transformation was completed after his death. I am indebted to Mr W. P. Ker for pointing out to me that Henri Beyle in his *Racine et Shakespeare* (1822) translates all that Johnson says on the unities and appropriates it as the manifesto of the young romantics. But he told not them that he had taken the honey out of the carcass of the lion.' Je laisse donc la découverte à qui de droit, mais Miss Gunnell trouve ce plagiat 'piquant'; il aurait fallu nous l'expliquer, nous en faire comprendre, comme Professor W. Raleigh l'a fait, le sens profond et être enfin un peu plus critique que Stendhal.

Ce manque d'esprit critique est le défaut le plus saillant de l'étude de Miss Gunnell; il y en a malheureusement d'autres qui déroutent le lecteur. Nous savons certes, que Beyle ne se piquait pas de constance dans ses opinions, mais ces contradictions n'ont pas été présentées comme elles auraient dû l'être; elles surprennent et ennuient. 'Un Anglais qui voyage par la diligence de Bath se garde bien de parler et de plaisanter sur la chose du monde la plus indifférente; il peut trouver dans son voisin un homme d'une classe ennemie, un méthodiste ou un tory furieux, qui lui répondra en l'envoyant paître' (p. 78)...et un peu plus loin (p. 109). 'Pas un Anglais sur cent n'ose être lui-même... dire ce qu'il pense, et non pas ce que pense tout le monde, laisser s'épancher son caractère dans toute son individualité.'

La connaissance profonde que l'auteur a du français ne fait aucun doute; une revision un peu plus sévère aurait fait justice des quelques fautes que la sanction officielle a négligées; les phrases lourdes et gauches, les expressions familières, ambiguës ou redondantes—'la belle humeur parfaite' (p. 248)—sont assez nombreuses. En résumé, la thèse de Miss Gunnell est un heureux début que le Stendhal-Club a eu raison d'encourager, car c'est un travail utile et consciencieux.

J. J. CHAMPENOIS.
OXFORD.

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*Translations of German Poetry in American Magazines, 1741—1810.* By EDWARD ZIEGLER DAVIS. Philadelphia: Americana Germanica Press. 1905. 8vo. viii + 229 pp.

*German Literature in American Magazines prior to 1846.* By SCOTT HOLLAND GOODNIGHT. (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin: Philology and Literature Series, IV, 1.) Madison, Wis. 1907. 8vo. 264 pp.

*German Literature in American Magazines, 1846—1880.* By MARTIN HENRY HAERTEL. (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin: Philology and Literature Series, IV, 2.) Madison, Wis. 1908. 8vo. 188 pp.

The growth of interest in German literature and history in America has been studied in much detail during the last few years, and these volumes supply a wealth of information on the general critical attitude of that country during the last century. Magazine literature is apt to be a dreary tract with points of interest separated by long distances; but its repetition of ideas and often short-sighted judgments gauge well the current opinion, and reveal its fashions and prejudices. Even the faults of a translation which insists on introducing 'blushing maids' unknown to the German author into the simplicity of an evening song, or the sensibility that added several stanzas to a translation of Bürger's *Lenore*, which restore the dead lover and ruin the effect of the poem, bear witness to the taste of the period. Magazines supply in many cases the first notices of foreign books, and attention is drawn by Mr Haertel and Mr Davis to the greater importance of the magazine in America at the beginning of the century, when there were few libraries, and the difficulties of obtaining books were greater than in England.

The two theses on German literature in the magazines trace in some detail the growth of the study of German with its fluctuations, and the kind of interest taken in various authors during the periods into which the century naturally falls. In the second parts the criticism of the greater writers, Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller, etc., is traced separately and followed out more closely. This arrangement involves a certain amount of repetition, but it has the advantage of giving a clear view from two different standpoints. In the first volume Dr Goodnight notes the late introduction of German literature into America, and the difficulty of obtaining books; during the first period till 1817, when Everett and Ticknor returned from Germany and gave a new impulse to the study akin to that given by Carlyle in England, and even at the beginning of their campaign, criticism was very largely dependent on the English magazines. No detailed comparison with English criticism has been attempted, though this might yield interesting results; the history of German literature in our magazines is, however, being undertaken at the University of Wisconsin and the comparison may follow. It must be remembered that the difficulty

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with regard to books was not peculiar to America; as late as 1817 R. P. Gillies speaks in his *Memoirs* of his vain quest for them and of the impossibility of discovering a teacher. Still the progress of German translation in the two countries was not altogether similar; and though many of the American publications were reprints of English editions, the American enthusiasm for Schiller, Kotzebue, and Goethe, which began later than the English, was even quicker to develop and fuller in its results. *The Robbers* and *Fiesco* were both acted in America but not in England, with the exception of a feeble adaptation of the former by Holman under the title of *The Red Cross Knights*. Also while most of Kotzebue's plays produced here were reprinted in the States, several original translations were added to the list, and at the high tide of Kotzebue's popularity, 1799, fourteen plays were acted in America but only eight in England. Some translations even preceded English ones, as did Dunlap's version of Zschokke's once so fascinating romance of *Abällino*. This being so, we might expect some independence in American criticism.

In the summaries to both the earlier and the later periods however, national characteristics are clearly brought out, principally the strong Puritan element which found it hard to reconcile itself to the morals of Goethe, and having yielded thus much, was again thrown into antagonism by the introduction of Heine. Another characteristic visible throughout is a tendency to set realism and practical usefulness above imagination and theoretical power. The philosophers did not receive so much attention as the poets: at first even, the tendency to philosophy was regarded as a blemish; and in the era of the novel, what took the public fancy was not thoughtful development of character so much as true analysis, or vivid description of reality. The deep thinking and experience of *Wilhelm Meister* were thrown aside, while Auerbach and Reuter found easy recognition. The Romantic school as a whole was regarded as morbid and little encouraged, and even Schiller seems to have suffered neglect from a feeling that his idealism was not sufficiently in touch with the actualities of life. Comparison with English reviews would probably bring these qualities into greater relief, for in their repudiation of German morals the English critics were less earnest, and generally contented themselves with referring to Teutonic extravagance. The national character is also emphasised by Dr Haertel in the second part, where he brings out the influence of political history on the general study and on the appreciation of the novel in particular. In the history of the novel it would have been interesting to note points of contact with that of the American novel itself, and reference to the influence of German literature on Longfellow's work, especially with regard to the lyric, would have been of value.

The lists of articles in the magazines seem to be fully and carefully made, and the index of authors with the dates of articles referring to them makes it easy to trace the rise or decline of interest in each. One slip has been noticed in Dr Goodnight's text where he attributes

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the adaptation of Kotzebue's *Stranger* for the English stage to Sheridan. Of course Sheridan's work was the adaptation of *Pizarro*, 1799. *The Stranger* was translated by several hands in 1798.

Dr Davis's collection of German poems from the magazines also shows careful editing. The admission of any poems on Germany or kindred subjects is good, but we feel that these ought to stand in a group by themselves and distinction should be made between such verses as an *Ode on the late victory of the King of Prussia* and a purely literary subject like the parodies on Bürger's Ballads. It surely would have been an improvement to separate section III into two parts, one containing poems and translations referring to Germany, Denmark, etc., and one including imitations and burlesques of German literary work. At present section III presents a rather miscellaneous appearance.

These volumes should be of great service to those working in a similar field, besides providing an interesting summary of a very wide expanse of material.

MARGARET W. COOKE.

LONDON.

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# NEW PUBLICATIONS.

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### GENERAL.

Brugmann, K. and B. Delbrück, Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen. II. Vergleichende Laut-, Stammbildungs- und Flexionslehre nebst Lehre vom Gebrauch der Wortformen der indogermanischen Sprachen. Strassburg, K. J. Trübner. 16 M.

Elster, E., Prinzipien der Literaturwissenschaft. II. Band. Stilistik. Halle, Niemeyer. 8 M.

Hovelacque, A., La linguistique, histoire naturelle du langage. Paris, Scheicher. 1 fr. 95.

Lectures on Literature. Columbia University Lectures. New York, Columbia Univ. Press.

Levy, P., Geschichte des Begriffes Volkslied. (Acta Germanica, VII, 3.) Berlin, Mayer and Müller. 8 M.

Spadoni, C., L' idea religiosa in alcune opere della letteratura contemporanea (G. Pascoli, P. Bourget, A. Fogazzaro, J. K. Huysmans, A. Oriani, A. Graf, G. Negri). Reggio Emilia, P. Borghi. 3 L. 50.

Stapffer, P., Humour et humoristes. Henry Fielding, Jean Paul Frédéric Richter, Anatole France, la comtesse Mathieu de Noailles. Paris, Fischbacher. 3 fr. 50.

Studies in Language and Literature. In Celebration of the seventieth Birthday of J. M. Hart. New York, H. Holt.

Taylor, H. O., The Mediaeval Mind. A History of the Development of Thought and Emotion in the Middle Ages. 2 vols. London, Macmillan. 21*s.* net.

### ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

Meyer-Lübke, W., Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. 1. Lieferung. (Sammlung romanischer Elementar- und Handbücher, III.) Heidelberg, C. Winter. 2 M.

#### Italian.

Bandello, M., Le Novelle, a cura di G. Brognoligo. Vol. III. (Scrittori d' Italia, IX.) Bari, G. Laterza. 5 L. 50.

Batacchi, D. L., Le Novelle. Vol. II, preceduto da uno studio biografico e critico di F. Tribolati. Florence, Stab. Tip. Aldino. 15 L.

Berni, F., Orlando innamorato, di M. M. Boiardo. Testo scelto, compendiato e annotato da S. Ferrari, pubblicato a cura di G. Albini. Florence, G. C. Sansoni. 2 L. 50.

Boccaccio, G., Il Decamerone. Ediz. Alinari. IV. Giornata. Florence, R. Bemporad. 12 L.

Chiappelli, A., Opere varie. Serie I, Vol. I. (Pagine di critica letteraria.) Florence, Le Monnier. 5 L.

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Cocai, M. (Folengo, T.), Le maccheronee, a cura di A. Luzio. Vol. I. (Scrittori d' Italia, x.) Bari, G. Laterza. 5 L. 50.

Colagrosso, F., Le dottrine stilistiche del Leopardi e la sua prosa. (Biblioteca nazionale.) Florence, Le Monnier. 3 L. 50.

Dante Alighieri, The Vita Nuova. A new edition illustrated by D. G. Rossetti and containing two chapters by A. Agresti, and revised by M. de Rubris. London, Dulau. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

Ferrari, V., Letteratura italiana moderna e contemporanea (1718—1911). 3a ediz. rifatta e aumentata. (Manuali Hoepli.) Milan, Hoepli. 3 L.

Fiammazzo, A., Il codice dantesco della biblioteca di Savona. Savona, Tip. D. Bertolotto. 2 L. 50.

Glasenapp, G. von, A. Tassoni und sein 'Geraubter Eimer.' Ein italienischer Dichter des 17. Jahrh. Dresden, R. Lincke. 4 M.

Levi, G. A., Storia del pensiero di G. Leopardi. Turin, Fratelli Bocca. 2 L. 50.

Marconcini, C., L' Accademia della Crusca, dalle origini alla prima edizione del vocabolario (1612). 3 L.

Massarani, T., Edizione postuma delle opere. Gruppo II, Vol. VI, VII. (Storia e fisiologia dell' arte di ridere.) Each 4 L.

Muratori, L. A., Epistolario, edito e curato da M. Campori. XII. (1749–50). Modena, Soc. Tip. Modenese. 12 L.

Paggi, G., Contributo statistico alla biografia di Dante. Jeri, Tip. Editr. Flori. 1 L. 50.

Segrè, C., Relazioni letterarie fra Italia e Inghilterra: studi. (Biblioteca Nazionale.) Florence, Le Monnier. 4 L.

Tassoni, A., Le lettere di A. Tassoni pubblicate da G. Rossi. Vol. II. Bologna, Romagnoli dall' Acqua. 11 L.

Viglio, A., G. Gozzi pedagogista: note. Racconigi, Tip. F. Bruciafreddo. 2 L.

Vittorelli, I., Poesie, a cura di A. Simioni. (Scrittori d' Italia, XII.) Bari, G. Laterza. 5 L. 50.

**Spanish.**

Calderón de la Barca, P., Ausgewählte Werke in 10 Bänden herausg. von W. von Wurzbach. Leipzig, Hesse und Becker. 6 M.

Lazarillo de Tormes. An Hand der deutschen Übersetzungen des 17. Jahrhunderts aus dem Spanischen übersetzt und eingeleitet von H. Rausse. (Bibl. des 17. und 18. Jahrh.) Stuttgart, Franckh. 2 M.

Menéndez y Pelayo, M., Antología de poetas líricos castellanos desde la formación del idioma hasta nuestros días. Tomo v. (Biblioteca Clásica, CLXXXVIII.) Madrid, Hernando y Co.

Menéndez y Pelayo, M., Calderón y su Teatro. 4ta ed. Madrid, Tip. de los Archivos.

Padilla, S., Gramática histórico-crítica de la Lengua española. Madrid, Imp. Helénica.

Retana, W. E., Noticias histórico-bibliográficas de el Teatro en Filipinas desde sus orígenes hasta 1898. Madrid, Imprenta Alemana.

Rios de Lampérez, B. de los, Las mujeres de Tirso. Conferencia Madrid, B. Rodríguez.

**Provençal.**

Debenedetti, S., Gli studi provenzali nel cinquecento. Turin, Loescher. 10 L.

Pillet, A., Beiträge zur Kritik der ältesten Troubadours. (Aus '89. Jahresbericht d. schles. Gesell. f. vaterl. Kultur.') Breslau, Aderholz. 80 pf.

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Schultz-Gora, O., Altprovenzalisches Elementarbuch. 2. Aufl. (Sammlung romanischer Elementarbücher, III.) Heidelberg, C. Winter. 3 M. 60.

Smythe, B., Trobador Poets. Selections from the poems of eight Trobadors. Translated with Introduction and Notes. (New Medieval Library.) London, Chatto and Windus. 5*s.* net.

Stronski, S., Le Troubadour Folquet de Marseille. Édition critique, notes et glossaire. Paris, H. Champion. 12 fr.

**French.**

(*a*) *General.*

Damm, O., Der deutsch-französische Jargon in der schönen französischen Literatur. (Romanische Studien, XI.) Berlin, Ebering. 5 M. 50.

Gilliéron, J. et É. Edmond, Atlas linguistique de la France. Paris, Champion. 875 fr.

Hartmann, E., Syntaktische Studien über die Temporalsätze im Französischen. Marburg, Elwert. 2 M. 50.

Schächtelin, P., Das Passé défini und Imparfait im Altfranzösischen. (Zeitschrift für roman. Phil., Beihefte, XXX.) Halle, Niemeyer. 3 M.

Storm, I., Större fransk Syntax. I. Artiklerne. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 3 Kr. 50.

(*b*) *Old French.*

Benary, W., Über die Verknüpfungen einiger französischer Epen und die Stellung des Doon de Laroche. (Aus 'Romanische Forschungen.') Erlangen, Junge. 3 M.

Chatelaine de Vergi, La. Publ. par G. Raynaud. (Classiques français du moyen âge.) Paris, Champion. 80 c.

Lancelot del lac, Der altfranzösische Prosaroman von. I. Branche. Versuch einer kritischen Ausgabe von G. Bräuner. (Marburger Beiträge zur romanischen Philologie, II.) Marburg, A. Ebel. 3 M.

L'enfant sage. Die erhaltenen Versionen herausgegeben von W. Suchier. Halle, Niemeyer. 24 M.

(*c*) *Modern French.*

Berret, P., Le moyen âge dans 'La Légende des siècles' et les sources de V. Hugo. Paris, H. Paulin. 10 fr.

Berret, P., La philosophie de Victor Hugo (1854—1859) et deux mythes de 'La Légende des siècles.' Paris, H. Paulin. 5 fr.

Bithell, J., Contemporary Belgian Poetry. Selected and translated. London, W. Scott. 1*s.*

Brizeux, A., Œuvres complètes, nouv. édit. par A. Dorchain. Tome II. Paris, Garnier frères. 3 fr. 50.

Clouzet, G., Le roman français, avec un essai sur l'histoire du roman par Ch. Simond. Paris. 2 fr.

Cyrano Bergerac, S. de, L'autre monde ou les états et empires de la lune. Zum ersten Mal kritisch herausg. von L. Jordan. (Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, VIII.) Halle, Niemeyer. '10 M.

Donnay, M., Molière. Paris, A. Fayard. 3 fr. 50.

Flaubert, G., Œuvres complètes. Correspondance, 3e et 4e série (1854–80). Paris, L. Conard. Each 8 fr.

Gaillard de Champris, H., E. Augier et la comédie sociale. Paris, B. Grasset. 6 fr.

Griselle, E., Fénelon, études historiques. Paris, Hachette. 3 fr. 50.

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KOHLER, E., Entwicklung des biblischen Dramas des 16. Jahrh. in Frankreich unter dem Einfluss der literarischen Renaissancebewegung. (Münchener Beiträge zur roman. und engl. Phil., LII.) Leipzig, A. Deichert. 2 M. 25.

LACRETELLE, P. DE, Les origines de la jeunesse de Lamartine (1790—1812). Paris, Hachette. 3 fr. 50.

MICHEL, E., Chateaubriand. Interprétation médico-psychologique de son caractère. Paris, Perrin. 2 fr. 50.

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THUASNE, L., Villon et Rabelais, Notes et commentaires. Paris, Fischbacher. 12 fr.

VAILLANT, E., Gustave Nadaud et la chanson française. Paris, A. Messein. 3 fr. 50.

VERLAINE, P., Œuvres complètes. Tome I. Nouv. édit. Paris, A. Messein. 6 fr.

VILLON, F., Œuvres, publ. par un ancien archiviste. (Classiques français du moyen âge.) Paris, H. Champion. 2 fr.

## GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

### Gothic.

Die gotische Bibel. Herausg. von W. Streitberg. II. Teil. Gotisch-griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch. (Germanische Bibliothek, II, 3. Band, ii.) Heidelberg, C. Winter. 1 M. 70.

### Scandinavian.

BJÖRNSON, B., Gesammelte Werke in 5 Bänden. (Deutsche Volksausgabe.) Herausgegeben von J. Elias. I.—III. Band. Berlin, Fischer. 9 M.

Edda, Den ældre. Ny Oversætelse ved O. Hansen. Copenhagen, Pio. 3 Kr.

HEIBERG, J. L., Udvalgte poetiske Skrifter. Folkeudgave. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 2 Kr.

KOCK, A., Svensk ljudhistoria. II, 2. Lund, Gleerup. 2 Kr.

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VOLUME VI OCTOBER, 1911 NUMBER 4

# TWO RIDDLES OF THE EXETER BOOK.

AFTER all the ingenious labour that has been bestowed on the riddles contained in the Exeter Book, the solution of many of them is still a matter of reasonable doubt. In most instances, it is true, one or other of the conjectures that have been offered seems sufficiently likely to deserve provisional acceptance, and the difficulties that prevent it from being fully convincing may hereafter be removed by a better understanding of the Old English syntax and vocabulary, or by the discovery of some literary parallel. With regard to two of the riddles, however,—those numbered V and XC in the editions of Wülker and Tupper—I am convinced that none of the explanations hitherto proposed can possibly be correct. I am not equally sure that I have succeeded where others have failed. The novel solutions presented in this paper may prove to be mistaken; but they seem to me to take account of indications which former interpreters have ignored, and for this reason I venture to hope that they may, at least, afford some hints that may lead more skilful inquirers to the right conclusions.

## I. THE FIFTH RIDDLE.

The text of this riddle, as I propose to read and punctuate it, is as follows:

Ic sceal þrāgbysig þegne mīnum,
hring*um* hæfted, hȳran georne,
mīn bed brecan, breahtme cȳþan
þæt mē halswriþan hlāford sealde.
Oft me slǣpwērigne secg oðþe mēowle
grētan ēode; ic him gromheortum
winterceald oncweþe; wearm lim [onfēhð]
gebundenne bē*ag*; hwīlum bersteð.
Sē þēah biþ on þonce þegne minum,
medwīsum men, mē þæt sylfe,
þær wiht wite ond wordum mīn
on spēd mæge spel gesecgan.

For the second hemistich of l. 7, which as it stands in the MS. is metrically defective, Professor Tupper proposes '[þæt] wearm[e] lim.' This involves taking 'bersteð' as transitive—no very serious objection,



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as the transitive use, though not found in O.E., is common in M.E. But the assumption of the omission of one word at the end of a verse seems simpler than that of two separate errors and a construction not elsewhere found. The other deviations from the MS., 'hringum' for 'hringan,' 'bēag' for 'bæg' (which may however be a dialect form), and 'on spēd' for 'onsped,' are generally accepted. Tupper's transposition 'bersteð hwīlum' improves the versification, but does not affect the sense.

I suggest the following translation:

> Careful of the appointed time, I must listen attentively, secured by rings, to my servant, break my bed, and loudly make known that my lord [*or* the Lord] has given me a collar. Often has man or maid come to greet me when I was heavy with sleep; cold as winter do I answer those angry-hearted ones; the warm limb receives the ring bound [upon it]; sometimes it bursts. Yet will it be a joy to my servant (foolish man!), and to me likewise, when he knows a thing, and is able successfully to express my message in words.

One or two points in this translation require comment. The compound 'þrāgbysig,' which occurs only here, is commonly explained to mean 'occupied for a time,' or 'periodically employed.' But in all the other compounds of 'bysig'—'līfbysig,' 'nȳdbysig,' 'synbysig,' 'tihtbysig'—the first element denotes the object of concern, and I see no reason why it may not do so here. In l. 9, Professor Tupper takes 'sē' as the masculine pronoun (though in his glossary he treats it, I think correctly, as a particle). His translation of the concluding lines is as follows: 'It (the ring) is, however, acceptable to my thane, a moderately wise man, and to me likewise, if I (an inanimate thing) can know anything and in words successfully tell my story.' I find it difficult to see any meaning in the passage as thus rendered. The etymological translation of 'medwis' as 'moderately wise' is misleading; the word was used to render 'hebes' and 'tardus,' and is therefore, like the other compounds of 'med-,' a term of disparagement. It seems at first sight plausible to regard these lines as an example of the convention by which the personified unknown of a riddle is represented as feeling satisfaction when its identity is guessed. This would involve taking the subjunctives 'wite' and 'mæge' as of the second person. Possibly this may be the true interpretation, but on the whole I am inclined to prefer a different view, which will be stated when I come to explain my conjecture as to the answer to the riddle.

We have now to ask what the mysterious thing can be which, at the summons of its servant, breaks its bed and presents itself, secured by rings, to proclaim its possession of a collar; and which

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complains of having been unkindly disturbed when it would rather sleep. Is it, as Dietrich at first supposed, a bell, or is it a millstone, as he afterwards concluded? Or is Professor Trautmann right in thinking it to be a flail? These three answers are all that are mentioned in Professor Tupper's excellent edition of the Riddles, and I am not aware that any other has been given. It will perhaps be admitted that none of the three looks at first sight very likely. No doubt the kind of allegory employed in mediæval riddles is often designedly far-fetched, and we ought not to reject any solution merely because the figures of speech which it attributes to the writer appear to us strained. At the same time, we may rightly decline to be convinced that the right answer has been found unless it can be shown that every symbolical statement in the riddle is a conceivable (even if not a strikingly appropriate) rendering of something that can be said in plain prose about the object supposed to be described. So far as I know, no attempt has yet been made to assign to every detail of the Fifth Riddle its equivalent in matter of fact, and I think it would not be easy to do so on any of the three hypotheses hitherto proposed. The words 'wearm lim gebundenne bēag hwilum bersteð' have been supposed to refer to the bursting of the millstone when it gets heated. This does not seem very plausible, but it is better than the attempt made by Professor Tupper, who adopts the 'bell' solution. He merely suggests that if a large bell be meant, the 'warm limb' may be the clapper, 'which bursts the ring with which it is bound,' and that if a small bell is meant, it may be the hand of the ringer. He attempts to support the latter conjecture by referring to the fact that in the Old English monastic sign-language the gesture signifying a deacon was to move the hand as if ringing a hand-bell—which is surely nothing to the purpose.

My own conjecture is that the riddle relates to some definite story of necromancy. The dead man, attentive to the call of his 'servant,' the magician, comes forth from his grave bound in chains ('hringum hæfted[1]'), and wearing a magic collar something like that of Morann in the Irish legend, which 'used to be put round the foot or the hand of the person whose guilt was in question, and if he were false it would close itself round him till it cut off his foot or his hand; but if he were innocent it would not close itself round him' (Stokes-Windisch, *Irische Texte*, Dritte Serie, I, 208). Often has 'man or maid,' in quest of an

[1] Professor Tupper appositely cites *Genesis* 762, 'Hæft mid hringa gespann' (said of Satan).



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oracular answer, caused the dead man to be summoned, unwilling, from his rest; 'cold as winter he answers them.' The oracular collar, cold from the tomb, is placed round the warm limb. (In this form of the belief, apparently, the collar bursts if the accusation is false; but possibly 'hwīlum berstеð' may refer not to the ring, but to the limb, so that the resemblance to the Irish legend would be complete.) It is a joy to the magician (who is called a 'foolish man,' for it is folly to lose one's immortal soul for forbidden knowledge) when he knows the truth, and is able to express in words the revelation he has received; the dead man himself also rejoices that he has not been summoned to no purpose.

I am perfectly aware that this interpretation of the riddle involves much unsupported assumption, and is in several points open to objection. It does, however, seem to me that the detailed paraphrase which I have given of the text affords ground for believing that the hypothesis on which it is based has *some* affinity (if only a distant one) to the right solution.

## II. The Ninetieth Riddle.

This enigma, the only one in the collection that is not in Old English, is printed in Professor Tupper's edition as follows:

> Mirum mihi videtur: lupus ab agno tenetur;
> obcurrit agnus [rupi] et capit viscera lupi.
> Dum starem et mirarem, vidi gloriam parem:
> duo lupi stantes et tertium tribul[antes]:
> quattuor pedes habebant, cum septem oculis videbant.

The text as here given contains six corrections of the MS. Three of these, 'mirarem' for 'misarē,' 'duo' for 'dui,' and 'tribulantes' for 'tribul' (there is no gap in the MS.) were made long ago, and may be regarded as certain; a fourth, the transposition of 'videtur mihi,' was suggested by Thorpe, and is obviously plausible; the other two, the insertion of 'rupi' and the substitution of 'parem' for 'magnam' (sic), were first proposed by Professor Holthausen in 1906. Line 2, as it stands in the MS., is metrically imperfect, and as 'rupi' is the only possible rhyme to 'lupi,' Holthausen's emendation is highly probable. If it be accepted it confirms the corrections in ll. 1 and 3, for a writer who rhymes three lines out of five would not be likely to omit to rhyme the other two when it could so easily be done. Professor Tupper's text of the riddle seems therefore to be almost certainly correct.

The lines are accentual hexameters something like those of

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Commodianus, from which they differ in having, instead of the normal cæsura, an incision at the end of the third foot, and in obeying the classical rules of elision. As emended, they are metrically correct according to the scheme; 'tertium' must be read as 'tertsum,' and 'oculis' as 'oc'lis.' Verses with this precise rhythm are rare; examples nearly similar occur in the Berne riddles, and in some Lombard epitaphs (see Manitius, *Lateinische Litteratur des Mittelalters*, Erster Theil, p. 193).

The various attempts that have been made to solve the riddle may be found in Professor Tupper's notes. I propose here to speak only of a speculation put forward a few years ago, which has received from some eminent scholars an approval which is in my opinion wholly undeserved.

In the *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen*, Vol. CXI (1903), pp. 59 ff., appeared an article by Dr Edmund Erlemann, reviving in a new form the theory of Dietrich, that the riddle was a charade on the name of Cynewulf. According to the writer, the meaning of the first two lines is that the letters of the name contain the words 'ewu' ('ewe') and 'wulf,' but that 'ewu' can be got only by taking the bowels (the letters 'wu') out of 'wulf.' Now if the riddle had had the word 'ovis' in place of 'agnus,' this interpretation would have had some plausibility. Mediæval riddles abound in fanciful conceits, and Cynewulf was undoubtedly the kind of person from whom strange fancies might be expected. But it is really too great a demand on our credulity to ask us to believe that even Cynewulf could expect his hearers to guess that 'male lamb' meant 'female sheep,' or to accept the substitution as a reasonable enigmatic device when the explanation was given them. If this be the meaning of the riddle, the only parallel I can find for it is the fabled rustic epitaph in which William Woodcock was called 'Wood*hen*' for the sake of rhyme. Such an absurdity ought not to be imputed to Cynewulf or any other man without damning proof.

I have admitted that if the word in the riddle had been 'ovis' and not 'agnus,' the proposed interpretation of ll. 1, 2 would have been plausible. Even then, however, all that could reasonably be said would be that it was *prima facie* not unlikely, and that if the remaining lines were found to admit of an equally plausible explanation in harmony with it, the suggested solution might be accepted as probable, provided that no alternative theory appeared to fit the conditions of the problem as well or better. But as the matter actually stands, the question is,

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whether ll. 3—5 so unmistakably support the charade theory as to compel acceptance of an extremely improbable explanation of the former part. Let us see whether the interpretation offered for the last three lines is really convincing.

Dr Edmund Erlemann does not afford us very much help, as he merely proposes to connect the 'duo lupi' with the letters 'lf,' regarding these as the initials of words which, if one could only discover them, would, he is convinced, be found to contain the key to the riddle. He has, however, appended to his article a note in which he communicates a quite different theory of the meaning of ll. 3—5, suggested to him by Dr Joseph Gotzen. In a subsequent issue of the same periodical (Vol. CXV, p. 391), Dr Fritz Erlemann propounds yet another view. As E. Erlemann's conjecture was apparently withdrawn, we are concerned only with the theories of the two other scholars. They agree that the 'seven eyes' are seven of the eight letters of Cynewulf; that four of these letters are the 'four feet' (although they have already done duty as 'eyes'!); that two of the letters are the 'duo lupi[1]'; and that one of them is the 'tertium.' But when we ask which seven, which four, which two, and which one, we receive discordant answers to each of the four questions. The two scholars are perfectly agreed in their foregone conclusion, but they differ totally as to the process by which it is to be reached.

I should not have thought these wild fancies worth a moment's consideration, but for the fact that they have been taken seriously by scholars of deservedly high repute. One would have supposed that they could not possibly impose on any competent scholar who was not strongly prepossessed in favour of Cynewulf's authorship of the Riddles. Strange to say, however, not even Edmund Erlemann himself is of that opinion; the only inference that he draws from his supposed discovery is that Cynewulf was probably the collector or editor of the Riddles. Still more strange is it that Professor Brandl, in his excellent article on Old English Literature in the second edition of Paul's *Grundriss*, while he accepts Erlemann's solution of XC, is so far from being desirous of proving that Cynewulf wrote the Riddles, that he actually argues that the Cynewulf of this enigma may have been a different person from the poet of *Elene*, and that even supposing him to be the same person, the riddle may not be his own work but that of some admirer. It would

[1] According to F. Erlemann (who attributes the same view to E. Erlemann and Gotzen) 'duo lupi' means not 'two wolves,' but 'two letters of *wulf*'; 'lupi' is genitive singular, and 'duo' is neuter! That 'littera' is feminine is not a difficulty likely to give trouble to so courageous a speculator.

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surely be a very extraordinary coincidence if there were two Cynewulfs, each of whom took delight in riddling on his own name. Perhaps some learned person will take Professor Brandl's hint, and discover that the four poems bearing the runic signature are not of common authorship, but are to be divided between the two namesakes. The other supposition, that a charade on the name of Cynewulf was the work of some admirer of the poet, is equally far-fetched. When we know that Cynewulf did in four instances play on the letters of his name, the attempt to maintain that the alleged fifth instance is by another hand looks like an evasion of the obvious probabilities. As I regard the Erlemann solution of XC as intrinsically impossible, the question of the authorship of the Riddles stands for me exactly where it did before that strange fancy was propounded.

The only real grounds for thinking it likely that Cynewulf had anything to do with the Riddles are, first, that he was certainly, from what we know of him, the kind of person to take pleasure in the writing of enigmas, and secondly, that two of his undoubted poems are contained in the Exeter Book. These reasons are not without force, and they perhaps afford a slight presumption that some of the riddles in the Exeter Book are of Cynewulf's composition. The arguments of Sievers and others, though not fully conclusive, go far to justify the provisional belief that most of them are not his; and no positive grounds of any value have yet been adduced in favour of his authorship of any particular piece in the collection. There seems to me to be some improbability in attributing to him such an illiterate performance as the Latin riddle, but this consideration might be set aside if there were the slightest positive evidence to oppose to it.

That the ninetieth riddle is not a charade on the name of Cynewulf seems to me as certain as anything can be; what the true interpretation is remains to my mind a very doubtful question. Indeed, I am strongly disposed to think it most probable that the reference is to circumstances well known to the author and his readers, but to us quite unknown and unconjecturable.

However, as negative criticism does not easily gain attention unless the critic is able to offer some positive hypothesis in place of that which he condemns, I will endeavour to show that the riddle admits at least of one explanation which takes account of every expression in the text, and which involves no assumption that is not perfectly admissible.

The word 'gloriam' in l. 3, having regard to its customary associations in Christian Latin, suggests (though it does not prove)

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that the subject of the riddle is religious; that what is symbolized is something that is a cause of pious exultation to the faithful. We might at first sight think that the victorious conflict of the lamb with the wolf refers to the triumph of the Lamb of God over the devil. But it seems probable that the author did not mean anything so easily guessed as this; and it would not be easy on this supposition to explain the second incident—the two wolves afflicting a third—which is said to be equally 'glorious' with the first. The 'rupi' of Holthausen's emendation, which appears nearly certainly correct, also needs to be accounted for.

Suppose now that a writer of the eighth or ninth century wished to say enigmatically that a man bearing the unpromising name of Wulfstan (Wolf-Stone) had become a Christian—that the Lamb of God had taken from him the stony and wolfish heart which his name suggests. Having regard to the fashion of dealing with proper names exemplified by Aldhelm, Æthilwald, Cynewulf, and other writers of the period, I think he might quite naturally have expressed this meaning in the words 'The Lamb meets *Stone*, and takes the bowels of *Wolf*'; or, in the clumsy Latin of the riddle, 'Obcurrit Agnus Rupi, et capit viscera Lupi.'

The two wolves, whose success in harassing a third wolf is an occasion of devout rejoicing, may very well be two saints or champions of the faith whose names begin with 'Wulf.' It was quite in accordance with customary practice to render such names in Latin by the simple 'Lupus.' The wolf against whom they victoriously fight would of course be the devil; the comparison of the enemy of souls to a wolf may be found in many religious writers. The 'seven eyes' may mean the sevenfold gifts of the Spirit[1]; and, in spite of the grotesque bathos which the supposition involves, I do not think it at all unlikely that the 'four feet' are intended to be taken literally, as indicating that the two wolves are men and not quadrupeds.

HENRY BRADLEY.
OXFORD.

[1] See Zech. iv. 10, 'Septem isti oculi sunt Domini, qui discurrunt in universam terram,' and Rev. v. 6, 'Et vidi agnum...habentem...oculos septem, qui sunt septem spiritus Dei.' For the development which makes the 'seven eyes' of these passages into the believer's organs of spiritual vision I can quote no parallel of early date, but there is a curiously exact one in the following lines from a fanatical rhymester of the seventeenth century (*English Historical Review*, July 1911, p. 531):

'Thou shalt not read what's spoke of Dragon and Beast
With University-art;
But thou shalt read *with Kings seven eyes*,
And an enlightned heart.'

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# THE NAME OF THE LETTER ȝ.

§ 1. The name of the letter ȝ, the Old English symbol for *g*, has not, as far as I know, been referred to more than twice. For the first time by Professor Skeat in the *Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society* for 1897, p. 403, where he prints it as *yee* (see § 20); for the second time by Dr Henry Bradley in his chapter on 'Changes in the Language to the days of Chaucer' in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. I, p. 393 (1907). Dr Bradley writes as follows:

> And in the twelfth century, though the continental variety of the Roman alphabet was generally used for writing English, it was found convenient to retain the native form ȝ of the letter *g* for those two of its sounds that the French *g* lacked, namely, those of *gh* and *y* (as in *year*). A new letter was thus added to the alphabet, and though it came to be written ȝ, exactly like the contemporary form of *z*, it preserved its name 'yok' until the fourteenth century.

I am indebted to Dr Henry Bradley for privately informing me that he had found the name 'yok' on p. 71 of '*The Buke of John Maundeuill* being the travels of Sir John Mandeville, knight, 1322–1356,' edited by G. F. Warner for the Roxburghe Club, Westminster, 1889. Dr Bradley added that he knew of the name 'ȝe' (viz. the form referred to by Prof. Skeat), but not of any third name.

§ 2. To the above information I am able to add a considerable amount of fresh material, from which it will appear that neither of the above names can be accepted as absolutely correct.

§ 3. A reference to our letter ȝ occurs in MS. M$^{c}$Clean 123 (the Nuneaton Codex), in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. The MS. in question is dated by M. Paul Meyer 'vers l'an 1300[1],' and Dr Montague James places it similarly 'about 1300, perhaps a little earlier[2].' This date refers to Nos. 1, 3, 6, 9, 10; the remaining parts are in a somewhat later hand. The manuscript contains various works in French and Latin;

[1] *Romania*, xxv, 180 f. (1896).
[2] I am indebted to Dr James for privately informing me of this fact.

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the last few folios are, however, occupied by an English poem, the *Poema Morale*[1]. On the blank page facing the beginning of this poem the scribe of it has made the following memorandum, evidently as a guidance for himself or for possible readers who might be unacquainted with the four peculiarly English symbols which he makes use of in his transcript:

· þorn ·
· þ · þanne · þo · þider · þe · þu · haueþ ·
naueþ · teþ · goþ ·
· wen ·
· p · þimman · þepman · ponie ·
pende · þele · þope ·
· yoȝ ·
· ȝ · ȝef · ȝus · ȝer · ȝender · draȝ ·
sclaȝ · arȝ · marȝ ·
· and ·
· ⁊ · William · ⁊ · Ion · ⁊ · thomas
· ⁊ · symun · ⁊ · þu · ⁊ · ich.

MS. M^cClean 123, f. 114^b.

§ 4. MS. Reg. 17, B. i in the British Museum contains a Concordance of the New Testament according to the later Wycliffite Version, carefully written in a hand of the early XV century. The Concordance is preceded by a few pages of introductory matter, in which the compiler explains his methods and plan of work. In discussing the alphabetical order observed in the book, he gives the following piece of information:

Su*m*me writ*en* · g · h · *in* su*m*me wordis, whiche wordis ben writen of su*m*me o*þer*e w*ith* a yogh þat is figured þus · ȝ · ; as sum man writeþ þus þese termes, 'doughter' 'thought,' where ano*þer* writiþ he*m* þus, 'douȝter' 'thouȝt.' But for as miche as þe carect yogh, þat is to seie · ȝ ·, is figurid lijk a ȝed, þ*er*fore alle þe wordis of þis table þat bigi*n*nen wiþ þat carect, ben set in ȝed, which is þe laste lettre of þe a · b · c.

MS. Reg. 17, B. i, f. 14^b.

§ 5. Again, acting on the information received from Dr Bradley (see § 1), I have examined the greater number of the English and French Mandeville manuscripts in order to ascertain what different forms the name of the letter ȝ adopted in these. Of the English renderings

[1] See my edition of this text in *Anglia*, N.F. XVIII, 217–237.

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I have investigated thirty out of the thirty-two copies enumerated by J. Vogels in his *Handschriftliche Untersuchungen über die englische Version Mandeville's*, Crefeld, 1891. Of the French I have seen the ten MSS. existing in the British Museum and two copies preserved in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; moreover, through the kind assistance of the keeper of the MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, I have received a transcript of the passage in question from the earliest existing copy of any Mandeville manuscript, viz. MS. Bibl. Nat. *Nouv. acq. fr.* 4515 (= Ashburnham, Barrois XXIV) dated by the scribe in the year 1371.

§ 6. Before giving the material collected from these manuscripts, it will be necessary to show roughly the probable relationship between them.

It is generally accepted that the French text is the earliest; the earliest manuscript now known being the above-mentioned in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The author is held to have written at Liège before 1371 and in French. Later versions are all derived directly or indirectly from a French original[1].

The English text has come down to us in three[2] forms:

(1) C = MS. Cotton, Titus C. XVI, written between 1410–1420 in the Midland dialect; printed for the first time 1725, reprinted by Halliwell 1839, 1866, etc.; edited with modernised spelling by A. W. Pollard, London, 1900.

(2) E = MS. Egerton 1982, written between 1410–1420 in the Northern dialect; edited by G. F. Warner (see § 1); the French text printed with it is from MS. Harl. 4383.

(3) D = the defective text represented by the remaining known MSS., none of which is earlier than the XV century; printed by Pynson (no date), by Wynkyn de Worde 1429, and by many others.

According to Vogels (*Untersuchungen*, pp. 24, 52) C is the earliest of the existing English texts, and E is a revised and much improved form of D, the editor occasionally using for his revision a copy of the original French text[3].

§ 7. The passage giving the names of the two English letters þ and ȝ occurs at the very end of the fifteenth chapter, after a paragraph dealing with the alphabet of the Saracens. It is found in the majority

[1] See Warner, *op. cit.* p. IX.
[2] Warner, *ibid.* p. X.
[3] See Vogels, p. 52, for a full statement; also Warner, *op. cit.* p. XI, who offers, however, a different explanation of the relationship between these texts. His statements are, however, unsupported by adequate proofs.

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of the French and English copies of the Mandeville text, as can be seen from the following paragraphs.

§ 8. The French Text[1].

(1) MS. Brit. Mus. Harl. 4383, f. 31 (end of XIV century).

'Et cestes iiii lettres ont ils vnquore plus pur la diuersite de lour langage, pur ceo qils parlent ensi en la gorge; auxi come nous auons en nostre parleure en Engleterre deux lettres pluis qils nount en lour a b c, cest assauoir þ et ȝ, qi sont appellez thorn et ȝogh.'

(2) Brit. Mus. Harl. 204, f. 48 .....ȝogh.

(3) Brit. Mus. Harl. 212, f. 49 .....ȝogh.

(4) Brit. Mus. Reg. 20. B. x, f. 138$^{b}$.....iogh.

(5) Brit. Mus. Harl. 1739, f. 34$^{b}$.....ȝok.

(6) Brit. Mus. Add. 33757, f. 35$^{b}$ (= Greville 39)...ȝok.

(7) Brit. Mus. Sloane 1464, f. 79 .....ȝok.

(8) Fitzwilliam Mus. Camb., MS. Fairfax Murray 9...ȝok.

The passage is omitted altogether in the following MSS. which appear to contain abbreviated texts:

(9) Brit. Mus. Harl. 3940. (10) Brit. Mus. Reg. 20. A. i. (11) Brit. Mus. Sloane 560. (12) Fitzw. Mus. Camb., MS. M$^{c}$Clean 177.

§ 9. The English Text.

(1) C (ed. Pollard, p. 96). 'And iiii lettres þei haue more þan oþere for dyuersitee of hire langage and speche, for als moche as þei speken in here throtes. And wee in Englond haue in oure langage and speche ii lettres mo þan þei haue in hire a·b·c; and þat is þ and ȝ whiche ben clept þorn and ȝogh.'

(2) E. (ed. Warner, p. 71)...ȝok.

In the defective MSS. the name of the letter ȝ is given as follows:

(3) Brit. Mus. Add. 33758, f. 29 .....ȝoch.

(4) Bodl. Rawl. D. 100, f. 34 .....ȝoch.

[1] The earliest extant French MS. *fr.* 4515 is disappointing in so far as it does not give the name of the letter ȝ. I give the passage in full, as it serves to disprove a pronouncement made by Warner, *op. cit.* p. XXI, that the alphabets might be interpolations, since in MS. *fr.* 4515 they were not inserted in the body of the text, but written at the end. From the following communication, due to the courtesy of the French Librarian of the Bibl. Nat., it is clear that at all events the Saracen alphabet occurred in its accustomed place (the others according to a note in the manuscript having been inadvertently omitted), and, what is of even greater interest, the passage telling what 'nous avons en nostre langaige en Engleterre' is also in its accustomed place, a fact which surely must have an important bearing on the question of the nationality of the author.—'Au fol. 44 du MS. *Nouv. acq. fr.* 4515 de notre Bibliothèque, en fin d'un chapitre, je note, après un alphabet, les mots: "Encore ont-il quatre lectres plus pour la diversité de leurs langaiges pour ce qu'il parollent si en langaige (*sic*!); aussi com nous avons en nostre langaige en Engleterre deux lectres plus qu'il n'y a en l'a·b·c, c'est assavoir ȝ et y qui sont avec ·I·Þ·N."'

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(5) Bodl. Add. C. 285, f. 34 .....ȝoche.
(6) Queen's Coll. Oxf. 383.....ȝoghe.
(7) Brit. Mus. Sloane 2319, f. 16 .....ȝoghe.
(8) Brit. Mus. Reg. 17. C. xxxviii, f. 34 ...ȝouh.
(9) Brit. Mus. Arund. 140, f. 22$^{b}$ .....yowh.
(10) Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 4. 20, f. 43$^{b}$ ..ȝough.
(11) Bodl. Rawl. B. 216, f. 146 .....ȝouȝ.
(12) Camb. Univ. Dd. 1. 17, f. 42$^{b}$ .....ȝowȝe.
(13) Magd. Coll. Camb., Pepys 1955, f. 39...ȝow.
(14) Brit. Mus. Reg. 17. B. xliii, f. 56$^{b}$ .....ȝow.
(15) Oxf. Douce 109, f. 37, 'ȝ· and y· wiche ben clepid ȝou and þouȝ.'
(16) Camb. Univ. Ff. 5. 35, f. 24$^{b}$...'*y* and ȝ þe whiche beth I callid þowhes.'
(17) Bodl. Douce 33, f. 68...ȝoux.
(18) Bodl. e Museo 124, f. 1$^{b}$...youx.
(19) Brit. Mus. Harl. 3954, f. 27$^{b}$...youx.
(20) Bodl. Laud 699, f. 36$^{b}$...ȝedde.
(21) Dublin, Trin. Coll. E. 5. 6...ȝedde.

The following MSS. give the letters þ and ȝ but omit the names:
(22) Camb. Univ. Gg. 1. 34, f. 40. (23) Bodl. Rawl. D. 101, f. 48$^{b}$.

The following MSS. omit the passage in question altogether:
(24) Brit. Mus. Harl. 2386. (25) Bodl. Tanner 405. (26) Bodl. Rawl. D. 99. (27) Bodl. e Museo 116. (28) Bodl. Ashmole 751. (29) Ball. Coll. Oxf. 239. (30) Edinburgh, Adv. Libr. 19. 1. 11[1].

§ 10. Our passage is also omitted in all the Latin versions of the *Travels* which I have been able to consult, viz. Brit. Mus. Egert. 518, 672, Reg. 13. E. IX, Harl. 82, 175, 3589, Add. 37512.

It is further omitted in all printed copies of the English text previous to the editions by Warner and Pollard, see § 6.

§ 11. Of the names recorded in the various manuscripts, it is clear that 'ȝedde' § 9, Nos. 20, 21, is the name of the letter *z*, which in the fifteenth century was identical in form with ȝ.

The other names we may group together as follows:

(*a*) *yoȝ* with later variations of spelling, see §§ 3, 4, § 8 Nos. 1–4, and § 9, Nos. 1, 3–15.

(*b*) *ȝok*, § 8, Nos. 5–8, § 9, No. 2.

[1] I am indebted to the courtesy of the Librarian, Mr G. Stronach, for this information. The following manuscripts consulted by Vogels I have been unable to see: MS. Phillipps $\frac{8}{10}\frac{2}{8}\frac{5}{5}\frac{3}{4}$, and a manuscript in the Chetham Library, Manchester.

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(*c*) *ȝoux, youx*, § 9, Nos. 17–19.
(*d*) *þouȝ*, § 9, No. 15.
(*e*) *þowhes*, § 9, No. 16.

§ 12. The name supported by the earliest and most reliable evidence is clearly 'yoȝ.' About the year 1300, possibly earlier, it is noted down as the name of the letter ȝ by the exceedingly careful scribe of MS. M$^{c}$Clean 123 (see § 3). More than a century later, it is recorded in almost identical form 'yogh' by the careful compiler of the 'Concordance' (see § 4), who goes out of his way to point it out as the name of the letter ȝ, and explains how it orthographically varied with *gh* and in form was identical with *z*. His evidence is confirmed by the great number of fifteenth century French and English Mandeville manuscripts, the majority of which retain the old and time-honoured form (though with orthographical variations), whereas a certain number show scribal varieties, pointing to ignorance on the part of the transcriber, or gradual disuse of the letter and consequent unfamiliarity with its name.

§ 13. Thus 'þowhes' § 9, No. 16, is clearly a miswriting for 'yowhes,' *þ* and *y* in some XV century manuscripts being almost identical in form; the -(*e*)*s* is the plural ending, the scribe, for some reason best known to himself, giving only one name and applying it to both the letters *þ* and ȝ. Similarly 'þouȝ,' § 9, No. 15, is probably an error for 'youȝ'; in this case the scribe was clearly familiar with the name of ȝ, for after having reversed the usual order of the two letters and written 'ȝ and ẏ' (for 'þ and ȝ'), he proceeds to give correctly the current name 'ȝou'; then he misreads the next word to be copied, viz. 'youȝ,' and puts it down as 'þouȝ.' He may possibly have wished to write 'þorn,' but his eye was perhaps caught half-way by the 'youȝ,' and he finished his word accordingly.

Whatever may have been in the minds of the scribes mentioned, it is quite clear that their respective originals must have contained forms such as 'yowh' and 'youȝ.'

§ 14. The forms 'ȝok' and 'ȝoux' (youx) (see §§ 8, 9) I take to be purely graphic varieties of 'yoȝ,' due to the vagaries of Norman scribes. It is noteworthy that 'ȝok' occurs in four out of the eight French manuscripts which contain the name, but only in one English text, viz. E (§ 9, No. 2), which according to both Warner and Vogels shows traces of revision with the help of a French text[1], and consequently in all likelihood adopted the *k*-form from this model.

[1] Vogels, *op. cit.* p. 52; Warner, p. xi.

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Now a Norman scribe denoted the English spirant [χ] in a variety of ways (*gh, ch, hc, c, s, th, ck*, etc., see *Proverbs of Alfred*, ed. Skeat, p. xviii f., *Havelok the Dane*, ed. Skeat, p. xii). In *Havelok*, for instance, on two different occasions, the Norman scribe has written 'kayn' (ll. 31, 1327) for 'þayn'; his copy perhaps had 'tayn,' which he read as 'cayn' but wrote down as 'kayn' (see Skeat, *ibid.* p. xvii). Again the scribe of the *Proverbs* in MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. B. 14. 39 writes 'þauc' for 'þauh' (l. 238), 'rict' for 'riht' (l. 79), 'þocke' for 'þoh' (l. 311), etc. In a similar manner a Norman scribe must have substituted '*ȝoc,' 'ȝok' for an unfamiliar 'ȝoh,' 'yoȝ' of his original.

§ 15. Again the *x* in 'ȝoux,' 'youx' which occurs in three English Mandeville manuscripts (see § 9) I look upon as another device for denoting the English spirant. In this case the symbols for [χ] and [ʃ] have, however, been mixed up. It is not difficult to see how this could have taken place. In Old French *x* was not infrequently used to represent an *s*-sound short or long. In Godefroi, *Dict. de l'ancien Français*, *Alsi* 'aussi' has the following variants: 'aci,' 'asi,' 'ausi,' 'auxi,' 'ossi,' 'ouchi' and nine others; *assembler* is also written 'ascenbler,' 'assembloison' appears as 'asenble*x*on,' 'ai*ss*in' as 'a*sch*in,' etc. To a French scribe the symbols *s, sc, ss, sch, x, ch, c*, etc. were consequently to a certain extent equivalents. In attempting to render the English [ʃ] sound he might be liable to use any of the above symbols, since he probably at first pronounced [s]; in rendering the English [χ, ç] there are instances of his using *s, c, h, ch, gh, th, d* or of his leaving it out altogether[1]. The symbols *s, c, ch* are in common to both, and might be used for either spirant. It would therefore be a perfectly natural thing for a scribe who sometimes wrote *x* for the English [ʃ] sound to substitute this *x* for a [χ] sound in words of which the sound-value was unfamiliar to him, and which contained one or other of the above-mentioned symbols (*s, c, ch*). Thus a form 'youc,' 'youch' might easily be written down 'youx.' In Harl. 3954, which has the form 'youx' (see § 9, No. 19), we also find f. 28 'þat salme xuld be seyd,' and f. 42 'xuldrys' by the side of 'schuldrys[2],' etc., which would seem to show that such confusion of symbols actually did take place.

§ 16. Having shown that the forms 'ȝok,' 'ȝoux,' 'þouh,' 'þowhes'

[1] For examples of these spellings, see Skeat, in Introduction to *Havelok*, 1902, and *Proverbs of Alfred*, 1907, further *Notes on English Etymology*, Oxford 1891, p. 358.

[2] The symbol *x* for the English [ʃ] sound is not frequent. I have found it in *Songs and Carols I*, i, ed. Wright, e.g. 'xalt,' and in MS. Hunterian Mus. Glasgow 1, 8. 16, f. 36[b] 'xal,' etc.

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are nothing but scribal variations or actual mis-writings of the word 'yoȝ' found in the XIII century McClean MS., I will now attempt to give some account of this word itself.

Since the letter ȝ is the Middle English representative of the characteristic Old English form of *g*, it would seem a natural conclusion to draw that the ME *name* 'yoȝ' should be a continuation of the OE name of the letter in question. As a matter of fact, the only extant OE word to which our form 'yoȝ' can be traced back, is actually the name of a letter, viz. the West Saxon 'ēoh,' which is given in the Runic Song as the name of the thirteenth rune ᛊ Z[1]. This word would through shifting of accent and subsequent changes (ē·oh > eō·h > i̯ōh) regularly appear in early ME texts as 'yoȝ'[2] [jǭχ]. In the XV century manuscripts we should expect 'yough' [jūχ], at all events in copies written south of the Humber, and this form with *ou* appears in five of the Mandeville MSS. (§ 9, Nos. 8–12; cf. also Nos. 15–19); the fact that in seven of the English XV century copies *o* still appears (§ 9, Nos. 1, 3–7; § 4), is no doubt due to scribal tradition, which also accounts for the persistent *o* in the copies of the French text (§ 8, cf. § 9, No. 2). The forms 'ȝow,' 'ȝou' [jū] of § 9, Nos. 13–15 are no doubt due to the oblique cases of the word, where -ǭȝ- > -ǭw- > ūw (> ū)[3].

§ 17. The next question is, 'How came this runic name 'ēoh' to be applied to the letter *g* of the Roman alphabet?' The primary, probably the sole reason was *similarity of form*.

It is a well-known fact that the Anglo-Saxons learnt the Roman alphabet from their Irish missionaries[4]. The Irish handwriting was based on the Roman half-uncial, and had certain characteristic letters differently formed from those of the corresponding continental hands, viz. *f*, *g*, *s*, *r*. In some of the earliest records of the Irish hand which have come down to us, the *g* has practically assumed the shape of a zed turned the wrong way, viz. ⅄, with a faint upstroke going from the left point of the lower horizontal line towards the middle of the slanting medial line. This peculiarly shaped *g* is used throughout the famous Ante-hieronymian version of the Gospels known as Codex Usserianus[5]. It is found in the early VI century Latin inscription on

[1] Cf. Grein-Wülker, *Bibl.*[2] I, 333.

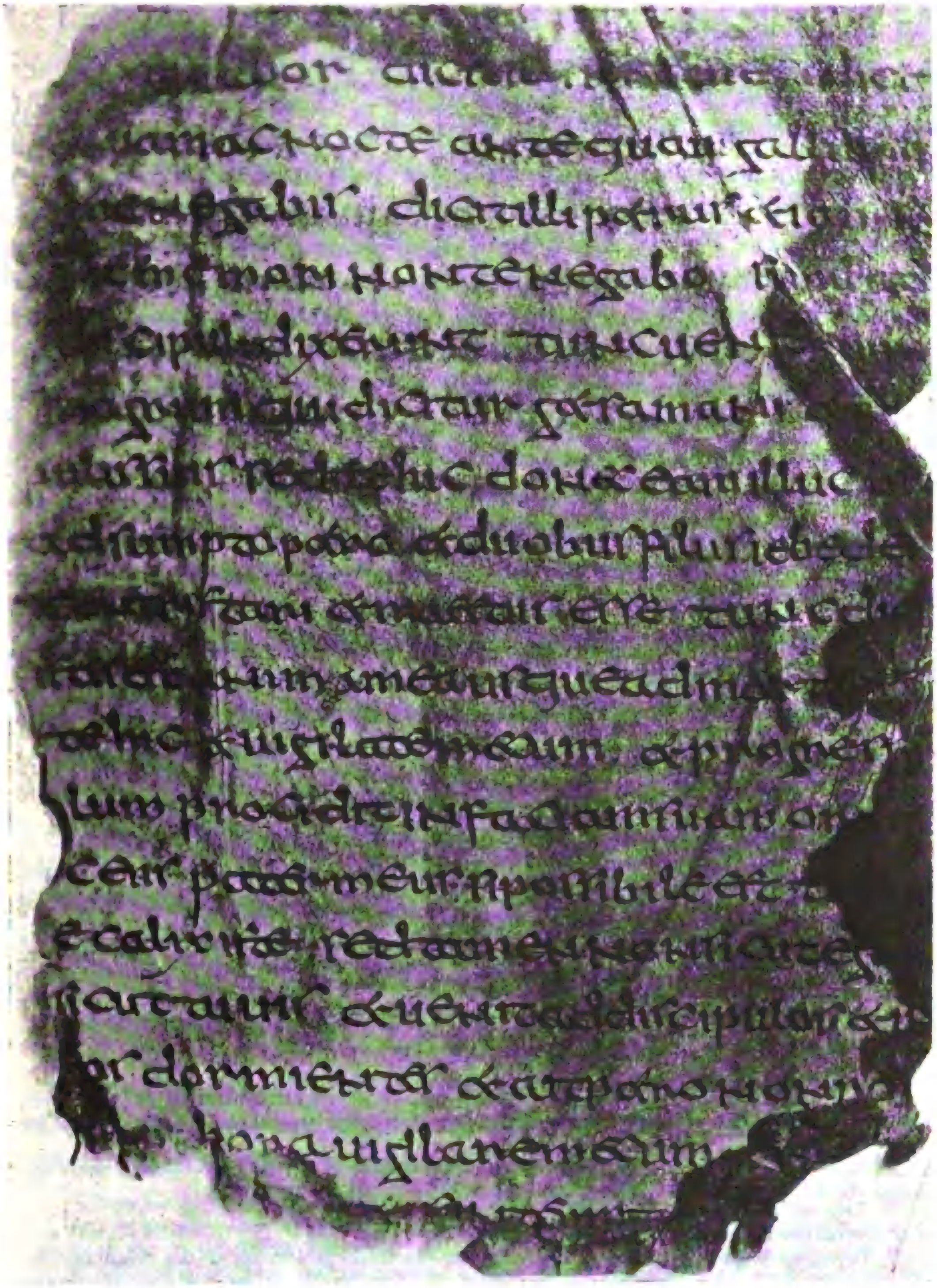
[2] The XIII century scribe of MS. McClean 123 writes -oȝ for OE. [-ǭχ] e.g. Poema Morale, l. 224 'inoȝ.'

[3] For OE. -ōȝ, -ōȝ- see Luick, *Anglia*, XVI, 453, *Untersuchungen*, p. 63, *Archiv*, 103. 72 f., but especially Ekwall, *Jones's Pract. Phonol.* p. clxxiv.

[4] Cf. E. M. Thompson, *Greek and Latin Palæography*, London, 1893, p. 244 ff.

[5] See facsimile below, and also facsimile in T. K. Abbott's edition 'Evangeliorum Versio Antehieronymiana ex codice Usseriano,' Dublin (Trin. Coll. A. 4. 15).

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*Codex Usserianus.*



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Caldey stone, Caldey Island, near Tenby, of which Professor Burkitt has kindly furnished me with a photograph from a rubbing taken by himself in 1903[1].

In another of the earliest records of Irish handwriting, a fragmentary version of the Psalter in Trinity College, Dublin[2], written possibly during the latter part of the VI century, the *g* is slightly more rounded in form, similar to an *s* with the upper part flattened, viz. ⊆. This type is fairly common in the earlier MSS. (see the plates of the *Book of Durrow*, the *Book of Kells*, the *Book of Dimma*[3], etc.).

Now whether this variety of the letter *g* in the early Irish alphabets appeared in its angular or in its more rounded form, there was sufficient resemblance between either form and the thirteenth rune (ᛇ, ZS)[4] to warrant the application of its name *ēoh*, *īh*[5] to the letter in question, especially as there could have been no temptation on the score of similarity of shape to make use of the names of the *g*-runes 'ȝifu' (ᚷ) or 'ȝār' (ᛄ).

§ 18. It is true that the thirteenth rune is of rare occurrence in early Germanic runic inscriptions, and that its sound value is doubtful. But, though little used, it seems with certain exceptions to have retained its accustomed place in the 'fuþarks' from the earliest times onward. That the rune and its name were not unknown in England is testified by a number of OE. runic alphabets, mostly in manuscripts dating from the IX to the XI centuries, and by a few inscriptions, viz.[6]

(1) The Thames Knife, Ags. fuþark without names[7].
(2) Runic Song, Ags. fuþark, ZS, value *eo*, name *eoh*.
(3) MS. Cotton, Dom. A. 9, Ags. fuþark, value *eo*.
(4) MS. Cotton, Otho B. 10, Ags. alphabet, value *eo*.
(5) MS. Cotton, Dom. A. 9, Ags. alphabet, value *eo*.
(6) MS. Copenhagen, Ags. fuþark, value *eo*.
(7) MS. St John's College, Oxf., C. 27, Ags. alphabet, value *h*.

[1] Cf. F. C. Burkitt, *Proc. of the Camb. Phil. Soc.* 1904. Rhŷs, *Archæol. Camb.*, 5th ser., vol. XIII, pp. 98—102. I regret to say that the photograph was found to be too faint for reproduction.

[2] Gilbert, J. T., *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland* (Ordnance Survey), I, plates III, IV; cf. *Palæogr. Soc.* II, plates 136, 137, 138, 161, 162, etc.

[3] *National Manuscripts*, I, plates V, VIII, XVIII.

[4] See Sievers's Runentafel in Paul's *Grundr.* I.

[5] That the W. Sax. form 'ēoh' was handed down in preference to the Anglian 'īh' seems natural in view of the importance of the W. Saxon *scriptoria* and W. Saxon scribal traditions during Alfredian and post-Alfredian times.

[6] Cf. Bugge, S., *Norges Indskrifter med de ældre Runer I.*, Christiania, 1891–1903. Excurs A. *Runen* ᛚ *eller* ᛊ (pp. 117–148).

[7] Cf. Wimmer, *Runenschrift*, p. 82 f.

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(8) Vienna, Cod. Salisb. 71 (890–910), Ags. fuþark, value *i* and *h*, name *ih*.

(9) MS. St Gallen 270, Ags. runes, value *k*, name *ih*[1].

(10) MS. Isidor, Brüssel 155, Ags. fuþark, value *ih*, name *hic*[1].

(11) MS. Cotton, Galba A. 2, Ags. fuþark, name *eth* (for **ech*, **eoh*).

Of the inscriptions, only the following seem to offer certain readings:

(12) Ruthwell Cross, 'almeſttig.'

(13) Runic stone, Dover, Kent, 'Gſlheard.'

(14) Runic stone, Thornhill, 'eateſnne.'

From the above it would appear as if the thirteenth rune was well remembered both as to name and form, when standing in its accustomed place in the 'fuþark,' but that its sound-value[2] was so uncertain that in the very few inscriptions which have come down to us, it represents not less than three different sounds, viz. [χ], *i* and ȝ (?).

§ 19. In conclusion, at a time when the Anglo-Saxon converts were learning their Roman alphabets from their Irish teachers, and when the knowledge of the runes was still a living fact amongst them, it would not seem too bold a conjecture to make, if one assumes that they associated the new with the old, and applied to a letter which seemed to them familiar in shape, the name of the rune which it resembled. This was all the more easy, since the rune in question was so to say 'unattached,' without a definite sound value, or at all events with a sound value which did not altogether militate against its name being applied to the Roman letter.

§ 20. Apart from the form *yoȝ* etc., discussed in the preceding paragraphs, a third reference to the name of the letter ȝ occurs in a manuscript of the XIII century, B. 14. 39 in Trinity College, Cambridge. The Norman scribe of the *Proverbs of Alfred* which begin on fol. 85 has written down at the bottom of the first page the following note:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| iẏe | w | ant | ſẏorn[3] |
| ȝ | ƿ | ⅂ | þ |

The note is small and cramped, the letters do not stand under their respective names, and it looks as if the scribe had first scribbled down the four symbols and then added the names as an afterthought.

[1] German scribe.

[2] The sound-values ascribed to the rune in the 'fuþarks' are clearly taken from the names; see on this point Bugge, *op. cit.*

[3] Not *iþorn* as read by Professor Skeat; the ẏ is unmistakable, and it has the customary dot which would never be placed above a þ. Cf. on the note and on the orthography of the MS. 'The troubles of a Norman scribe' by W. W. Greg, *Mod. Lang. Rev.* v, 282–285 (1910), which article was written subsequently to mine, though published earlier.



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This note was first observed by Mr Aldis Wright and pointed out by him to Professor Skeat, who in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*, Cambridge, 1897, p. 403, offered the following explanation:

> The meaning of this interesting note is most significant. The scribe had a piece of English to write out; and before he had to learn four new characters. The first was ȝ, which was named 'yee' (pronounced as Modern English 'yea'); but being a Norman he was unable to sound the initial *y* without prefixing the very slight vowel-sound *i*. In trying to say 'yea,' he said '*i*-yea'; and dared to write it down so. For a precisely similar reason he found it easier to say 'ithorn' than 'thorn' and he actually so wrote it. As for the A.S. *w*, represented by the old 'wen,' he naturally explained it by a French *w*; and lastly in explaining the usual contraction for 'and' he gave to this rather common English word a French pronunciation and called it 'ant.'

The note on the letters with a summary of the above discussion was reprinted by Professor Skeat on p. xiv of his re-edition of the *Proverbs of Alfred*, Oxford, 1907, from the above-mentioned Trinity College MS. B. 14. 39 and two others.

Professor Skeat's explanation seems to me, however, to suffer from the following defects: firstly it leaves the name of ȝ, viz. 'iye' (not 'yee') unexplained; secondly it leaves the *i* which has been prefixed to the 'ye' and 'þorn' (MS. 'ẏorn') unexplained, since one can hardly accept as an explanation Professor Skeat's statement, unsupported by phonetic evidence or corroborating examples of any kind, that the scribe 'being a Norman...was unable to sound the initial *y* without prefixing the very slight vowel-sound *i*.... For a precisely similar reason he found it easier to say "ithorn" than "thorn."'

To take the last point first, had the scribe been 'unable to sound' the initial *y* and þ without prefixing the vowel-sound *i*, we ought surely to find him similarly unable to sound the same initial letters wherever they occurred in the text of the poem. But no such thing happens! In Professor Skeat's text there is not a single instance of the initial combination 'iy-' or 'iþ-,' though there are plenty of words beginning with *y* and þ, which might have given the scribe a chance of showing his averred inability. Nor have I in spite of diligent search been able to find any second example of this alleged Norman way of denoting the initial spirants *y*- and þ-[1].

Again, had the scribe, as Professor Skeat assumes, attempted 'to sound' our two spirants and adopted the expedient of prefixing an *i* to facilitate matters, he would at all events have written 'itorn,' 'idorn,' 'ithorn,' 'iþorn,' or some sound resembling the dental spirant in

[1] Professor Skeat's own canon as to the Norman way of denoting *y* and þ can be studied in his *Notes on Engl. Etym.*, p. 472, Oxford, 1901, repeated in his edition of *Havelok*, Oxford, 1902, pp. x ff.

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question, not 'iẏorn' as actually occurs in the MS. The dotted *ẏ*, as already said, is unmistakable—though not noticed by Professor Skeat—and moreover, being a letter wherewith the Norman scribe was familiar, he would scarcely have used it in order phonetically to represent the *þ*-sound of the word in question, had he tried to put it down as he attempted to say it.

This miswriting would rather point to the fact that the scribe copied what he *saw*—the *ẏ* and *þ* being similar to the eye—but not what he heard or tried to sound, since to the ear the two sounds are easily kept apart.

In fact, so great was the uncertainty of the scribe as to the value of the symbol *þ*, that in the text of the *Proverbs* he actually uses it for *ȝ* and vice-versa[1], e.g. *þif* for *ȝif* 65, 398 etc., *wraȝed* for *wraþed*, 276. He also, according to Professor Skeat, writes *þ* for the Ags. *p* (w) e.g. ll. 182, 623, which, however, may be due to the fact of their being very similar in form, and consequently difficult to distinguish in his original.

§ 21. I take it therefore that the Norman scribe, before starting to copy out his text from the comparatively unfamiliar English original, dotted down in the margin the four symbols which he knew would give him most trouble, viz. *ȝ*, *p*, ⁊, *þ*, probably from some such memorandum as we find preceding the *Poema Morale* (see § 3). The memorandum I conjecture had the following form:

*ȝ* ·í· ye.
*p* ·í· w[en].
⁊ ·í· and,
*þ* ·í· *þ*orn.

Here ·í· is the usual abbreviation for the Latin *id est*; cf. in the same MS. B. 14. 39 f. 145 b. '*sur* eod, m° ·í· *supra above*.' The scribe as can be seen from the text of the *Proverbs* is by no means brilliant, he is both careless and ignorant; hence, when adding the names over the symbols he had scribbled at the bottom of the page, he wrote *iye* and 'iẏorn' (for 'iþorn') believing the *i* to be part of these unfamiliar words, but *w* and 'ant' he managed to put down fairly correctly since they must have been a little better known to him.

This seems to me a far more likely explanation of the presence of the *i* in the forms 'iye,' 'iẏorn' than the one offered by Professor Skeat.

§ 22. This form 'ye' of the Trinity MS. I look upon as exceedingly slender evidence for the real name of *ȝ*. It is true that the MS. is early, possibly a little earlier than MS. M°Clean 123 (§ 3), but the

[1] Cf. Skeat, *ibid.* p. xvi, § 9. 3.

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scribe is execrable, 'doubtful as to the correct use both of sounds and symbols' (Skeat, p. xv), and obviously no dependence can be placed upon his forms. I believe myself that the 'ye' of the note is a mere misreading or miswriting for 'yo.' According to Skeat, Introd. p. xxi, 'the common blunder of confusing *e* and *o* is not absent' from the text of the *Proverbs*; cf. 'þe' for 'þo' 548, 'se' for 'so' 143, 'knewen' for 'knowen' 358; conversely 'no' for 'ne' 169, 'boþ' for 'beþ' 407, etc.

One may even go so far as to assume that the scribe's original might have had 'yoȝ' or 'yo(c)h,' since he is not above omitting the symbol for the English [χ, ç] in a number of instances, as 'knit' 78, 'nout' 128, 196, 201, 669, 706, 'nowit' 284, 'brit' 306, 'douter' 550, 'þau' for 'þauh' 653, etc.

§ 23. If the scribe of the Trinity MS. had been as intelligent and careful as his colleagues of MS. M$^{c}$Clean (§ 3) and MS. Brit. Mus. Reg. 17. B. i (§ 4), it would have been incumbent upon one to attempt an explanation of 'ye,' say, as a possible contamination from 'yē(ȝ)': 'yōȝ' (OE. 'éoh': 'eóh'), cf. 'ȝhe': 'ȝho,' 'ȝede': 'ȝode,' etc., or, as having been due to the influence of the OF. name 'ge' of the continental letter *g*[1]. But no argument can be based on a single form occurring in a manuscript full of corrupt readings, so it had better be left severely alone.

§ 24. *Summary.* The name of the letter ȝ occurs in three independent sources: (1) MS. M$^{c}$Clean 123 of the XIII century 'yoȝ' (§ 4); (2) MS. Brit. Mus. Reg. 17. B. i of the early XV, 'yogh' (§ 4); (3) in the fifteenth century Mandeville MSS. as 'yough,' 'ȝogh,' etc., §§ 8, 9. It can therefore be concluded with perfect certainty that the ME. name of the letter ȝ was 'yoȝ,' 'yough,' and that this name was still current in the XV century. The form 'ȝok' quoted by Dr Bradley (§ 1) is a scribal variation of 'yoȝ' (§ 14). The ME. 'yoȝ' can in all likelihood be traced back to an OE. 'eōh,' the West Saxon form of the name for the thirteenth rune (§ 16). This name, W. Saxon 'ēoh' (Angl. *īh*), is conjectured to have been given to the Hiberno-Saxon form of the letter *g*, owing to the striking similarity in form between the thirteenth rune and certain early forms of the Irish ȝ (§§ 17–19).

Owing to the unsatisfactory character of the scribe of MS. Trin. Coll. B. 14. 39, no conclusions can be drawn as to the name of the letter ȝ from the form 'iye' appearing in that MS. (§§ 1, 20–23).

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[1] Cf. Sheldon, E. S., 'Origin of the English names of the Letters.' *Studies and Notes in Phil. and Lit.*, Boston, 1892, I, 66–87, II, 155–171.

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# A NEW 'HAVELOK' MS.

AMONG the treasures of the Cambridge University Library have been preserved four small and insignificant-looking scraps of paper containing writing which appears to belong to the end of the fourteenth century. They are contained in an envelope marked 4407 (19).

One of the scraps was perceived to contain a small portion of the 'Proverbs of Hending.' The meaning of the rest was less obvious, and I was asked to endeavour to discover it. I soon saw that some of the lines certainly belonged to *Havelok the Dane*, but varied a good deal in places from the only known complete copy, viz. that in MS. Laud Misc. 108 in the Bodleian Library, edited by me for the Clarendon Press in 1902, and (previously) for the Early English Text Society.

I have recommended that the eight fragments (recto and verso of four scraps) should be marked *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*. I now proceed at once to give the fragments of 'Havelok,' reserving a discussion of the other fragments for another occasion. Fragment *d* contains Havelok, ll. 174—183 (partly illegible); *e* contains ll. 341—364; and *f* contains ll. 537—544, ten lines not in the other copy, and ll. 545—6, another new line, and ll. 547—9. I now give the whole of this text. The new lines are marked with asterisks.

(*d*) Til sche be womman of elde,
Þat sche it may here selwe welde.
[h]e[1] answerde and seyd anon,
be Iesu crist and sen Ion,
Þat erl godric of cornwalie (*sic*)
[was][2] trewe man, wytouten faile[3],
wis man of red, and of dede,
...man me haued michel dred;
and he may here best ȝeme,

[1] Space left for a large H.
[2] *Illegible.*
[3] *Written* fale, *with* i *above, between* f *and* a.

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...of (?)...ymket[1] [quene].
(*e*) A riche king, strong and starc.
His name, it was birkebein,
He hauede mani knigth and swen;
He was fayr man and wyth,
And [of][2] is body þe beste knigth
Þat euere mith neuene[3] to we[rre],
Riden on stede, or handlen[4] spere.
Þre childre he hauede b[y his w]if,
Þat he louede as is [lif]
He hadde...[*lost*]
Swiþe fayre, and [fel it] so.
Þan he was....
Iuel him toke....
Þat he was so wyth euel bunde,
Þat he ne[5] mith liuen non stunde.
Þan he mith no longere liuen
For siluir Þat he mithe giuen.
Þan he Þat wiste, he dede senden
After prestis fer and henden,
After chanones[6], munkes boþen,
Hym to wissen and to roþen,
Hym to husselen and to shriue
Quiles Þat he were oliue.
Quan he was husseled & wel schriuen[7],
(*f*) Grim toke þe cheld, and bond wel faste,
[Þe] whiles þe bondes mith laste,
Þat was a foul strong line;
Þanne was haueloc in mekel pine.
Wiste he neuere er of wo;
But Iesu crist, Þat made to go
Þe alte, & þe dumme for to speke,
Haueloc Þout of godard wreke,
*And Þat he do him al quic flo[8]
*Wyt schame and pine and mekel wo.

[1] *Sic; error for* ym[a]ket; quene *is not legible.*
[2] of *is omitted.*
[3] *Obscure; written* neuēe.
[4] *Only* en *quite plain; but it is really* handlen.
[5] ne *above the line.*
[6] *Written* channs, *with* o *above the former* n, *and* e *above the latter.*
[7] *Partly cut away, but* schriuen *exactly fits.*
[8] *Compare* l. 2476.

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*For he[1] it seruede[2] on fele manere,
*As ye schuln forwar here[3].
*He was tratur in mani akas[4],
*And he it aboute[5] þat he swilc was.
*He broute þe child in mechel sorwen,
*Yet wurth is soule neuere borwen.
*He bad grim don is comaundeme[n]t,
*And þerfore was ate þe laste schent.
For þanne grim hadde him faste bounde,
And sithen in an old cloþe wnden,
*He þriste in his muth wel faste
A corner of an old cloþe, ful hun-wraste,
Þat he ne mith speken ne greden,
Quider so he wolde hym leden.

Next follow traces of a line, nearly all cut away; but I think it represents:—For godard hadde comaund him so. The words 'him so' are plain, and the top of 'hadde comaund' can be seen.

A few remarks may be permitted. The copy is a late and corrupt one, but has some points of contact with an earlier text than is preserved in the Bodleian copy. Thus, in l. 177, 'Iesu' is retained, and in l. 548 'ne' is rightly repeated. In l. 364, the line is complete. In l. 540, 'mekel' is better than the repetition of 'ful strong' (which should be 'ful strong-e') from l. 539. Note the variations in ll. 352—357. The aspiration expressed in l. 544 of the Oxford MS. seems to have been adopted to hide a loss of ten lines that should have been preserved. But the chief gain is in ll. 547–8, where the Bodleian text has clearly gone wrong, having lost a line that is required for the sense. Read as follows:

*He thristë in his muth wel faste*
A keuel of clutes, ful un-wraste,
That he ne mouhte speke ne *grede*.

WALTER W. SKEAT.
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[1] he *written above the line*.
[2] *Compare* l. 1914.
[3] *Compare* l. 731.
[4] *For* a kas'(a case).
[5] *For* aboughte.

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# 'GENTLENESS AND NOBILITY'; THE AUTHORSHIP AND SOURCE.

THE play *Of Gentylnes and Nobylyte*, further described as 'A dyaloge betwen the Marchau(n)t the Knyght and the plowman disputyng who is a verey Gentylman,' is known from an undated edition printed by John Rastell, who at the end of the piece adds the words, 'Johēs rastell me fieri fecit,' together with the announcement of authority usual to both the Rastells, 'Cum priuilegio regali.'

Since the publication of Warton's *History of English Poetry* (1774–1781), the play has been conjecturally attributed both to Rastell and to John Heywood[1], but neither ascription appears as yet to have been very seriously examined or defended. In the absence of external evidence, and in the prevailing uncertainty concerning dramatic activity during the first half of the sixteenth century, an absolutely final decision concerning the origin of the work can hardly perhaps be hoped. It seems possible, however, to show that the suggestion of Rastell's authorship has nothing to support it; and I have noted a close connection between the play and Chaucer's *Wife of Bath's Tale*, which seems to bear out other indications in identifying it with the accepted work of Heywood.

The conclusion in regard to the nature of Rastell's concern with *Gentleness and Nobility* depends solely upon the explanation given to the words of the colophon. These words, 'Johēs rastell me fieri fecit,' appear to me capable of only two translations, either of which amounts very nearly to a virtual disclaimer of Rastell's authorship. The more probable interpretation would be to take the phrase as the precise equivalent of that which appears at the close of *Calisto and Melibea*, 'Johēs rastell me *imprimi* fecit,' 'John Rastell caused me to be printed';

[1] As Collier has pointed out, Warton ascribed this play in one place to Rastell, in another place, with equal positiveness, to Heywood. In neither instance are any arguments given. Cf. *Warton*, ed. 1840, Vol. II, p. 513, note, and Vol. III, p. 86.

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i.e., acted simply as publisher. If, however, one feels that any significance attaches to the difference between the more specific verb used in the case of *Calisto and Melibea* and the more general 'fieri' of our play, the only alternative translation grammatically allowable is 'caused me to be composed'; i.e., suggested or occasioned the writing of the piece by some unmentioned poet, as, for instance, Caxton is said to have inspired some of the work of other writers which issued from his press.

Had Rastell wished to indicate himself as author of *Gentleness and Nobility*, he might doubtless have simplified the phrase which he actually employed, and announced, 'J. R. me *fecit*.' A more conventional and less ambiguous wording would have been to add, after the 'Amen' with which the body of the piece closes, the simple phrase, 'quod J. Rastell.' Thus Heywood signs *Witty and Witless* 'Amen qd John Heywod,' and the contemporary *Lusty Juventus* ends, 'Amen, quod R. Wever.' The only play which John Rastell can reasonably be supposed to have written is *The Interlude of the Four Elements*, ascribed to him on the authority of John Bale. As the latter work is extant only in a copy lacking the final leaves, it is impossible to say how Rastell signed it, if he did so at all. It is certain, however, that the *Four Elements* manifests in form and spirit a conception of dramatic art strikingly at variance with that which appears in the dialogue before us.

John Heywood's close family and business relations with the elder Rastell make it antecedently far from improbable that he should be the author of an interlude, otherwise unclaimed, which came from the press of the latter. And it seems to me that the internal evidence in favour of Heywood's authorship of *Gentleness and Nobility* is very much stronger than any critic has yet suggested.

The superficial resemblance between *Gentleness and Nobility* and Heywood's signed dialogue of *Witty and Witless*, sometimes called *Wit and Folly*, has been very generally recognized, and the two works are most frequently discussed together. Each presents a debate concerning an academic question, carried on by three interlocutors, and expressed in identical metrical form (riming couplets, with a kind of epilogue or conclusion in rime royal). But *Gentleness and Nobility* is considerably the more elaborate piece, and shows a much higher degree of dramatic skill. The careful art with which the characters of our play are brought on and off the stage; the conspicuous ability to develop a serious, ordered argument by means of lively dialogue in which each actor has his fair part; most of all, probably, the motivation of the whole

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drama by the action and reaction upon one another of contrasted class types representing social rather than moral or scholastic differences: these were no common features of the drama of Henry VIII's reign. They are, indeed, the chief characteristics which give to the work of John Heywood its recognized unique quality, and are most conspicuous in his plays of *The Weather* and *The Four PP.*

One other peculiarity in dramatic method, commonly regarded as an innovation of Heywood's original genius and not known in the work of any of his contemporaries, appears in *Gentleness and Nobility.* It is the practice of replacing the conventional plot material of the moralities by scenes and speeches borrowed from the *Canterbury Tales.* The indebtedness of our play to a certain part of Chaucer's *Wife of Bath's Tale*, though not previously pointed out, so far as I can discover, seems to me quite as close as that of *The Pardoner and the Friar* and *The Four PP* to other Chaucerian passages.

I believe that the first suggestion for the whole plot of *Gentleness and Nobility* comes from the old woman's discussion of gentleness of birth in Chaucer's tale, though it is, of course, not at all impossible that Heywood may have been further assisted in this play, as in *The Pardoner and the Friar*, by some unknown French or English work in dramatic form. I quote in parallel columns the lines in which the verbal resemblance between Chaucer and Heywood appears most striking:

| *Gentleness and Nobility.* | *Wife of Bath's Tale.* |
|---|---|
| Part II. Farmer's Facsimile. | Student's Chaucer, ed. Skeat. |
| Secunda pars, ll. 8—13. | Ll. 1109—1112. |
| For thy folysh and pyuysh oppynyon<br>Was because of the grete domynyon<br>Of the landis and rentis wher to thou wast bore<br>Whych thyn auncestours had long tyme before<br>Thou thynkyst thy self a gentylman to be<br>Ant that is a folysh reason semyth ne (i.e., me). | But for ye speken of swich gentillesse<br>As is descended out of old richesse,<br>That therefore sholden ye be gentil men,<br>Swich arrogance is nat worth an hen. |
| Lines 21—24. | Lines 1113—1116. |
| Then to speke by reason grete possessions<br>Make no gentylmen but gentyl condycyons<br>That is the cause and best reason why<br>One shuld be callyd a gentylman truly. | Loke who that is most vertuous alway,<br>Privee and apert, and most entendeth ay<br>To do the gentil dedes that he can,<br>And tak him for the grettest gentil man. |

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Lines 26—34.

If a manis auncestours haue be gentylmen
And verteous and good to common well
That ought to be reputyd neuer adell
To the prayse of the chylde whych doth refuse
Such good cõdycyons & the cõtrary vse
But he ought to be dyspraysyd the more
Because hys auncestours hath shewid hym before
A precedent of gentylnes & vertew
Whych good example he dothe not insew.

Lines 61—70.

So I sey vertew & good cõdycyons than
Is that whych makyth the very gentylman
And though the fadyr may bequeth to hys son
Hys ryches hys land & hys possessyon
Yet may he nothyr gyf nor bequeth
Unto hym in no wyse after hys deth
Hys vertew nor hys gentyl cõdycyons
They can not descend as other possessyons
And yf thou wylt be a gentylman nedys
Thou must than vse vertew & gentyll dedys.

New Haven, U.S.A.

Lines 1152—1158.

And he that wol han prys of his gentrye
For he was boren of a gentil hous,
And had his eldres noble and vertuous,
And nil him-selven do no gentil dedis,
Ne folwe his gentil auncestre that deed is,
He nis nat gentil, be he duk or erl;
For vileyns sinful dedes make a cherl.

Lines 1117—1123.

Crist wol, we clayme of him our gentillesse,
Nat of our eldres for hir old richesse.
For thogh they yeve us al hir heritage,
For which we clayme to been of heigh parage,
Yet may they nat biquethe, for nothing,
To noon of us hir vertuous living,
That made hem gentil men y-called be.

C. F. Tucker Brooke.

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# ON THE ITALIAN AND FRENCH SOURCES OF DRUMMOND OF HAWTHORNDEN.

In the present paper I propose to deal with the sources of various poems of Drummond which have not yet been noticed in the different articles contributed by me on the subject in this Review and elsewhere.

Of the Italian poets Drummond's two favourites were undoubtedly Marino and Torquato Tasso. The debt of Drummond to Marino has already been amply demonstrated by Ward in his edition of the *Poems*; and additional examples of his dependence on the same author have been instanced by me in a recent article[1]. On the other hand the extent of Drummond's predilection for Tasso is more considerable than has hitherto been believed. There is evidence that the Laird of Hawthornden was familiar with practically all the works of Tasso, whom in one of his poems (Ward II, 197) he apostrophises as 'Rome's greatest wonder, great Torquato Tasso.' In the catalogue of the books which he presented to the University of Edinburgh in 1627 figure *Il Rinaldo* and *La Gerusalemme liberata*; and in the lists of books read by him which he was wont to draw up we come across *l'Aminta* (read in the original and also in a French translation), the four parts of the *Rime* and the *Jerusalem* in English. Lastly he registers in the 'Table of my Italian Books, anno 1622,' *Le sette giornate del mondo creato*, the *Rime*, the tragedy *Il re Torrismondo*, and *La Gerusalemme conquistata*. This appears sufficient proof that Drummond was an assiduous student of Tasso's varied literary output. However that may be, he seems to have borrowed very little, if anything, outside the *Rime*. To the *Rime* the Scottish poet owes the piece, in a series of eight stanzas in *ottava rima*, entitled 'Thirsis in Dispraise of Beauty' (Ward I, 178), which comes dangerously near being a literal translation from beginning to end.

[1] 'The Italian and Spanish Sources of William Drummond of Hawthornden' (1911), in the *Miscellanea di studi critici e ricerche in onore di V. Crescini*.

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The two compositions open as follows:

That which so much the doating world doth prize,
Fond ladies' only care and sole delight,
Soon-fading beauty, which of hues doth rise,
Is but an abject let of nature's might:
Most woful wretch, whom shining hair and eyes
Lead to love's dungeon, traitor'd by a sight
Most woful; for he might with greater ease
Hell's portals enter, and pale death appease.

Questa, che tanta il cieco volgo apprezza,
Sol piacer delle donne, e sola cura,
Caduca, e fragilissima bellezza,
Un vil impedimento è di natura.
Misero amante, cui folle vaghezza
Dà in preda ad un' angelica figura,
Misero, ch' assai meglio entro alle porte
Dell' Inferno placar potria la morte!

As in delicious meads beneath the flowers,
And the most wholesome herbs that May can show,
In crystal curls the speckled serpent lowers;
As in the apple, which most fair doth grow,
The rotten worm is clos'd, which it devours;
As in gilt cups, with Gnossian wine which flow,
Oft poison pompously doth hide its sours:
So lewdness, falsehood, mischief them advance,
Clad with the pleasant rays of beauty's glance.

Come in bel prato tra' fioretti e l' erba
Giace sovente angue maligno ascoso;
Come in bel vaso d' ór vivanda acerba
Si cela, od empio succo, e velenoso:
Come in bel pomo spesso anco si serba
Putrido verme, ond' egli è infetto, e roso;
Cosi voglie, e pensier malvagi, ed opre,
Sotto vel di bellezza altri ricopre.

The last stanza in each poem runs thus:

I shall not fear, thus though she stray alone,
That others her pursue, entice, admire;
And though she sometime counterfeit a groan,
I shall not think her heart feels uncouth fire,
I shall not style her ruthless to my moan,
Nor proud, disdainful, wayward to desire:
Her thoughts with mine will hold an equal line,
I shall be hers, and she shall all be mine.

Non temerò ch' ella sia da altri amata,
Ch' altri la segua, o pur ch' altri la miri:
Non temerò s' ella alcun altro guata,
O se mesta talor par che sospiri:
Non chiamerolla ognor superba, ingrata,
E perversa, e ritrosa a' miei desiri:
Saranno i suoi pensier conformi a' miei:
Sarà mia tutta, ed io tutto di lei.

These *stanze* of Tasso (entitled 'Sopra la bellezza'), which may properly be described as belonging to the serio-comic *genre*, are

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interesting because they probably supplied Donne with the matter for his second Elegy, 'Marry and love thy Flavia[1].'

From Tasso's *Rime* Drummond likewise took the octet of Sonnet XII of the *Second Part* of his *Poems* (Ward I, 121):

As, in a dusky and tempestuous night,
A star is wont to spread her locks of gold,
And while her pleasant rays abroad are roll'd,
Some spiteful cloud doth rob us of her sight;
Fair soul, in this black age so shin'd thou bright,
And made all eyes with wonder thee behold,
Till ugly Death, depriving us of light,
In his grim misty arms thee did enfold.

Come in turbato Ciel lucida stella
Lampeggiar suol con chiome aurate, e bionde,
Che mentre illustra questa parte e quella,
Invida ed atra nube in sen l' asconde;
Cosi fra noi splendesti, anima bella,
Nel fosco orror, ch' intorno or si diffonde;
Ma chiuso il tuo splendor Mort' empia e fella,
Nè più tal lume in noi deriva altronde.

Occasionally a more indirect process of imitation is resorted to, as for example in the epitaph-sonnet which follows the *Tears on the Death of Mœliades*. In this case the four opening lines of the Italian poet's sonnet 'Al Sepolcro di Alfonso I' are expanded to eight lines:

Stay, passenger, see where enclosed lies
The paragon of princes, fairest frame
Time, nature, place, could show to mortal eyes,
In worth, wit, virtue, miracle to fame:
At least that part the earth of him could claim
This marble holds, hard like the Destinies:
For as to his brave spirit and glorious name,
The one the world, the other fills the skies.

Fermati, o tu, che passi: è qui sotterra
Il grand' Alfonso, io dico il mortal velo,
Che 'l nome, e l' alma termine non serra,
Ma l' un riempie il mondo, e l' altra il Cielo.

The terminal couplet presents a condensation of the first quatrain of a second sonnet of Tasso on the same topic:

Then go and tell, from Gades into Ind,
Thou saw where earth's perfections were confin'd.

Qui giace Alfonso, e piantò il sacro alloro
Qui la Vittoria, e n' adombrò la tomba:
E qui l' ale depose, e questa tromba
La Fama, onde il fe' noto all' Indo, al Moro.

[1] The resemblance between the two pieces had already struck Drummond. In the 'Character of Several Authors,' appended to the abridgment of the *Conversations* with Ben Jonson, in the Folio edition of his Works (1711), Drummond remarks in reference to Donne: 'I think, if he would, he might easily be the best Epigrammatist we have found in English, of which I have not yet seen any come near the Ancients. Compare Song: *Marry and Love* etc. with Tasso's stanzas against beauty; one shall hardly know who hath the best.'

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Again a madrigal, such as the one addressed 'To Thaumantia' (Ward I, 167), may prove on examination to have been transmuted from part of a sonnet. The ultimate source in this case is, of course, Catullus, but a comparison of the phraseology can leave no doubt who Drummond's model was:

Come, let us live and love,
And kiss, Thaumantia mine:
I shall the elm be, be to me the vine;
Come let us teach new billing to the dove;
Nay, to augment our bliss,
Let souls even other kiss;
Let Love a workman be,
Undo, distemper, and his cunning prove,
Of kisses three make one, of one make three. etc.

Viviamo, amiamci, o mia gradita Jelle,
Edra síi tu, che il caro tronco abbraccia:
Baciamci; e i baci e le lusinghe taccia
Chi non ardisce annoverar le stelle.
Bacinsi insieme l' alme nostre anch' elle:
Fabro sia Amor, che le distempri e sfaccia,
E che di due confuse una rifaccia,
Che per un spirto sol spiri, e favelle.
etc.

Much the same method is followed in the madrigal 'Upon a Glass' (Ward I, 160) which was manifestly suggested by the sonnet of Tasso entitled 'Porge la speechia alla sua Donna.'

Another Italian poet of the time to whose verse the Scottish poet went for inspiration is Luigi Groto, a prolific author in various branches of literature, generally known as Luigi Groto Cieco d' Adria, whose *Rime* (especially the madrigals), it may be noted in passing, were laid under heavy contribution by the brothers Davison in that part of *Davison's Poetical Rhapsody* which appears under their names.

From the blind poet of Adria, Drummond, who is known to have had a copy of his *Rime* on his shelves, undoubtedly adapted Sonnet VI:

Vaunt not, fair heavens, of your two glorious lights
Which, though most bright, yet see not when they shine,
And shining, cannot show their beams divine
Both in one place, but part by days and nights;
Earth, vaunt not of those treasures ye enshrine,
Held only dear because hid from our sights,
Your pure and burnish'd gold, your diamonds fine,
Snow-passing ivory that the eye delights;
Nor, seas, of those dear wares are in you found,
Vaunt not, rich pearl, red coral, which do stir
A fond desire in fools to plunge your ground;

Di produr Perle Arabia non si vanti
Più, ne più 'l Gange, onde il Sol novo ascende:
Nè il Tago più, che di fin' oro splende,
Nè di Alabastri pien d' Egeo si canti.
Nè Libia, ove l' Avorio han gli elefanti:
Nè l' Arcadia, che latte ogni hora apprende,
Nè l' India, che il pregiato Hebano rende,
Nè Pesto ove hanno ogn' hor rose gli amanti.
Sola Hadria tutti questi honor giunti habbia,
Che Perle, Sole, Oro, Alabastro, Avorio,
Latte, Hebano produce insieme, e Rose:
Onde le membra di colei compose,
Per cui languisco, e del languir mi glorio:



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Those all, more fair, are to be had in her:
Pearl, ivory, coral, diamond, suns, gold,
Teeth, neck, lips, heart, eyes, hair are to behold.

Denti, occhi, crin, sen, man, piè, ciglia, e labbia[1].

Curiously enough one of Drummond's favourite books was *Davison's Poetical Rhapsody*, from which there are copious extracts in his manuscripts. In fact one of his short pieces, entitled 'Constant Love' (Ward I, 175), is a condensation of a 'sonnet' from Thomas Watson's *Passionate Century of Love* ('Time wasteth years, and months, and days, and hours') which appears in the *Rhapsody* and with which Davison had taken many liberties. Watson himself, as he acknowledges, had conveyed the matter of his poem from Sonnet CXXXII of Serafino of Aquila, from whom, it may be noted, Drummond borrowed the trifle entitled 'The Cannon' (Ward I, 155).

Drummond's Sonnet XVII, which reproduces one of the favourite Italian sonnet-themes, would certainly not have received its present shape but for the following sonnet of the *Nuove Fiamme* (1561), a collection of sonnets, eclogues and elegies by Lodovico Paterno, of which the Laird of Hawthornden also possessed a copy:

With flaming horns the Bull now brings the year,
Melt do the horrid mountains' helms of snow,
The silver floods in pearly channels flow,
The late-bare woods green anadems do wear;
The nightingale, forgetting winter's woe,
Calls up the lazy morn her notes to hear;
Those flow'rs are spread which names of princes bear,
Some red, some azure, white and golden grow;
Here lows a heifer, there bea-wailing strays
A harmless lamb, not far a stag rebounds;
The shepherds sing to grazing flocks sweet lays,
And all about the echoing air resounds.
Hills, dales, woods, floods, and everything doth change,
But she in rigour, I in love am strange.

Di zafiri, & di perle in novel anno
Si veste; ne piu neve appar ne' monti;
Chine portan l' altere humide fronti
I fiumi, e 'n pace entro à suoi letti stanno.
Sotto 'l tepido sole allegri vanno
Con le Ninfe i pastori; & sour' i fonti
Puri; & ne' rami uccelli avezzi, & pronti
Sfogan piangendo ogni passato affanno.
Quinci vacche mugghir, quindi poi gregge
S' odon balar; l' aura d' intorno spira:
L' aria, l' acqua, & la terra è bella in vista.
Sol meco Amor con piu severa legge
Opra sue forze, & la mia vita attrista
Sì, c' homai vengo à me medesmo in ira[2].

[1] *Delle Rime di Lvigi Groto Cieco d' Hadria.* In Venetia, appresso Fabio, & Agostino Zoppini fratelli. 1587, p. 65.

[2] Cf. p. 95 of the 1568 Lyons edition of the *Nuove Fiamme*.

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In Paterno, Drummond also found the opening lines of Sonnet X:

| | |
|---|---|
| Fair Moon, who with thy cold and silver shine<br>Makes sweet the horror of the dreadful night, etc. | Luna, che col tuo puro, & freddo argento<br>Sueli à la maggior ombra il fosco horrore, etc. |

The rest of the poem, as I have already shown (*Modern Language Review*, V, 44), is taken straight from Passerat, as is also the 'pyramid' in verse at the end of the *Tears on the Death of Mœliades* (Ward I, 15). The idea of the pyramid Drummond probably found in Tabourot or in the *Arte of English Poesie* attributed to Puttenham, but the matter of it is a close paraphrase of one of Passerat's sonnets (*Les Poésies Françaises de Jean Passerat*, ed. P. Blanchemain, II, 77). On the other hand the two pieces 'Phyllis, on the Death of her Sparrow' (Ward II, 158), and the pastoral song 'Phyllis and Damon' (Ward I, 141) figure in the Hawthornden manuscripts (vol. X) with the superscription 'Translation of the death of a sparrow, out of Passerat' and 'Song of Passerat' respectively. They must accordingly be deducted from Drummond's unacknowledged debt to Passerat.

The far-fetched sonnet addressed to a window (Ward I, 85), with its curious hyperboles, was manifestly suggested by the following lines of Claude de Buttet, one of the numerous provincial adherents of the Pléiade, who in 1560 published a sonnet sequence addressed to a fictitious mistress whom he chose to call Amalthée. Buttet won no great fame among his contemporaries, in spite of the fact that he appears to have enjoyed the friendship of Ronsard and that he is mentioned by Pasquier in his *Recherches de la France* for certain metrical innovations. It was probably through the medium of that part of Pasquier's *Recherches* which deals with contemporary French literature, of which there exists a careful précis in the Hawthornden manuscripts, that Drummond's attention was drawn to Buttet's verse. However, previously to Drummond's time Buttet was not unknown in Scotland, and we have it on record that his poetical works formed part of the library of Mary, Queen of Scots:

| | |
|---|---|
| Thou window, once which served for a sphere<br>To that dear planet of my heart, whose light<br>Made often blush the glorious queen of night,<br>While she in thee more beauteous did appear,<br>What mourning weeds, alas! now dost thou wear! | Fenestre heureuse, où je vi que s'ornoit<br>Si gentement ma terrestre Déesse,<br>Entrelaçant avec sa longue tresse<br>Ses frisons d'or, lors que le jour venoit.<br>D'un estomach découvert, qui donnoit<br>Un doux chatœil, une douce liesse,<br>Tant me charmas au doux mal qui me presse<br>Que du plaisir l'ame m'abandonnoit. |



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How loathsome to mine eyes is thy sad sight!
How poorly look'st thou, with what heavy cheer,
Since that sun set, which made thee shine so bright!
Unhappy now thee close, for as of late
To wond'ring eyes thou wast a paradise,
Bereft of her who made thee fortunate,
A gulf thou art, whence clouds of sighs arise;
But unto none so noisome as to me,
Who hourly see my murder'd joys in thee.

O quel grand bien me fis-tu recevoir
En ce jardin, mais paradis terrestre,
Où de mon dueil le plaisir fut vaincueur!
Ainsi souvent te puissé-je revoir,
Maison d'amour, et toi, douce fenestre,
Qui lors me cheus pour jamais dans le cueur[1]!

The madrigal 'Apelles enamoured of Campaspe' (Ward I, 156) appears also to have been modelled on Sonnet XXIV of Buttet's *Amalthée*.

An examination of the Hawthornden manuscripts, which I had projected long ago, but which I was not able to carry out before last Easter, was not so fruitful as I had anticipated in revealing new sources, although it confirmed a large number of my previous results. In vol. VIII of the manuscripts, under the rubric 'Madrigali del Sig. Vallerio Belli dedicati al Sig. Battista Guarini, 1599' occurs the following Italian madrigal which is obviously the model for 'The World a Game' in the *Flowers of Sion* (Ward II, 27):

This world a hunting is,
The prey poor man, the Nimrod fierce is Death;
His speedy greyhounds are
Lust, sickness, envy, care,
Strife that ne'er falls amiss,
With all those ills which haunt us while we breathe.
Now, if by chance we fly
Of these the eager chase,
Old age with stealing pace
Casts up his nets, and there we panting die.

Questo mondo è una caccia, e cacciatrice
La morte vincitrice:
I veltri suoi rapaci
Sono cure mordaci,
E morbi, e mal, da cui cacciati siamo:
E se talhor fuggiamo
Vecchiezza sua compagna
Ci prende ne la ragna.

From the *Parnasse Satirique* (from which there are several extracts in the Hawthornden manuscripts), or from some other French collection of the same kind, Drummond copied down in his commonplace book the coarse French piece which in its English form was first printed in the folio edition of his works under the heading 'The Statue of Alcides' (Ward II, 157).

Ward is in error when he says (II, 310) that the madrigal 'Venus armed' is an imitation of a Latin epigram by Sannazaro. A version

[1] *Œuvres Poétiques de M.-C. de Buttet*...par le Bibliophile Jacob (Paris, 1880), I, 120.

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of it figures in vol. x of the Hawthornden manuscripts under the title 'Madrigali di Mauritio Moro.' On looking up Moro's 'Madrigals' I find that Drummond has departed very little from his model, except in the concluding lines:

To practice new alarms
In Jove's great court above,
The wanton Queen of Love,
Of sleeping Mars put on the horrid arms;
Where gazing in a glass
To see what thing she was,
To mock and scoff the blue-eyed maid did move;
Who said, sweet Queen, thus should you have been dight
When Vulcan took you napping with your knight.

Cinte le spalle havea,
E de l' arme di Marte ornato il petto,
La bella Citherea:
Onde Pallade ciò prese à diletto,
E disse: o vaga Dea
Fur d' huopo l' arme, allhora,
Ch' aprì i furti d' Amor, chi 'l Mondo infiora.
Cipria ciò udendo, ascose
I gigli del suo viso, in belle rose[1].

A perusal of Moro's verse also revealed the fact that the madrigal 'To a Swallow' (Ward II, 148) is transferred, still more literally, from the pages of the same author:

Fond Progne, chattering wretch,
That is Medea: there
Wilt thou thy younglings hatch?
Will she keep thine, her own who could not spare?
Learn from her frantic face
To seek some fitter place.
What other may'st thou hope for, what desire,
Save Stygian spells, wounds, poison, iron, fire?

Garrula Rondinella
Quest' è Medea crudele, e ancor nol vedi?
Se l' empia ai figli suoi fù fiera, e fella,
Che fara a' tuoi c' ha in seno?
Sciocca, da lei che chiedi?
Foco, ferro, ò veleno?
Mira al tuo scampo, mira,
Ch' il suo petto crudele avampa d' ira.

Lastly a curious instance of Drummond's imitative habits, and generally of the difficulty of tracing some of his sources may be instanced. Under the heading 'Jodel in Dido' one reads (MSS. vol. x, 152) the following lines from Jodelle's *Didon*:

beaux teints
Qui tout ainsi qu'on voit la fumee azuree
Du soulphre, reblanchir la Rose coloree,
De moment en moment par l'extresme douleur.
Change avec un effroy sa rosine couleur[2].

Next follow three rough copies, with numerous erasures and emendations, of the madrigal which first appeared in Philipps' edition (1656) of

[1] *I Tre Giardini de' Madrigali del Costante, Academico Cospirante, Mauritio Moro, Vinetiano.* In Venetia, MDCII, p. 134.
[2] Acte IV.

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Drummond's *Poems* in the following form (Ward II, 147), and which has re-appeared unaltered in subsequent editions down to the present day:

> Look how in May the rose,
> At sulphur's azure fumes,
> In a short space her crimson blush doth lose,
> And, all amaz'd, a pallid white assumes.
> So time our best consumes,
> Makes youth and beauty pass,
> And what was pride turns horror in our glass.

In none of the three manuscript versions can I discern any justification for the reading adopted by Philipps in the first and last line. This is not an isolated case; and I hope to be able to show, in the critical edition of Drummond's poems which I have in preparation, that a more thorough examination of the manuscripts is necessary, in many cases, in order to establish a trustworthy text.

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MANCHESTER.

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# ETYMOLOGIES.

BALINGER. I have spent a great deal of time on this word without coming to any conclusion, except that the accepted identification with 'F. *baleinier*, whaleman, whale-boat,' is probably wrong, although the two have been confused. There appear, in fact, to be three groups of medieval ship names which have got muddled, viz. Du. *bylander*, a coaster, whence probably F. *bélandre*, It. *belandra*, Sp. and Port. *balandra* (Jal), L.* *balœnarius*, whence F. *baleinier*, Sp. *ballener*, Port. *baleeiro*, etc. (Körting, § 1167, Jal, s.v. 2 *baleinier*), and our *balinger*. The confusion between these is seen in the fact that the A.F. *balenger* of the Black Book of the Admiralty is wrongly rendered in each case *bilander* in the translation (temp. James II), while Froissart's normal *balengier* occurs in some MSS. as *ballener*. Jal devotes a long article to the word, and, while admitting the identity of E. *balinger* and F. *baleinier*, puts the connection with the whale very vaguely (s.v. 1 *baleinier*). For some years I have been in the habit of noting occurrences of the word in medieval texts and a comparison of some sixty or seventy instances has led me to the following conclusions:

(i) The word crops up in the fourteenth century and is obsolete c. 1600, app. superseded by *pinnace*.

(ii) The *-ng-* forms are essentially E. or A.F., though they occur also in O.F. writers dealing with E. naval matters (Froissart, Wavrin), and occasionally elsewhere.

(iii) The *balinger* was the smallest warship, the classification 'niefs, barges et *balengers*,' occurring repeatedly in naval documents, where F. texts usually have 'nefs, barges et *batels*.' It was chiefly for scouting duty.

(iv) The name was applied also to small coasting vessels and to tenders accompanying large merchant ships.

(v) No connection with whaling is ever suggested, nor have I found an E. *balener*, although '*baleen*, whale,' was a familiar word in M. and Tudor E.

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(vi) The *-g-* was possibly hard, the normal Sc. form being *balingar* and the M.L. (Walsingham) *balingaria* as well as *balingeria* (Rymer).

What I regard as a possible etymology is suggested by the history of *boyer*, which corresponds to G. *Bojer*, used of small vessels in the North Sea and Baltic, and goes back to Du. '*boeyer*, genus navis' (Kilian). This is certainly related to Du. '*boeye*, G. *Boje*, bury,' but the reason for the name is obscure. In the 'Rooles d'Oleron' in the Black Book of the Admiralty occurs *balingue* (var. *balinge*, *balingne*) in the sense of 'buoy' and also the verb *balingner* (var. *balinger*, *baligner*). Jal also quotes '*baleingue*, buoy.' I propose therefore the proportion *balinger* : *balinge* :: *boeyer* : *boeye*. This *baling(n)e* is probably related to the mod. '*balise*, buoy,' of unknown origin (v. Du. *langer* and v. *balisagium*). It is *balingua* in the Catalan version of the Rooles.

CADGER. The N.E.D. has a verb *cadge*, with various senses connected with 'binding.' It is from M.E. '*caggen*, to bind,' which, as the N.E.D. says, cannot be connected with F. *cage*, to which the older etymologists referred *cadge*, *cadger*, in the 'peddling' sense. The N.E.D. suggests that '*cadge*, to peddle,' may be a separate word, and derives *cadger* from it. My object is to show that the *cage* etymology is very probably right for *cadger*. To begin with, *cadger*, recorded for 1450 (*cadgear*, Henryson), cannot very well be derived from the verb '*cadge*, to carry about as a pedlar does his pack,' which is not booked till 1607. It would rather seem that the verb is a back-formation (cf. *hawk* from *hawker*, *peddle* from *pedlar*). Leaving aside the dubious 'falconer's *cadge*' of 1615 which has been copied by so many dictionaries, there is an authentic '*cadge*, panier' (N.E.D.). The verb *cadge* is especially Sc., and I imagine the *cadger* transported his wares on his back or in paniers slung on each side of his 'capel.' I cannot quote for O.F. '*cage*, basket,' but it has several senses approximating thereto, and its It. cognates *gabbia*, *gabbione* have both meanings. The following entries from Kilian's 'Appendix peregrinarum, absurdarum, adulterinarumque dictionum,' seem, however, to prove this meaning: '*cagie*, cavea, cors (sic), cista, corbis dossuaria,' and '*cagiacord*, cestifer. qui caveam aut corbem portat.' Unless these words are borrowed from Sc., which seems unlikely, they must represent O.F. '*cage*, basket,' and, with suffix change, '*cagier*, cadger.' *Rippier*, sometimes synonymous with *cadger*, is derived by the N.E.D. from '*rip*, basket,' a parallel formation.

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DISCARD. Explained usually as from *dis* and *card*, hence 'to reject a card.' The N.E.D. compares O.F. *descarter*, Sp. and Port. *descartar* (Minsheu), It. *scartare* (Florio). It is, however, very doubtful how far these words originate from card-playing, though '*scartare*, to discard at cards' (Florio), may be a separate word from '*squartare*, to quarter' (Torriano). The view generally held (Schéler, *Dict. Gén.*, and see Körting, §§ 2123, 3476) is that there has been contamination between two separate words, and that It. *scartare* (whence G. *Skat*) and F. *écarter*, in the card-playing sense, belong to *carta*, while, in the general sense of removal, separation, rejection, we have to do with a L. **exquartare*. The O.F. *descarter*, quoted by the N.E.D., means in Godefroy, *écarter*, the only example being '...les Anglois...tueront grand nombre de Françoys et les font *descarter*' (15th cent.). F. *écarter* occurs too early (12th cent.) for it to have been a card-playing word. The oldest record in E. for *discard* (c. 1580) gives it the meaning 'degrade, dismiss, cashier,' and this is the only meaning recognized by the L. dictionaries of the seventeenth century, from Holyoak (1611) onward and by Sherwood in his index to Cotgrave (1650). Cotgrave does not appear to recognize the 'card' sense of '*escarter*, to scatter, dissipate, disparcle; also, to *discard*; to set, or lay apart; also, to sheed, squatter, throw about, or abroad.' Sp. *descartar* has the general, as well as the special, meaning, and even It. *scartare* is used for *ricusare*, *rigettare* (*Voc. della Crusca*) by Davanzati (1529—1606), while *scartate* (Florio, Torriano) means 'ill companie,...such as are *discarded* from others.' Considering the early occurrence and meaning of O.F. *escarter*, it looks as if the 'card' idea had been forced into all these words by popular etymology. In the case of E. *decard*, used in 'card' sense, c. 1550, and meaning 'reject' (1605), the chronology is, however, reversed. Apart from the improbability of the general meaning of *discard* having been evolved from the special sense, and the impossibility of this having been the case with F. *écarter*, a formation from *ex* or *dis* and *carta* seems unnatural. Such a word should mean rather 'to remove from the card'; cf. *disburse*, *disfranchise*, *disgorge*, etc.

DISCUSS. The accepted theory is that this verb represents the L. past participle *discussum*, Englished as *discuss* (1340) and appearing in A.F. as *discussé* (1352). It would be more natural for the word to have entered E. through F. In the *Liber Albus* (p. 214) I find 'tieux custumes et usages serront *discuz* par les Mair et Aldermans, et ceo

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avaunt juggement sur ceo rendue.' This *dis-cuz* appears to be the past participle of O.F. *descoure*, of which the *Dict. Gén.* (s.v. *discuter*) says that traces are found in O.F., though Godefroy gives for it only the meaning 'punish.' The formation in E. and A.F. of verbs from O.F. past participles is common. . The verb *discusser* (*Liber Albus*, p. 219) is probably formed from *discuz* in the same way as '*arser*, to burn' (*ibid.*, p. 267) from O.F. *ars*. The *Liber Albus* was composed in 1419, but the matter copied into it is mostly of much earlier date.

PALLET. In the sense 'helmet' or 'head-piece,' the N.E.D. has numerous examples, usually *pal(l)et(t)e*, from 1374 onward. It is also jocularly used for 'head.' It is referred to O.F. *palet*, which Godefroy explains as a dim. of '*pal*, stake,' and for which he gives one example (1384) meaning 'helmet' and a later one in the sense of 'head.' The inclusion of this word under '*palet*, small stake,' seems to be an error. The analogy of *basnet* suggests that it is an E. adaptation of F. '*palette*, small bowl,' used specifically of the barber's bowl (the helmet of Mambrino) used for blood-letting, which is for O.F. *paelete*, dim. of *patella*. The D.G. quotes *paelette* (13—14th cent.). The fact that *palette* is not recorded in the sense of 'helmet' in F. is not a serious objection, as E. has '*mazer*, (1) bowl, (2) helmet, (3) pate,' from O.F. '*masere*, bowl.' The second example in the N.E.D., 'a prevy pallette... to hille here lewde heed' (1399), shows that the *pallet* was, like the *basnet* and *sallet*, a close-fitting steel cap. I conjecture that Godefroy's *palet* is a re-imported A.F. form; see Du Cange, *palettus*. The naming of helmets from humble utensils is a common phenomenon, e.g. in a will of 1411 (*Earliest English Wills*, ed. Furnivall) a knight bequeaths to his three sons a *basynet*, *pallette*, and *ketel hatte* respectively.

STAY. The derivation accepted at present is from O.F. '*estayer*, to prop,' the transitive sense of checking, bringing to a standstill, having passed over to the intransitive (cf. *delay*). It is supported by the gloss. 'resto, obsto' in the Prompt. Parv., which explains *steyyn* (var. *staien*) as 'cesyn of gate.' The M.E. Dict. of Stratmann and Bradley gives only this example, with a pret. *staid* (Lidgate), so that the material necessary for really settling the etymology will not be available till the N.E.D. reaches the word. The old etymologists (Minsheu, Skinner) derived it from M.Du. '*staen* (now *staan*), to stand,' the connection with '*stay*, prop,' being apparently first suggested by Francis Junius. It is possible that both etymologies are to some

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extent correct, but I wish to urge the claims of a third, viz. O.F. *ester*. This has been proposed before. The Century Dict. remarks 'By some derived from O.F. *esteir*, *ester*, *estre*, F. *être*, to be, remain, continue; but this derivation is on both phonetic and historical grounds untenable.' This is a cryptic utterance, suggesting that O.F. *ester* (*stare*) and *estre* (*essere*) are the same word. I do not know what the historical objections are. *Ester* is a very common word in A.F., and it would be curious if it had not passed into E. Nor are the phonetic difficulties very serious. It is well-known that a number of E. verbs of O.F. origin are derived from past participles (*issue*, *value*, *foreclose*, *forfeit*, *defeat*, *paint*, etc.). The O.F. past participle *esté*(*e*) is commonly used of a 'halt' or 'stay' (see Godefroy). Although F. *-é* usually results in E. *-y* (*bounty*, *city*, *ditty*, etc.) it appears that *-ée* often gives M.E. *-eye*. Behrens (in Kluge, *Geschichte der englischen Sprache*², 1899) quotes *contreie* (: *waye*) and other examples. Although this is now regularly reduced to *-y*, owing I suppose to the shifting of the accent, it would remain in a monosyllable; cf. *fay* (Gower), O.F. *fee*, L. *fata*, an exact parallel to *stay*, O.F. *estee*, L. *stata*. Past participles of neuter verbs used as abstract nouns are regularly in the feminine form (*allée*, *arrivée*, *sortie*, *venue*, etc.) in O.F. (e.g. *allee*, *demouree* in Joinville). I suggest therefore that our *stay* is this O.F. past participle, probably first used as an abstract noun and then as a verb (cf. *value*). One might also invoke the Eastern forms of the verb, *esteir*, *steir*, with past participle *estei*(*e*), *stei*(*e*), and such common A.F. spellings as *espeie* for *espee* (*French Chronicle of London*, *Liber Albus*, etc.). The present participle of *ester* is regularly in A.F. *esteaunt*, *esteiaunt*, which appears to indicate that the stem was felt *este-*, *estei-*.

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# AN ANGLO-FRENCH LIFE OF ST OSITH

THE manuscript from which this life is taken—Welbeck ICI—is sufficiently well known to readers of the *Modern Language Review* to need no further description[1]. In the fourteenth century it belonged to a nunnery at Campsey, near Woodbridge in Suffolk[2], where it was used for pious readings at mealtimes[3]. It contains the following thirteen lives: (1) *St Elizabeth of Hungary*, (2) *St Panuce* (*Paphnucius*, probably by Bozon), (3) *St Paul the Hermit* by Bozon, (4) *St Thomas of Canterbury* by Garnier de Pont-Sainte-Maxence, (5) *St Mary Magdalene*, (6) *St Edward the Confessor*, (7) *St Edmund of Canterbury*, (8) *St Audry of Ely* by a certain 'Marie,' (9) *St Osith*, (10) *St Faith* by Simon of Walsingham, (11) *St Modwenna*, (12) *St Richard of Chichester* by Peter of Peckham, (13) *St Catherine of Alexandria* by Sister Clemence of Barking[4].

It will be noticed that no less than seven of the above lives are those of British saints; many of them exist in no other manuscripts.

The legend of St Osith or rather Osgitha, is a hopeless tangle of anachronisms if we are content to follow the text printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*, III, Oct. 7, pp. 936–44, nor can the skill of the editor reduce its contradictory statements to order. Much of the conflicting data disappears, however, when we only take into account the simple

[1] See Vols. III, p. 374, IV, p. 491. *Romania*, XXXII, p. 637.

[2] Cf. my article, *Romania*, XXXVIII, p. 418.

[3] The MS. bears the remark: 'Ce livere [est] deviseie a la priorie de Kampseie de lire a mengier.'

[4] No. 1 has been published by Prof. L. Karl in *Zeitschr. für rom. Phil.*, XXXIV, 295; Nos. 2, 3 and 12 by the present editor in *Romania*, XXXVIII, 418; *Modern Language Review*, IV, and *Revue des langues romanes*, July 1910 respectively. No. 4 has been published by Hippeau (Paris, 1859) and Bekker (Berlin, 1838) but not on this MS.; Prof. Oelsner has an edition in hand on all the MSS. No. 5 has been published by Reinsch in *Archiv f. d. Stud. d. neu. Sprach.*, LXIV, 15—94, and Prof. Karl has given the variants of the Welbeck MS. in *Zeitschr. für rom. Phil.*, XXXIV, 362; No. 6: see the article of P. Meyer in *Romania*, XL, p. 43, where 186 lines are printed; No. 13 by Jarnik: *Dvě Verse starfrancouzské Legendy*, Prague, 1894. I have nearly ready for the press an edition of *St Modwenna* and in an advanced state editions of Nos. 7 and 10. I have photographs of all the remaining lives and am preparing editions of them.

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recital contained in the oldest of the MSS. extant, viz., Bodley 285. So straightforward does this version appear that I have decided to print it as footnotes to the French text at such places as its narrative fits the French poem. Readers will then see how the legend has grown and be able to decide what may be regarded as interpolations in our text.

The story as contained in MS. Bodley opens with the list of the pious descendants of Penda of Mercia, who, though remaining till the end of his life a heathen, permitted his relatives to embrace Christianity: then comes the betrothal of Osgitha to Siherus, king of the East Saxons, the reference to the various devices by which she prevented her husband from consummating the marriage, the announcement of the appearance of the white stag, the chase, Siher's return after many days to find that Osgitha has profited by his absence to receive the veil from Ecca and Bedewin; Siher's grief at the decision of his wife; his gift of the manor of Chich as a dowry and the precise date 653. The next items are the martyrdom of Osgitha at the hands of pirates, the incident of her carrying her head into the Church of St Peter and St Paul, the smearing of the church door with her bloody hands, her burial at the entrance of the choir. After some miracles have been worked at her tomb, her body is first translated to a place in the middle of the choir and then, under Bishop Maurice of London (1087–1107), the body was again removed and placed behind the high altar. The French poet takes no account of the next item—the glass ampulla and the miracles worked by the balsam it contained[1], but a reference is made in the text of the *Acta* (§ 11) and in the MS. Cotton, Tiberius, folio 248 to the healing of a deaf-mute. Finally our MS. mentions that Richard (1108–28), successor to Maurice in the see of London, honoured the saint and settled regular canons at Chich in 1120; it suggests that large numbers of miracles were worked by the virtues of the holy Osgitha but mentions one only which took place in the times of Bishop Richard. This is the story of the theft of the piece of marble by German sailors who called at the mouth of the Colne during their voyage from Yarmouth to Antwerp (ll. 857—1064).

It has been objected that the legend of St Osgitha as above related, puts Siher ten years and the bishops Ecca and Bedewin twenty years too early, but Siher is mentioned in Bede (III, 30) for the year 665 as returning to heathenish practices during a plague in his dominions and as being re-converted by Bishop Jaruman and there seems no reason why he should not have been married to Osgitha twelve years previously;

[1] It should be noted that MS. Lansdown also omits this, see footnote to lines 825–56.

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again the appellation of Ecca and Bedewin as 'pastores et pontifices' is not conclusive evidence that they were bishops at the time Osgitha took the veil, as the second term may be merely anticipatory—the French text says of them:

> Prestres esteient ordinez
> Et seinz evesques puis sacrez (417–18).

The first addition to the legend we may take to be posterior to Richard[1] bishop of London who died in 1198. There is no evidence for it outside the French text which tells that this bishop coveted the wealth of the canons of Chich—their importance may be adduced from the fact that their first prior, William de Corbeuil, became archbishop of Canterbury in 1123, and their wealth from the imposing list of benefactors and manors and that at the time of the suppression the priory was valued at over seven hundred pounds per annum—and sent his seneschal to forbid them to enjoy the emoluments of their office. This is a curious side-light on the character of this bishop; for from the *Vita magni sancti Hugonis* (Hugh of Lincoln) we learn that in November 1197 there came a demand from King Richard for 300 knights, or money sufficient to hire as many mercenaries, to serve against Philip of France. The Archbishop (Hubert of Canterbury) convened a council of bishops and barons at Oxford, and some of the bishops were evidently indignant at the command for we have the Bishop of Lincoln protesting: 'I know that the Church of Lincoln is bound to provide military service for our Lord the King, but only in this country; outside England no service is due.' The Bishop of London, on the contrary, speaking as Dean of the province, declared his willingness to comply with the King's demand, wishing evidently to stand well with the King and recoup himself from the possessions of the canons of Chich. For his punishment I know no authority but the French text; in William of Malmesbury, however, we find that Richard—the founder of Chich—suffered from paralysis and intended to retire to Chich; the two Richards must have been confused.

The second addition we must consider to be the connection of Osgitha with Modwenna. Leland in the *Itinerary*, VIII, ii, fo. 92, gives the heads of the life of Osith ascribed to a certain Albericus Verus (see above, footnote to Richard) canon of Chich and dated 1250. To him is perhaps due the

[1] Richard Fitz-Neal, chancellor and author of the *Dialogue on the Exchequer*, cf. Schofield, *Anglo-Latin Literature* in *English Literature from the Conquest to Chaucer*.

The reference in Dugdale (Stevens' translation, p. 140) is as follows: 'St Osith's Priory at Chich in Essex, founded by Richard Belmeis, bp. of London, with a design to have resigned his bishoprick and become a Canon Regular himself but that he was prevented by death. Albericus Verus figures here as one of the benefactors.'

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connection of Osgitha with Modwenna. One must remember that there are probably three different holy women of the name of Modwenna (or Monenna) whose deeds go to build up the story of that saint. The connecting link between Modwenna and the subject of our manuscript must be looked for in the similarity between the list of the pious ancestresses of Osgitha and the various Mercian princesses who lived in religion and were connected with Modwenna; the Edith (daughter of Ethelwulf) of Streaneshalh (Whitby) must have suggested the Edith (daughter of Egbert) of Streveshal in the forest of Arderne—Warwickshire and companion of Modwenna—the names are constantly confused in the MSS.[1] In the lives of Modwenna, both in that of Conchubranus and in the later one of Geoffrey of Burton, appears a maiden Osid or Osith but no mention is made in either of her forbears. It is not clear from which of these the writer of the Latin text published in the *Acta* took his story of the three-day immersion of Osith in the river Anchora but the French poet probably knew the version of Conchubranus, and not that of Geoffrey as Hardy (Descriptive Catalogue, I, 2, No. 1097) suggests. In Conchubranus alone (II, 8) we find a mention of Osith accompanying Modwenna to Rome (cf. line 211) and in it the bridge is said to be 'unum lignum' (II, 9) like the French 'd'un sul tref' (line 275). It will be noted that the adapter of the Bodley text says he will tell only one miracle—that of the German sailors—he may probably have known, though he omits, that of the paralytic woman which is told in an abbreviated form in the *Acta* and the Cotton MS.[2] Her lapse from the paths of righteousness, punishment and second healing are similar to the previous story in the same text, where a girl whose arms are paralysed had been cured, but breaking her vow of continence by marriage, the same penalty is imposed and on further repentance she is again healed (AA. SS. § 11). As to the other MSS. mentioned by Hardy, MS. Tanner 15, pp. 445–8 is identical with the text of the *Acta*, MS. Lansdown 436 ff. 29, 30 is identical with Bodley 285 except for an occasional change in spelling or word order and a number of omissions

[1] Cf. the excellent edition by Esposito in *Proceedings of Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. XXVIII, and the MSS. Mostyn and Royal, 15 B. IV, which will be printed in my edition of Modwenna.

[2] AA. SS. § 11. 'Mulierem contractam Virgo sancta erexit.

'Puella quædam officio brachii adeo privata, ut lateri ejus inseparabiliter inhæreret, cum meritis S. Osithæ perfectæ sanata esset, votum continentiæ nuncupavit; sed postea cum quodam juvene matrimonium contraxit. Ei S. Ositha apparens, cur temerario ausu vota, quæ distinxerunt labia sua, rupisset, spurcissimum conjugium improperando, redarguit, et compedum vinculo invisibili pedes ejus arctius constrinxit, ut pedem pedi subjectum divellere non valens officio pedum prorsus destituta ultionis divinæ flagellum sentiret. At tandem tamen meritis sanctæ virginis sospitate reddita, correctius deinde vivere studuit.'

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which we note by ( ) in the text here printed, while Bodley 240 is a series of *Lectiones*[1].

Our author (or authors, cf. below) does not appear to have used any of the MSS. that have been enumerated; thus he mentions Osgitha's birthplace as Querendon (line 184) as does Leland (quoted by Dugdale); in the chase King Siher pursues the stag as far as Dunwich (line 616) which seems to be an addition of his own; the names of the pirates responsible for Osgitha's execution are Ynguar and Ubba (line 770) known only from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the year 870, and they are mentioned as the slayers of Eadmund both in the poem (line 776) and in the same year in the Chronicle. According to the Chronicle these Danes came down from Mercia and settled at Thetford and pushed their plunderings thence, while in the French poem they landed near Chich (line 792). Then, too, as has been pointed out, the whole story of Richard's persecution of the canons of Chich and his punishment rests on no known source. That the sources for a poem should only be preserved in outline is unfortunately very common. It happens only rarely that a French poem and its Latin source form a close parallel as is the case with Peter of Peckham's life of St Richard of Chichester and with St Modwenna; this is natural, however, when we consider that the mass of material was so great that 'abbreviationes' were necessary and that these, put into the order of the liturgical year, form the legendaries which are in so many cases only preserved[2].

The portion of the Welbeck MS. which contains the life of St Osith is in a good late thirteenth century hand and very legible; the MS. we may suppose to have been put together early in the fourteenth century —there are three different hands and perhaps more[3]; we may assume that our portion dates somewhere about 1260–70. On reading the poem we are struck by a discrepancy in the language and scansion. The early parts dealing with Osith's youth, i.e., the first 180 lines or so—the marriage, the taking of the veil; the chase; the martyrdom; the incident of the sailors; the paralytic woman—as we shall state in greater detail later, do not appear attributable to a date later than the end of the twelfth century. The last incident concerning Bishop Richard must be later than his death in 1198 but probably very little later; while the Modwenna story may belong to the second half of the

[1] I have to thank Mr Winstedt of the Bodleian Library for this information.

[2] See Paul Meyer's articles in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXXIII, *Notices et Extraits*, XXXVI, etc., etc., also the *English Legendary* in E.E.T.S., Vol. 87.

[3] Prof. Karl has promised a fuller description of the MS. in a forthcoming number of the *Revue des langues romanes*.

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thirteenth century. In the paragraphs dealing with the language and versification we call this episode (B) and the former (A).

As has been often stated, Anglo-French is not a distinct dialect showing normal and regular development, and phenomena that would be adequate for approximate dating in other dialects are useless here unless supported by other evidence. It may be well however to enumerate certain linguistic traits and to compare them with other Anglo-French works; for this purpose we take the *Vie de saint Gilles* of Guillaume de Berneville, the works of Simund de Freine and those of Chardry, dated by their editors at about 1170, the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century respectively.

1. Cases of the confusion of *e* <Latin *a* with *ie* < *a* preceded by palatal or *ȩ* occur with ever increasing frequency till by the beginning of the thirteenth century rimes where the two sounds are kept distinct are due only to chance. Our text only offers cases of this confusion in the parts called (A) and (B), cf. § 17. This must be due to some special reason, which I have been unable to determine and which I think could only be determined if we had sufficient manuscript material for a sound critical text. Even if we could consider the whole poem, except the episode (B), now published as of one writer and one period, the fact that only three instances of this confusion occurred would still be remarkable. This phenomenon cannot help then for the dating of the poem; it might point to the author being a Frenchman of France if other facts bore this out, but they do not seem to do so.

2. From the foregoing we shall understand that there can be no rimes such as *cel* < cælum : *el* < alum for aliud; this is also true for St Gilles (which, however, confuses *ié* with *é*) whereas Simund and Chardry know this confusion.

3. Confusion of infinitives in *-er* < -are and those in *-er* (for eir) < ére is unknown to St Gilles and our poem, whereas cases of this are in Simund and Chardry; cf. *Rom. Forschungen*, I, p. 210.

4. Confusion of infinitives in *-ier* with those in *-er* (for eir) < ére does not occur in St Gilles and in our poem only in (B), cf. § 17, but there are certain cases in Simund and in Chardry.

5. *-ai* and *-ei* final; these vowels are kept distinct in St Gilles and in our poem, but in Simund and Chardry there are cases of confusion. This confusion seems to date from the last decade of the twelfth century.

6. *-eie* and *-ée* final. This rime only occurs with the word *veie* < via and a few past participles of the first conjugation, cf. ll. 811, 1185, 1207,



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1333. This is fully discussed in § 15; although the spelling *-ei* for *-e* occurs in many texts I have not met it in rime with *-é* except in Frère Angier (1212–14) and Chardry, who has *monée* < moneta in rime with *dunée* and *aportée* [*Sept Dormans*, 1205, 1291].

7. *-ais* and *-eis*. Our poem has no instances of rimes in *-ais* and only one in *-eis*, viz. *reis* : *Engleis* 131, cf. § 15, nor does it mix *-ais* with *-es*; it has pure rimes in open *e*, cf. § 3. This must be due to chance as cases of this confusion are found in Gaimar, Adgar as well as in St Gilles and Simund. In spite of Koch's assertion that Chardry keeps the sounds separate, we have *curteise* : *pleise* and *treis* : *mauveis* in the *Petit Plet*.

8. *-ait* and *-eit*. These sounds are kept distinct in St Gilles and in our poem, cf. §§ 13, 15; some hesitation in Simund and Chardry.

9. *-air* and *-eir*; e.g. *detraire* : *creire*. These are distinct in St Gilles; our poem contains one case viz., *feire* : *trere* 1195, cf. § 15. Confusion is frequent in Simund and Chardry.

10. *-aire* and *-ère*; e.g. *faire* : *terre*; confusion in St Gilles and in Simund and Chardry; our poem, probably only by chance, has these rimes distinct, cf. § 3.

11. *-ui* and *u*. This change of *-ui* to *u* does not take place exclusively on English ground; before *s* it is common in Norman. In St Gilles the sounds are kept distinct; in our poem confusion is only found before *s* and *t*. In Simund the change occurs in addition before *r*, e.g., *dedure* : *dure* [S. G. 123], while in Chardry it is found even when the vowel is final, e.g., *ennu* : *vertu* [*Jos.*, 2925].

12. *-eus* < -alis or -illos; these endings are distinct in St Gilles but confused in Simund and in Chardry; there are no instances in rime in our poem.

13. *-an* and *-en* + consonant. No confusion in St Gilles, our poem nor in Simund, whereas Chardry has some cases of confusion, viz., *obeisanz* : *cumandemenz* [*Jos.*, 555].

14. *-ain* and *-ein*. These sounds are not found riming together in St Gilles, but our poem has *main* : *sein* < sinus 667. In Simund and Chardry confusion is common, cf. § 14.

15. *-ien*. The rimes on this vowel are pure in St Gilles, in our poem and in Simund. There is of course the regular variation with *nient*, cf. § 18.

16. *s* and *z*. These consonants are kept distinct in rime in St Gilles, in our poem and in Chardry; there is one case of confusion in Simund, cf. § 32.

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17. *-eit* added to verbs of the first conjugation unknown to St Gilles and to Simund is found in our poem only in (A) and (B). In Chardry this mistake is regular, cf. § 55, iv.

18. The feminine *e* is rarely mute in the body of the poem, very frequently in (B) and less frequently in (A), cf. § 5.

From this rapid survey it appears that the bulk of our poem must be placed near the end of the twelfth century and that it is probably older than the works of Simund de Freine and of Chardry. The other portions may, as I have already suggested, be placed in the early part and in the second half of the thirteenth century respectively. The reasons for the divisions (A) and (B) will be made plainer in the paragraphs dealing with versification.

Ici comence la vie seinte Osith
virge e martire.

134 v°a Ceo nus mustre seinte escripture
Bon fu ki met en Deu sa cure,
Et aime e creient son creatur
Plus ke ne fet autre seigniur;
Ki l'aime e creient e bien le sert,
Ne ci ne ailliurs ja ne pert;
Ki guerpist terre pur son non
Ciel li donne de gueredon;
Ne change cil pas follement
Ke terre lesse e le ciel prend;
Ne follement ne change mie
134 v°b Ke lesse mort e receit vie;
Cil change bien, cil change a dreit
Ki mort lesse e vie receit;
Kar certes del mund la richesse
N'est fors dolur e granz tristesce;
Honur del mund est trespassable,
Et a nus tuz mut poi estable.
Ki ne volt creire ne saveir,
Bien l'os dire, fols est pur veir.
Veum par ceus ke sunt alé—
Nos ancestres e trespassé;
U sont nos aels e nos peres
U [sont] nos uncles e nos meres,
Ke tant furent riches e beaus,
Assez orent dras e chiviaus?
Tuz sont alez, sachez en fin,
Si vous atendunt en chemin;
. . . . . .
Quel jur son eire ert aprestez;
Pur ceo vus di, si l'entendez,
Ki aime Deu bour fu nez.
Kar tant cum il Deu amera,
E son servise meintendra,
Pur veir vous di, n'estut doter
Quel jur deive del siecle aler.
A Deu tant bonz fu finement
Ke de seinz Deu example prent,
Ki guerpirent terre e honur
Et tut le mund pur Deu amur,
Et soffrirent hunte e esclandre,
Pur Deu firent lur sanc espandre;
En bone entente e (en) bon espeir
Mort donerent pur vie aveir;
De tels a grant plente trovum
135 r°a En seinz escriz ke nus lisum;
Et nient de madles solement,
Mes de femmes tuit ensement.
Seintes (e) veraies Deu anceles,
Et d'alquantes tendres puceles,
Ke tut le mund unt refusé
Pur prendre sei a Dampnedé(u),
Et suffrirent pur son non
Ou veraie conpunction.
De une tele volum parler

2 Cf. § 44 iii. 6 Cf. § on Hiatus. 21 MS. *ceus par ke...*

32 MS. *bonz*: the emendation seems certain, for the expression *bor* (*beor*, *buer*, etc.) *est nez* is exceedingly common, cf. line 1424, but it does not render the line correct in scansion. Cf. § 64. It is interesting to note that the *bor i alasses* of *Alexis*, 90 e figures in one MS. also as *bon*....

37 The reading *bonz* should perhaps be again emended, the sense would be improved, though the tense is awkward.

38 ke = *qui*, cf. § 49. 48 ui for u (o), cf. § 10. 50 MS. *de qñz.*

53 The line might be corrected by inserting *mut* before *suffrirent*; the verb requires an object, cf. vv. 41, 42 above.



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Ke durement fet a loer,
Ke Deu ama e Deu servi,
Et tut le mund pur li guerpi;
Et pur son verai creatur
Guerpi son terrien seigniur.
Li reis estoit fort e puissant
Pur Deu l'ad tut refusant,
Pur li suffri peine e dolur,
Et martyre a chef de tur.
La virge dunt [vus] voil parler
Sovent avez oy nomer,
Sa vie n'est guerres leue,
Ne cum dreit fust par tut seue;
Ele est par non Osyd nomée,
De Engleterre nurrie e née;
A Deu voua son pucelage,
E bien le tint tut son [e]age;
Sa vie est bele e gloriuse,
Seinte e duce e preciuse;
En cest romanz purrum oir
A prendre bien e retenir
De seint Osith e de sa vie,
Cum Deu la choisi a amie;
135 r° b Cum Deu l'aveit amé et chere—
Mustré l'ad en meinte manere;
Par miracles e par vertu
Ke en plusiurs lius sunt avenu,
Et bien veu par Engleterre,
Et en la peis e en la guerre;
Ke Deus i ad fet apareir
Et nuit e jur, (e) matin e seir;
Entendez i communaument,
Kar ge le vus di seurement,
Meuz vaut oir ici entour
Ke de la geste paenur,
De Guercedin e de Saisons,
Deu enemis e felons,
E d'autre teus pur verité,
U l'em vus ment a grant plenté;
Ky aime e ot la vanité,
Deu li en set mut [de] malgré.

Des seinz Deu la veraie estoire
Devum aver bien en memoire;
Kar quant nus la folur oum,
Essample sovent en pernum;
Ky sen escute e sen entent
Il en amende mut sovent.
De seinte Osith or(e) vous dirum,
Si cum en l'escrit le trovum;
Certes mut fet a amer,
Et a criendre e a duter;
Mut par est bien de Deu lasus,
Bien le direz kant orez plus;
Mut est dutuse a curucer,
Kar tantost pense sei venger;
N'i ad mester coruz ne plait,
135 v° a Tost se venge ki se mesfait,
Cum vus avant orrez assez;
En cest romanz si l'entendez,
Ne serrez de fables peu,
Mes de miracles e (de)vertu,
Ke Deus en Engleterre fist
Pur seinte Osith k'a li se prist;
Si en crei ke volenters l'orast
Ke seinte Osith gre le sav(er)ast;
Kar ki voudra bien peut aider
Vers Dampnedeu e avancier.
Ore entendez bien dunc sa vie
Ke en puissez aver aie,
Sucurs e son amendement
Vers Dampnedeu omnipotent.
La virge Deu tant bonurée
Ke seinte Osith est apellée,
Gentil esteit de parenté,
Fillie ert au rei mut renomé,
En Engleterre esteit cil reis,
Fredeyold l'apelent Engleis.
Seinte Osith ot cil rei a pere,
Withborc reine fu sa mere
Ke esteit fillie Pende le rey,
De grant puissance e de nobley,
Et mut out en subjectiou;

62 Cf. § 56 corr. *li va refusant*. 64 Cf. § on Hiatus.
65 The spelling *virgine* (cf. l. 382) could be adopted instead of amending *vus*.
74 Cf. § on Hiatus. 88 Cf. § 5 ii (δ).
89 It is common in Agn. didactic poems to find epic and lyric poetry decried; cf. my note in *Vie de Saint Richard*, *l. c.*
91 The king of the Saxons in the *Chanson des Saisnes* of Jean Bodel; a large number of variants of the name exist, but this seems to be a new one.
92 Some word seems to be missing from the text, perhaps *mals*. 97 Cf. § 20.
105 A small space is left in the MS.; perhaps *ele* should have been inserted. Reasons why St Osith should be feared are furnished by the miracles.
106 Cf. § on Hiatus. 119 Cf. § 53. 120 Cf. § 59. 121–2 Cf. § 55.
vv. 126–50 Beata virgo et martir Osgitha ex nobilissima Anglorum stirpe extitit orta. Erat filia Fredeswaldi regis (atque Wilburge regine, filie Pende regis de quo Beda in tercio ecclesiastice Anglorum istorie libro mencionem facit). Qui Penda licet in paganissimo usque ad finem sue vite permansisset filium tamen christianissimum nomine Peadam et filias neptesque et proneptes sanctissimas habuit, (quarum corpora per Angliam diversis in locis quiescunt). [Bodley, 285 f°, 121 r° b.] Omissions in MS. Lansdown shown by ( ).

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Seint Bede en fait grant mention
En cele estoire des Engleis,
E dist tut fust cil paens reis;
Il out enfanz de bone fey,
Verais en crestiene ley;
Un fiz aveit mut renomé
Fillies e neces a (grant) plenté
185 Ki se pristrent de Deu de tut,
Amerent e servirent mut.
Le reis Pende dunt ay parlé
Les chers enfanz out engendré
Ke Dampnedeu a sei choisi;
Lur non avez assez oy:
L'une est nomé[e] Keneburc,
Et l'autre ad non Eadurc,
Seinte Osith fu del parenté,
(Kar) lur niece fu pur verité;
Example prist de lur chasteté,
Pur Dampnedeu servir a gré.
Entains en sa primere enfance
En fiz Deu aveit sa fiance;
Entente e tute s'amur
Aveit en Deu son creatur;
Richesce aveit a grant noblei
Si cume fillie a riche rei;
Plente de vivre e de manger,
Et quanque l'em en mund ad cher;
Mes trestut ce petit preisa,
Pur Deu despit e tut lessa,
La richesce ne tut le bien,
K'en mund veeit ne preise rien;
Bien le sachez ke la pucele
De face esteit e clere e bele,
De cors bien fete e acemée,
Mes plus dedenz fu esmerée;
Riches e povres refusa,
Son pucelage a Deu voua,
Et cil requist come seigniur
Ke violée ne seit nul jur;
Et Dampnedeu bien l'en oy,
185 Par sa ducur e sa merci
Ne perdi sa virginité(e),
Pur nul home de mere né(e);
Unc (nul) hom de ce ne ha conut,
Virge nasqui, virge morut.
La vile u seinte Osith fu née
Querendone est apellée;
Assez sevent li païsant
K'en la contrée sunt manant,
Plusurs [del] luitain autresi,
Le liu u seinte Osith nasqui;
Enseignie i ad assez apert,
Ke puet chescum fere cert,
Unkes puis jekes a cest jur
Au liu n'out herbe ne verdur:
Par son nestre est le liu sacré,
(Et) de tut humein us sequestré;
Dementers k'en ceste vie fu,
Deu fist pur lui mut grant vertu,
Et pus k'est martir mut a fest,
Dunt partie orrez si vus plest,
Pur vus joir ge [vus] dirray,
Une partie ke apris ay;
Si cum avant [ge] vus disai[e]
Kant des parenz Osith tuchai[e];
Seinte Osith out grant parenté
De grant richesce e (de grant) seinteté,
Aels e uncles de grant poesté,
Auntes e neces de grant chasteté;
Li plus[or] d'eus sunt assemblé,
Au pere Osith sunt conseillié
Ke a tel mestre seit Osith baillié[e]
K'en nule manere seit afolé[e].
185 A Modwin baillier a plus plout,
A cest consent le conseil finout,
Kant la pucele parler saveit,
A Modwen l'abesse baillie esteit;
A merveille ama e chere tint,
A Rome fu, ou li revint.
Ceste Modwene dunt ay dist,
Juste Ardene deus musters fist;
L'un a Polesvurche ce dient la gent,
L'autre en Stranesrale vereiment.
Modwen en l'un sujurna,
A Edith l'autre otreia;
Al rei Edfrid esteit seur,
Modwen ver li out grant amur.
Un jur issi aveneit
K'en oreisuns Modwen loinz aleit;
A Edith Osith enveia
Ke bien la preist kar mut l'ama;
Sa compaigne out long tens estée
Mut fu de lui joiuse e lée;

155 See § 70. 157 Cf. § 59.

vv. 151–6 (Nam sancta Keneburga et sancta Edburga ejus filie sancta vero Mildridtha neptis et sancta Werburga sanctaque Elstreda et sancta Elgida proneptes ejus fuisse testantur cronica.) [Bodley, *ibid.*] 172 Cf. § 65.

184 Cf. § on Versification. For this see Introduction. Quarrendon is a village 1½ miles N.W. of Aylesbury. There exist the remains of an early church.

185 Cf. § 31, and English tyrant, parchment and their French equivalents. Cf. l. 589 and § 31.

190 Cf. §§ 59, 65. 200 Cf. § 45. 205 Cf. § 70.

211 For the Modwenna episode, cf. Introduction. 212 Cf. § 68.

218 MS. *teus*. 221 Cf. § 65. 223 Corr. *serur*, cf. § 43, iv.

225 Cf. § 65. 226 Cf. § 67.

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Aukes [de] tens ert trespassé,
Modwene a muster est repairé,
Un livre out trové Edithz,
Plein de proverbes e (de) bonz diz;
Examples i trova a grant plenté,
De vertuz e de seinteté;
Ne vot cel bien sule celer,
Mes ou Modwen comunier,
A volage ne vot baillier
Ki l'empeireit de leger.
Osith apella par grant ducur:
'Plereit, dist ele, bele seur,
'A nostre mere Modwen aler,
[136 v° a] 'A li cest livre par moi porter;
'Dirrez ke granz biens i puet trover,
'Dunt se memes puet amender,
'Et par doctrines k'ele trovera
'Tuz les sens amender purra.'
Osith encline, lui otria,
Dist ke volenters i irra;
Le livre prent, rien ne resta,
Mes al aler se [a]presta.
Ha Deu ke Edith ne seust l'aventure
K'avendreit a Osith en ceste ure,
Ne la lerreit aler (si cum) je crei
Pur tut l'or Mide le rei.
Si Edith seust ke li avendreit,
Cest(e) eire emprendre ne li suffreit
Pur tut l'or ke seit en Espaine,
Ne pur [tut] l'onur de Lovaine.
Si Edith seust ke Osith est a venir,
Cest message ne li freit furnir,
Pur ce k'ot Salamon le sage
U Alisandre en tut son age.
Mes Deu li cela cest conseil,
Kar de Osith vot fere grant merveil.
Ivern ert e mut out pleu,
Pur ce la pucele n'est (re)mansu;
A l'aube del jur (en) la matinée,
Errant se est acheminée;
Le livre prist e s'en ala
A Modwen u Edith l'enveia.
En cest chemin une ewe curreit,
U la damisele passer deveit;
Le punt fu lung e d'un sul tref,
Passer comensa pouruse e suef
[136 v° b] La rivere fu large e parfund,
Et ele ert ja en mi le punt;
Le vent fu fort e mut bruant,
Les pans de son mantel despant,
Mes par les taches al col remist,
Et par les gerrons a sei (le) prist
Son mantel ke le livre obli,
Ke de ses meins en l'ewe chai;
De cele perte fu esbai,
Al prendre s'abessa si le suivi;
(Bien) cuida son livre aver receu,
Mes amdeuz l'ewe ad reteneu.
Loinz de cel liu les desaka,
(Et) en une krenke les jeta,
[Et] bien treis arpenz loin del pont,
Les graventa en un parfunt,
La jurent amdeuz treis jurs
Et treis nuiz sanz [aucun] succurs;
La jurent treis jurs e treis nuiz
Si enfundre en un puiz;
Treis jurs e nuiz Osith i jut
Iloec neé en cel duit.
Issi Osith gesir larrum,
Et de sa dame nus cunterum.
Del quart jur s'esclarzi la matinée,
Edith s'est mut esmerveilliée
Ke feist Osith tant targer;
Dist k'ele irra l'encheson saver.
En son quer suffri grant batestal,
Bien leva devant le chant de gal,
Errant se mist a cheminal;
Modwen l'encuntre par esperital;
Si cum Edith aveit veu
[137 r° a] Modwen silence ad derumpu;
Bien par son semblant ad aparcu
K'ele fu dolente et irascu.
'Edith, bele seur, k'estes dolente?'
'Dame: (dit Edith) ore oez qui me turmente,
'Damoisele Osith vus enveiay,
'Un livre portant ke mut amay,
'Hui est le quart jur trespassant
'Puis n'en oi mes ne cuntrement;
'Dame, k'est ele demoré tant?'
Dist Modwen: de ço 'ne soi rien avant.'
Si l'une e l'autre fu esbaye,
Ceo demander serreit folie,
Pasturs furent leus delez,
Lur bestes pessanz par ces pres;
Les dames a eus sunt alez
Apres saluz unt demandez:
'Amis ke Deu vus doint sauveté,
'Ceo dunt vus prium diez verité,
'Veistes une damoisele al punt aler,
'A la matinée li tierz jur fu er,
'Afublé out un neir mantel?'
A ceo dient li pasturel:

239 volage, cf. § 59. 242 Cf. § 43 iv. 245 Omit *ke*, cf. § 53 i. iii.
253 § 53 vii. 261–2 Cf. § 59. 281 Cf. § 59.
283 MS. *ken*. 290 *krenke*, cf. § 59. 293 Cf. § 65.
296 Cf. § 59. 306 Cf. § 48 *a*.
307 *se mettre a chemin* is a known phrase, the present is used for the rime. *cheminal* appears to be very rare.

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'Une tele pucele cum vus querez,
'Hui est quart jur veimes assez,
'Amunt sur la chause passer,
'Jeske al punt veimes aler,
'Mes kar a nos bestes entendium
'Plus n'en seumes en fei vus dium.'
Lors ke neé[e] fust suscherent
Les dames e al punt repeirerent;
Amedeuz se mistrent en oreison,
Ou plurs ou grant devotion,
187 r°b Ke Deu lur deignast le cors mustrer,
Ke suveus le puissent enterrer,
Primes sa preere Modwen fina,
A pont Osith deuz feiz clama:
'Damoisele Osith venez hors
'Ke veer puissum vostre cors;
'A ceo vus doint force e vigur
'Ke Lazre suscita al tierz jur.'
A peine out Modwen sa voiz fini
Ke de l'ewe Osith ne issi,
Neste e secke son livre ausi,
Et dist: 'dame veez moi ci.'
Si cum del tut fu virgine pure,
Son livre e li sunt sanz muilliure.
Ha Deu ky [dunc] pust esgarder,
Quel joie les dames vunt demener.
Tut le mund dust [il] refuser,
Ki ces treis pust bien aviser.
Modwen Osith ad a sei prise,
Tant cum vesqui li est remise,
Tant cum Modwen fu en vie,
De li Osith ne fu partie.
Ke ja ne seit celée cest miracle,
Cum Osith en l'ewe out habitacle;
L'euue ou Osith fu neé[e]
Tut dis puis en ad renomée;
Ke ja mes en secle ne seit celée,
Le liu Ninnepol est apellée;
Ke dunc fust nunein ne di pas,
Kar l'en le tendreit a folie e gas
Si dunc fust nonein velée
Ne fust apres reine espusée.
Assez a[i] dist de cest veage,
187 v°a Or(e) vus dirrai del mariage;
Kant Modwen fu en cel mené,
Frethuuald sa fillie ad repellé.
Le sunt e joius (tuit) li parent
De sa porture e enseinement;
Tuit fu son purpos e desir
Virgine vivre e [virgine] morir.
(En quel change serra martir)
De cest purpos n'est ensensé
Son pere, pur ceo s'est purpensé
D'Osith, k'il la volt marier
A poestif homme le rey Syer.
Seinte Osith en est anguisuse,
Pensive en quer e doleruse.
Mes al pere de ceo n'est rien,
Que que li seit eu mal eu bien,
N'i ad rien d'escusation,
Faire l'estuet eu voillie eu nun.
Li rei fet mander ses amis,
Baruns e cuntes del pais,
E chivalers e autre gent,
Pur lur conseil communalment.
Al rei Syer ad fet doner
Osith sa filie e espuser,
Solunc la gard ke fu asis
En icel tens en lur pais.
Syer le rey sa femme ameine,
Ele out au quer dolur e peine,
E Deu requert omnipotent
Ou lermes mout espessement,
Ke ja ne li seit violé
Ceo que peça li out voé,
Sun pucelage li purgart
187 v°b Ke ne perde ne tost ne tart;
Mes si cum s'est a lui donée,
Bien li puisse estre gardée.
Le jur ke seinte Osith alat.
Kant li rey Syer l'enmenat,
Witburg sa mere al departir
Deuz homes fist ou li venir,
Ke Dampnedeu aveient cher,
Ententif mut a sun mester;
Prestres esteient ordinez,
Et seinz evesques puis sacrez;
Bedewin out li un a nun,
Ecca li autre cumpaignun.
La reine ad a ceus liverée,

339 Cf. § 59, cf. Godefroy vii under suschier = penser, most of the examples are taken from Anglo-Norman sources.

341 Cf. § 64. 343, 344 *Ke* may be omitted. Cf. § 53. 350 Cf. § 66.

351 Cf. § 59. 367 *ou*, MS. *eu*, cf. ll. 390, 392. 377-8 Cf. § 44 B. iii.

385 MS. *lavoit marcer*: Godefroy v, 253 c gives *mercier quelquechose à quelqu'un* in the sense of *l'en récompenser*. The reading *marier* seems to make better sense.

386 Cf. § 60. 390-2 Cf. § 24.

vv. 384 seq. (Talibus igitur beata virgo et martir Osgitha orta parentibus) cum [MS. Lans. reads: cum igitur beata Osgitha..] jam adulte esset etatis invita ut postea patuit tradita est in conjugium Sihero regi orientalium Anglorum. [Bodley, *ibid.*]

vv. 401–84 Qui cum post celebratas nupcias ejus vellet uti connubio et illa ejus lasciviam diversis occasionibus diu impedisset, tandem universis pene consumptis cum quadam die ejus virginitati graviter insistens illam vi opprimere conaretur. [Bodley, *ibid.*]

417 Corr. *proveire...ordiné seint evesque...sacré*. Cf. § 43 iv and 44 iii.

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Osith sa fillie e comandée,
Pur li garder en dreite fey,
En dreit amur e en sa ley.
Li reis Syer ses noces tint
Si cum a rei plus bel cuvint;
E les plus bauz de sun regné
Le jur i avei(en)t ensemblé,.
Mut se peinat de tuz heiter.
La nuit quant vint puis a cocher,
Sa femme ad fet tost demander
Ke tant al quer puet desirer.
Kant seinte Osith out la novele
A Dieu ceo dist: 'la vostre ancele
'Pur vostre nun or defendez,
'Le vostre poer i mestez,
'Si i mestrai trestut le mien
'Ke ne seie pur nule rien
'Hunye a nuit ne violée;
'E quant me sui a vous donée,
[138 r° a] 'Defendez moy cum vostre amye
'Ke ne seie a nuit honye.'
A tant si est avant venue,
Si tost cum li rois l'ad veue
Mut la coveite mut la desire
Et seinte Osith li dist, 'beau sire,
'Pur Deu merci, kar m'entendez,
'(Et) aukes de respit me donez;
'De ceste assemblé[e] entre nus
'Dunt vus estes tant desirus,
'Respit vus requer sire rey,
'Si ja voilliez joir de mey.'
Cil la ne vout pur rien oir
Mes tut dis tire a son desir.
Cele pur rien ke sace dire,
Par boneirté plus ke pur ire,
Ne vout faire ne consentir
A son talent n'a son pleisir.
Mut requert termes e respiz
Mes il le fait mut a enviz;
Et nequedent tant l'ad luctée
Requis[e] mut e travailliée;
Par la vertu del seint esperit
Ke l'oure est mis en respit;
Deus l'ad gardé omnipotent,
Onc ne l'aprocha charnel(e)ment,
E gueres plus ne demora
K'il autre feiz la resona
Ke a li se vout assembler,
Respit ne [li] vout plus doner.
Mes seinte Osith cria merci
A Dampnedeu tut autresi
Cum aveit ele fet devant
[138 r° b] Ke par son nun l'ert defendant.
Li reis comence a losenger,
E tel oure est, a coroucer;
Mes tant a purchasé e quis
E tant feit entre giu e ris,
De jur en jur est purloinié
Charnelement ne ad aproché.
Soventefeiz l'ad envaie,
Mes Dampnedeu garda s'amie,
K'ou son barun maneit issi
Virgine treis anz e demi.
Un jur apres issi avint
Li reis Syer sa feste tint
K'il fist de sa nativité;
Grant poeple i out assemblé
Contes, barons e chivalers,
Ses frankeleins e ses terrers.
Le jur quant il aveit mangé,
Et sunt partut joius e lé,
Et il meimes bien enbeverez
En la chambre est tut dreit alez,
Et s'i cuche [de]sur sun lit;
Kant reposé s'est un petit
Sa femme fet a ly venir,
Si la comence en lit gisir,
Bien entrussement li dist,
Mes ne li durra [il] respit.
Kant seinte Osith icest entent,
Plure des oilz mut tendrement
Et vers le ciel la sus garda,
Et Dampnedeu mut reclama,
Ke par la sue grant vertu,
G[a]rant li seit en bon escu.
[138 v° a] Li reis se peine mut forment
De son bon fere e sun talent,
E ele a trestut sun poer
Se tint cuntre l'ardent voler,
Mes come de plus se defent
Cil se deve e plus esprent,
De son bon fere met pur veir
Tute sa force e son poeir,
E jure asez e dist le bien
Son cuntredit ne li vaut rien.
En ceste anguisse u ele esteit

445 Considering the great regularity of the lines of this episode, we may be justified in supposing that the repetition of *mut* is due to the scribe; the scansion would be rendered correct by reading *e* for *mut*.

459–60 Cf. § 32.

460 MS. *envis*.

461 MS. *luciée*.

464 Cf. § 59.

490 *frankeleins*, *terrers*, cf. § 59.

499 The full form, according to Körting s.v. *extrorsus*, is *estrossement*, which would correct the line, but probably the line should be emended *li a dit* or *dist*, cf. § 32, and then the present form would stand, cf. § 52.

508–13 Cf. § 59.

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E la dolur k'al quer aveit
Seinte Osith ententivement
Reclama Deu omnipotent,
E dist: 'Sire Deu, vostre aye,
'Ceste ancele, n'obliez mye,
'Tantes feiz m'avez sucuru,
'E mun cors, sire, defendu;
'A ceste feiz, (sire) me sucurez
'Des maus a cestui (me) delivrez,
'Si vus promet pur verité.
'Sanz enfreindre la veray voé,
'Si vus a ceste feiz aydez
'Pur mei succure e travailliez;
'Puis ceste hure mettrai pur veir
'Tute ma force e mun poeir
'Ke mes travail n'avrez en pose
'De mey ayder pur cele chose.'
Quant seinte Osith aveit dit tant,
Este vus une noyse mut grant,
K'eu cele sale est ja levée;
La gent laenz se desree
E haut e bas comunaument
Crient e huchent durement,
E vers la chambre vunt errant,
Li un ariere li autre avant.
'A Deu,' funt il, 'li reis u est?
'Allas, ke il ne set icest
'K'hui en cest jur est avenu,
'Mut se tenist a deceu,
'Si il seust ceste aventure
'Kant venu n'i est a dreite hure.'
Ly reis escute e entent
La grant noyse ke funt sa gent,
Coment le vunt tut demandant
E il s'en turne maintenant,
E vers l'uis de la sale vait,
Pur saver moun quel noise i ait;
E puis k'il lur ad demandé,
Delivrement li unt cunté
Cum faitement un poy avant
Un cerfs tut blanc i vint curant,
Ke de la mer tut dreit veneit,
Et si curut a grant espleit,
La hors u bien esteit veus,
Par les braches e les seus,
U tut esturent a lur past,
Si cum les chiens rien ne dotast;
E li brachet trestuz cuplé
E li seuz entremedlé,
Li autre chien petit e graut,
A fort espleit le vunt siwant.
Ly ke pout unk(es) cheval aver,
Apres s'en est alé pur ver,
E que cheval n'en aveit prest,
Tut a pie alé s'en est.
Quant li reis ad iceo oy
'Ostez,' ceo dist: 'trop ai dormi:
'Ça, mun cheval delivrement.'
E il ne s'est targié nient,
Ainz comande trestuz munter,
E sei meimes fet aprester,
Puis est munté [tut] maintenant
E vait le cerf a plein siwant.
Li cerfs s'en vait ou grant bandon,
Li reis apres e cist baron;
Current li chien a grant espleit,
E li cerf est venu tut dreit
Desk'a un bras parfund de mer,
U ne soleit nuls hom passer,
Kar l'ewe esteit redde e parfunde
Li cerf s'est mis tut dreit en l'unde.
Cel bras de mer li païsant
Castlewade vunt apellant;
Li cerf en l'ewe noe amunt
Les chiens anguissus sunt,
Crient e funt noise mut grant.
A nou le vunt a plein siwant,
Li reis en est mut anguissus,
Del cerf prendre mut desirus,
Kar unkes ne vit il nul jur
Cerf ne bisse de sa blanchur.
Il vait puignant par cel sablon,
Hurte chival de l'esperon,
Coment chevache ne li chiiet,
En bras de mer parfund se met,
Red e parfund esteit le guez,
Devant ceo n'ert unc mes passez
Par home a chival ne a pié,

523 Cf. § 59.
531 Cf. § 53 III ii.
537 Cf. § 15.
554 Cf. § 59.
528 Cf. § 5.
536 Read *es vus* and compare l. 905.
542 Cf. § 66.
556 Cf. § 5 II.

vv. 558–626 Subito quidam cubiculum intrasse fertur qui regi nuntiaret cervum nive candidiorem pro foribus aule undique libere [121 v° a] discurrere quasi regi et suis omnibus insultaret. Quod rex audiens ceptam voluntatem mox postposuit et cervum cum suis venatoribus et militibus perniciter insequitur.

572 Cf. § 65. 574 *Ostez*. Cf. § 59. 589 Cf. line 185.

592 It is improbable that this line is as it left the poet. The scribe may simply have omitted a member of the phrase as *e.g. de siwre* (cf. l. 595), or, what I consider more likely, have changed an older reading containing the word *sells* (*e.g. li seus mult*...) which had become obsolete (cf. line 566—where the meaning is plain from the context—and the remark of G. Paris in Introd. to *Vie de saint Gilles*, p. xviii).

601 Cf. § 4 A.

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139 r°b Trestut primes l'ad asaié.
L'ure quant sunt li chien passé
Estoit li reis parfund en gué;
Mes li cheval iert bon e fort,
Tut sulement se met a port.
Ly cerf a plein en chemin entre
E vunt li chien curant sur ventre,
E li reis vient apres puigniant,
Ses chiens a plein esbaudissant.
Mes li cerf n'est unkes restuz,
Dekes Donewiz est dreit venuz,
Iluec s'est mis en cele mer.
Li reis se peine del haster,
Mes n'i put unc si tost venir,
Pur rien ne put le cerf choisir.
Ne set coment s'en est partiz
Kar de ses oilz est evaniz.
Les chiens esteient tut asoté,
E sus e jus unt regardé.
Ore penst d'autre cerf li reis,
Kar ne verra cesti del meis.
Tant cum li reis vait demorant,
E ou ses chiens le cerf siwant,
Seinte Osith n'ad pas oblié
En quel pour aveit esté.
Ainz dist ke mes ne targera
De ceo k'out empensé peça;
Coment ke li plai pust se prendre,
A Dampnedeu se voudra rendre;
Puis en apres la Deu ancele
Tuit en secrei a sei apelle
Seint Ecca e seint Bedewin,
E si lur dist le chief enclin:
139 v°a 'Seigniurs, ore m'escutez ici,
'Pur amur Deu merci vus cri,
'Pensez de mei conseil doner
'En mund ne voudrai plus ester;
'Ne mes suffrir le grant ennui
'En cel habit u ore sui;
'Jeo voil ke le veil me donez,
'Pur nule rien me ne targez;
'Jeo l'ay tut prest ici ou mei,
'Prendre le voil en bone fei.'
Cil responent: 'Dame merci
'Nus ne l'osum pas fere issi.
'Kar vus estes joint a seigniur
'Coment k'entre nus seit l'amur,
'Par nostre asenz [nus] n'osum pas
'Muer a vus l'abit des dras;
'Mes si vus plest dame suffrez
'A ceo purrez venir assez;
'N'osum tel(e) chose uncore enprendre
'Deske en avant bien est d'atendre.'
E seinte Osith requert assez
Pur Deu amur les ordenez;
K'il facent ceo ke lur ad dist
Mes il li unt tut escundist;
E quant la dame bien entent
Ke ne volent faire nient;
'Seigniurs,' ceo dit, 'quant est issi
'Deu penst de mei par sa merci.
Plus en apres leva sa main,
E treit le veil hors de son sein,
E sur l'auter offrir le vait,
Puis de sa main vers li le trait,
E sur son chief le veil ad mis,
139 v°b E ataché e bien asis;
E dit: 'Dampnedeu tut puissant,
'Cors e alme ci vus comant,
'Si me gardez pur vostre nun,
'Car ne ay d'autre guarisun.'
Seinte Osith ad cest oure en pris
Ke sur son chief le veil ad mis.
Le rei revient ja de chascer
U gueres ne put espleiter,
Corus e plein de maltalent;
A l'us de la sale descent,
Car custume est, bien le savez,
Ke riche home coruce asez,
Kant sa beste aver a failli,
E il refist tut autresi.
En la chambre est droit alé,
La reine a tost demandé,
E ele vient en son neir veil,
Al rei en fremist chacun peil.
L'alme del cors pur poi s'en ist,
Tant s'esmai[e], tant enpouerist,

623 Omit *tut* or cf. § 65.

633 MS. *pus se prenge*; *pust* for *peust* cf. § 5 II.

vv. 626–78 Quod cernens beatissima virgo ac divina dispensacione hoc actum intelligens, statim velut ovis erepta de ore leonis, sanctissimos pastores et pontifices Eccam [MS. Neccam] et Bedewinum accersivit, propositum eis sue mentis humiliter indicavit, deprecans ut eam sacro velamine cooperirent, si forte virginitatem suam sic protegere posset. Qui votis ejus humiliter et ipsi faventes eam sicut rogaver[at] Christo mox consecraverunt ac sacro velamine cooperiverunt.

665 Cf. § 59.

687 Cf. Hiatus.

vv. 678–718 Quod cum rex de venacione rediens comperisset, ex intimo cordis affectu dans suspiria graviter doluit, (quia eam sicut proprium corpus dilexit).

691 Corr. n'en ist. Cf. § 53 IV.

692 *empaorir* seems to be rare in verse; Godefroy has no quotations except in prose passages. Cf. § 31 f.

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E quant regard la cou(e)le bise,
A poy d'effrai le quer n'i brise.
Del cerf li membre k'il tant suivi,
Quide ke deable l'en a trai;
(Mes) quant se parceit de la reine
De rampuner la ne fet traine
Mut la comence a laidenger
Des paroles e a tencer,
Coruce e deve a desmesure
Asez li dist, asez li jure,
Dist par serment e manascer,
Tut son engin n'avera mester;
140 r° a Ne purra pas si enginner.
.....
Mes ele li dist pur nient le fet,
Pur nul homme n'ert [ja] defet,
Dekes a Deu s'est si rendue,
Mes ne put li estre tolue;
Ainz voudra meuz la mort suffrir
Ke cest abit james guerpir.
A desmesure grant dolur
En fet li rei e nuit e jur;
Lesse son beivre e son manger,
Cum fu jadis acustumer,
Ne put nuls hom a ly parler,
N'en la chambre gueres entrer.
Kant sa dolur a fet asez
Ke tut put estre alessez,
Purpense sey a chef de tur
Ke rien ne vaut sa dolur,
Kant veit ne puet estre muée,
A seinte Osith a gr[a]antée,
Ke remaine tut autresi
En cel abit k'ele ad choisi;
S'il veit ke el estre [ne] peust
Ja le congé pur lui n'eüst;
'Dame (ceo),' dist il, 'quant issi est
'Ke (jeo) ne puis vus tollir icest
'Ceo peise mei estre mun gré,
'Or seit a vostre volunté
'Mes quant l'avez issi empris
'Des or n'i ad en, ceo m'est (a)vis;
'Mes a ceste religion
'Covent ke jeo meste mun don
'La vile Chich vus doins issi,
'Kenclovedene tut autresi,
140 r° b 'Tut ensement Hodefeld averez,
'De ceo faites vos volentez,
'Kar jeo vous bien frai estorer;
'E estre ceo vus voil doner
'De chescun conte e de baron
'La secunde fille par non
'De tant cum ad en mun regné;
'E puis a vostre volunté
'Ensemble ou vus serrunt veléez,
'E en religiun donéez.'
Si cum il dist issi l'ad fet,
E seinte Osith mut tost s'en vet
Pur sa meisun faire aturner
U deit, pur Deu servir, rester.
Aprester fait delivrement
Des offices ceo ke apent;
Les dameiseles sunt mandéez
E de par Deu mut tost veléez;
Ou seinte Osith remises sunt
E tut guerpi l'onur del mund,
A Deu servunt devotement,
E mut i vivent seintement.
Apres lung tens avint issi,
Cum vus avez asez oï,
Des ces paens Deu enemis,
Ke ja vindrent en cest pais,
De Danemarche lur dreit curs,
Gent haye de pute murs,
Ki sunt venu par dreit fuire,
Pur crestiens par tut destruire,
Li deuz tyranz ki unt mené,
Ynguar e Ubba sunt nomé;
Les crestiens vunt destruant,
140 v° a Chasteus e viles asegant,
Ne en pernent autre rancun
De crestien for le chef nun.
Cil deuz tyranz pur verité,
Seint Eadmund unt decolé,

694 *i* cf. § 48. 696 Cf. § 58 i. 698 Omit *la* and cf. § 48.
721 Corr. *purpensa*. 722 Corr. *valut*.

vv. 719–60 Nec tamen illam a proposito suo revocare ausus fuit immo concessit ei ut ipse optaverat castam permanere. Acta sunt igitur hec apud orientales Saxones juxta mare in villa que Chic ab incolis regionis illius nuncupata est, anno dominice incarnationis sescentesimo quinquagesimo tercio. Quam villam rex in possessionem eidem virgini tradens abiit in qua et ipsa usque ad finem vite sue caste perseverando remansit (ubi edificia lapide et latere pulcre constructa habuisse dinoscitur). [Bodley, *ibid.*]

733 MS. *avet*.

738–9 I have not been able to identify these names, the former is perhaps a mutilated form of Camulodunum (Colchester).

vv. 761–806 Qua Deo in eodem loco jugiter fideliterque serviente quidam pirate paganis adhuc irretiti erroribus (cum jam per diversas Anglie partes cedes quasi plures debacchando crudeliter exercuissent), forte illuc applicuerunt, virginemque compertam atque correptam idola blandiciis suadendo minisque terrendo adorare coegerunt. Sed virgo beatissima et blandicias respuit et tormenta derisit. Unde princeps (illius nefandi exercitus) in iram versus capite plecti virginem jussit.

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E puis comencent a errer
Par la costere de la mer,
E en viles entrent partut
E ocient la gent a but,
Ardent les eglises a plein,
Tuent les prestres de lur mein,
Robent la gent, funt envayes,
Par tut la u trovent abeies
Le feu i mettent de lur meins,
Moines ocient e noneins,
U k'il viengent, ceo saciez bien,
A destruire ne lessent rien,
E en lur nef entrent apres,
Par icele mer vunt ades,
Tant unt nagé, tant unt siglé,
Ke pres de Chich sunt arivé,
E puis saillirent sur cel gravier,
Le pais vunt tut enchercher,
Pur quere cristiene gent,
K'a quer heent trop cruelment.
Seinte Osith fu le jur alée
Si cum esteit acustumée,
A une secrée fontaine
Quatre meschines ou soi meine,
Pur sei laver i sunt alées
E li paen les unt trovées;
N'entendirent pas lungement
Ainz decolent comunaument
140 v° b Seint Osith ke unt trové ci
E les autres ensemble ou li.
Mes seinte Osith tut erranment
Son chef entre ses mains prent,
Si cum n'eüt anguisse eüe,
Tant veit k'al muster est venue;
La fontaine dont (ele) est alée
A deuz quarenteines de veie
E plus est loinz de cel muster
A dreite veie u a sentier,
U seinte Osith son chef porta.
L'us del muster puis en entra
De ses mains l'ad ensenglanté
Dunt ele aveit son chef porté.
L'enseigne fu apert e grant,
E lung tens puis aparissant,
E si raveit tut ensement
En nostre tens asez [de] gent
Ke l'us virent ensenglenté
Par ki savum la verité.
Seinte Osith n'est unk arestue,
Deke al auter est dreit venue,
E de son chef i fet present
A Dampnedeu omnipotent,
A ly del tut s'est comandée
Pur ki amur fu decolée,
E puis repeire belement
E entre pilers se estent,
En presbiterie del muster,
E ses meins comence a drescer
Vers Dampnedeu son creatur
Pur ki suffri mort e dolur,
[E] torne dreit vers l'orient
141 r° a A Dampnedeu l'esperit rent.|
Seignurs ore avez bien oï
De la vie seinte Osith ci,
Coment pur Deu guerpi le mund
E les richesces k'ici sunt
Pur trover joie pardurable
Ke a tut dis ert estable,

784 Cf. § 5 B ii (*a*).

vv. 807–24 Que decollata se ilico erexit et caput (a corpore longius [121 v° b] rotatum) ambabus manibus accipiens angelico juvamine firmis gressibus illud in ecclesiam que in honorem apostolorum Petri et Pauli antiquitus fuerat constructa detulit. (Distat autem locus sue decollationis ab illa ecclesia quasi stadiis tribus. Cumque caput deportans ecclesiam ingrederetur, ostium cruenta manu forte tetegit. Cujus rei signum nostris contemporaneis manifeste apparuit.) [Bodley, *ibid.*]

vv. 825–56 Hujus igitur venerabile corpus ante introitam chori ecclesie prefate a fidelibus boneste sepultum diu jacuit ubi ejus meritis multa miracula Deus ostendit. (Nam postquam pro fide Christi mortem suscipiendo occubuit atque in ecclesia illa ut dictum est sepulta fuit, sanitates diversarum infirmitatum ibi usque in presentem diem celebrari non desinunt.) Que cernentes pii populi virique sapientissimi cum ymnis et laudibus corpus ejus de eodem loco transtulerunt et in medio choro cum sarcophago honestius posuerunt. (His temporibus contigit mirabilem virum nomine Mauricium Lunduniensem fieri episcopum. Qui cum de virtutibus et miraculis sancte virginis audisset atque eam in sua parochia esse cognovisset, locum humiliter frequentavit, virginemque dictis et factis decenter honorificavit. Cui quoque inter alia placuit ut corpus illius de loco in quo jacuit levaret et in loco eminenciori scilicet post majus altare honestissime poneret. Quod cum devotissime fieret atque tandem venerabili corpore ad votum episcopi positum esset, balsamum quantum habuit sibi jussit afferri atque allatum supra sacrum corpus gaudenter effudit et effundendo ampullam vitream in qua fuit coram omni multitudine que advenerat guttatim excussit. Sed hanc ampullam coram omnibus ut dictum est evacuatam [122 r° a] alio rursus tempore satis meliori balsamo usque ad summam Dei munere repletam episcopus recipere promeruit. Nam non multo post contigit quendam ministrum ejusdem episcopi adeo infirmari ut nec loqui nec aliquid movere se posset sed quasi animam statim redditurus extensus jaceret. Quod cum episcopo nuntiatum fuisset ampullam predictam sibi afferri jussit ut saltem

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Trovée l'ad finablement
Sachez ke nen dotum nient,
Kar Deu le rey de majesté
Apertement l'ad ci mustré
Par miracles gentils e granz
Ke pur ly fet aparissanz,
Fort serreit tut a acunter
Mes partie volum mustrer,
U vus porrez tres bien oïr
K'a Dampnedeu fet a servir,
Ky leaument le servira
Sanz gueredon ne s'en irra.

Cum nus avum pur veir oy,
Acune feiz avint issy
Ke grant tempeste out en la mer,
Horriblement la fist emfler,
Jeter guages e verser undes,
Leides, horribles e parfundes;
Ki dunc i furent, bien vus jur,
N'esteient pas del tut seur.
En grant houre de la tempeste
K'en mer feseit si grant moleste,
Par la tormente sunt chaciez
Nefs estranges e travailliez;
Une hore aval, un autre amunt,
Tant cum tut dreit venues sunt
En cel havene puis al d[e]rein
A seinte Osith le plus prochein.
Les mariners i unt ancré(e),
Sigle abatu e bien teoldé(e),
Ilokes vunt cum est custume
De tens attendent suautume,
En havene sunt bien lungement
Pur atendre le prospre vent,
E vunt tel hore est a la terre
Pur vitaille e garison quere;
A seinte Osith revunt suvent
A oreisuns ou autre gent.
Un jur i vunt les mariners,
Ly envoisez les juvencels,
Si cum esteient custumer
E pur orer vunt al muster.
A ceo k'aukes i unt esté
E sus e jus par tut alé,
Li uns d'eus cum esteit alant,
Trove un marbre gisant;
Pres deuz espaumes de lungur,
E pleine paume out de laur.
E cil la prist delivrement,
Si l'enporta tut belement,
E si comence a purpenser
K'eu son pais la vout porter,

ejus ablucionem super linguam infirmi distillaret si forte gustu illius liquoris aliquid verbum confessionis peccatorum edere posset. Mira res. Nam eadem ampulla episcopo allata optimo balsamo Deo munere plena inventa est. De quo cum infirmus parum gustasset, mox sanitate recepta surrexit et letus quo voluit deambulavit, episcopo et omnibus qui aderant valde admirantibus et Deum in sancta virgine Osgitha laudantibus. Translatio autem hujus gloriose virginis tercio nonas octobris sub Mauricio venerabili episcopo ut prefati sumus facta est et altare ad caput ejus eodem die dedicatum.) [Instead of the passage in brackets, MS. Lansdown has only: Deinde Mauricius Londoniensis episcopus corpus ipsius levavit et post majus altare posuit.] Cujus festum nonas Octobris manifestamus esse colendum quia eodem die pro Christo agonizans mortem temporalem subiit et in gaudium sempiternum cum corona martirii gaudenter intravit. Translatio vero ejus jubente domno Ricardo successore Mauritii, in crastino id est octavo idus Octobris celebratur quia ut isdem venerabilis episcopus dicebat inconveniens erat tamprope ante illius martirii festum translationem ejus celebrare. (O quot et quantis miraculorum signis hec beatissima virgo quanti sit meriti non solum suis compatriotis verum extraneis manifestata est. Sed multis propter fastidium legencium omissis unum ad memoriam referre delectat.)

851 Cf. § 59.

vv. 857–86 Tempore enim prefati pontificis Ricardi quidam [122 r° b] theutonici cum quadraginta navibus alleciis oneratis sicut per singulos solent annos de Gernemutha redierunt et ad portum sancte Osgithe qui lingua incolarum Westmutha vocatur omnes tandem convenerunt. Qui ex singulis navibus elemosinam collectam more solito ad ecclesiam miserunt ut virgine pro eis intercedente ventum prosperum quo repatriarent recipere meruissent.

874 This refers to a Scandinavian custom of erecting an awning over the deck when in port called *tialz*; in St Gilles we find *Funt un tialz desus le tref*, *E puis s'en issent el graver*... 930–1; the word is Old Norse *tjald* (Germ. *Zelt*; Eng. *tilt*). Cf. § 5 B (Y), § 59.

883 Cf. § 3. The rime words were doubtless in the original, *marinel*; *juvencel*.

890 Corr. *a terre gisant*. Cf. Latin text, or l. 990.

vv. 887–904 Cumque oblatione facta quidam illorum qui eam attulerunt in porticu australi consedissent et ad invicem de amenitate et situ loci loquerentur, contigit forte quoddam frustum marmoris ibi velut neglectum aut projectum in pulvere jacere. Quod cum quidam ex illis latenter rapuisset, secum sociis ignorantibus illud ad navem portavit.

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E pense bien k'en son muster
Al pais doner avera mester.
Le marbre porte si s'en vait
[De]vers la marine tut dreit,
Entre sa nef de meintenant,
E del marbre ne fet semblant,
A compaignon mot ne sona,
141 v° a Kar plai n'en tint, bien le mustra.
A tant es vus si unt [bon] vent,
Dreit e portant a [lur] talent,
Drecent lur mast e cordes tendent,
E le wydas par tut amendent,
E puis unt trait lur sigle amunt,
Ancre sakent e si s'en vunt.
De cele nef oir porrez
U li marbre fu enz portez,
Kant li autre vunt herneschant,
E lur aferes adrescant,
E s'aturnent e la e ci,
E cil refunt tut autresi;
Mes kant unt le mast bien fermé,
Ancre saké et veil levé,
E les autres par tut s'en vunt,
Cum cil ki vent a talent unt,
Unk cele nef ne fist semblant,
K'en ewe fust ne tant ne quant,
Ne pur force, ne pur saver,
Ne la porrunt del liu mover.
Les mariners levent lur main
Chescun d'eus se seignie a plein,
Dient entre eus: 'avez veu
'Itel merveillie ne unkes fu;
'Dunc n'avum nus le vent portant
'Cum cil autre ki vunt devant
'Le governail bien ataché
'De gurderis ancre saké
'E drecié mast, sigle amunt trait
'Ke deit ke nostre nef ne vait?'
Puis comandent les compaignons
K'il augent tut a avirons,

141 v° b De totes parz pur asaer
Si rien ne vausist lur nager,
Enteims pur mut estre grevé
Ke del havene seient geté,
Les juvenceus pruz e legier(s)
Se peinent mut del efforcer(s),
E chescun d'euz i met sa main,
Des avirons ferent a plein.
Mes plus semblant ne fist la nef
Ke maison fet le cuchetref;
Bien la porunt conduire ariere
Mes avant en nule manere;
Costeant veit e en belif
Dreit cum cheval ke est restif.
Kant cil veient ke n'ad mester
Ne lur sigler ne lur nager,
Parolent en estreitement
Cume cil ki sunt mut dolent.
'Seignurs,' fet l'un, 'ça entendez,
'Nus sumes mal bailli assez
'E cel veum tut a estrus
'Ke le ire Deu vient sur nus,
'Pur nos pechez bien le savum
'Cest encumbrer en mer avum;
'Criums merci cher compaignons,
'Pur Deu le veir e pur ses nons
'Ke cil ke se savera copable,
'Encumbré de peché del deable,
'Ke il put sei fere confes
'De penitance prendre apres
'Ke Dampnedeu merci en ait
'De ceo dunt il ad mesfait;
'Pur Deu seigniurs ki ke ceo seit,
142 r° a 'Ke conisant seit ore endreit,
'Ke pur un sul e sun peché
'Ne seum tut ci perilié;
'Kar s'il n'i ad amendement
'Ci demorum finablement.'
A ceo (ki l')unt longement parlé,
E entre sei chescun pensé,

906 Cf. St Gilles: *Kar ore vente a lur talent* 1032.

vv. 905–24 Quo facto vento surgente prospero anchoras subtra[h]unt vela suspendunt et versus patriam omnes cum gaudio volucri cursu tendunt, preter unam navem que velut in terra sic in aqua juxta litus fixa remansit.

vv. 925–50 Nec tamen naute navis ejusdem tardius aut pigrius aliis anchoras subtraxerant, immo velum usque ad mali sumitatem trahere studuerant. Sed nec aliqua instrumenta nec velum Deo jubente suum tunc poterant officium habere. Naute itaque dolentes et causam penitus ignorantes per navem discurrunt, funes expediunt, contos exponunt, remos deiciunt, clamando pellunt, trahunt nec quicquam proficiunt.

934 'How comes it about that...' cf. §§ 53 I, iv, 59.

945–6 The sense of these two lines is obscure and *cuchetref* < **colloca trabem* is apparently not known elsewhere. I am inclined to think it is the awning referred to in line 874 footnote. The meaning would appear to be that the ship was no more like a ship than a 'cuchetref' is like a house. Cf. § 59.

vv. 951–98. Fessi ergo considunt, peccata plangunt, vota vovent, emendationem vite Deo et sancte Osgithe omnes flebili voce promittunt. Interea isdem homo de quo superius mentionem fecimus in medium prostitit, se graviter peccasse dixit et marmor quod abstulit omnibus ostendit.

961 Corr. *compaignon*.

962 Corr. *son non*, cf. § 43 iii.

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De ses mesfez de ces pechez.
A tant s'est drescé sur [ses] piez
Ky enporta le marbre issi.
'Seigniurs,' ceo dist, 'pur Deu merci
'Endreit mei voil primes parler
'Le men mesfet ne voil celer,
'Si mesfet deit estre nomé.
'Ceo k'en mon quer ay recordé
'Poy de chose est, me[s] nekedent
'Dirray le vus tut erranment.
'A seinte Osith estoie aléz
'Ou autre compaignons asez,
'En son muster u jeo entray,
'Un marbre petit i trovay,
'Si l'enportay par aventure
'Par geu le fis e enveisure,
'Ci l'ay porté, ici l'ay mys
'N'enquer celer ceo ke en fis,
'Or vus en ay le veir gey
'Beaus compaignuns pur veir vus di,
'Si de ceo ay vers vus mespris,
'Faire en voudray tut vostre avis.'
Quant l'unt oï funt [mut] grant bruit
A une voiz s'escrient tuit:
'A Dampnedeu graces rendum,
'Kant tant enquis suvaus avum
142 r° b 'Or n'i ad en for retorner
'Le marbre ou nus volum porter,
'A seinte Osith tut dreit alum,
'E Deu e ly merci crium,
'Rendum le marbre a son muster,
'Mut covient iluc Deu prier
'K'il nus pardoint icel peché
'Ke mes ne seum travaillié,
'Cum nus avum esté devant,
'Kar ci sumes trop sujurnant.'
Sicum unt dit issi le funt,
Issent de nef e si s'en vunt;
A seinte Osith sunt dreit alé;
Kant en muster furent entré,
Sachez ne sunt unkes restu,
Dekes al auter sunt dreit venu,
A genouilliuns iluec cuché,
Crient merci de lur peché,
Le marbre i unt offert e mis
E Dampnedeu sovent requis
E seinte Osith sa chere amie
Mes ne seient en tel baillie,
Ne travaillié ne malmené
En havene u tant unt demoré;
E communaument voé unt
Ke checun, tant cum viverunt,
Lour offrende ferunt porter
A seinte Osith e presenter,
Ke Dampnedeu omnipotent
A aler lur doint sauvement.
Al pople k'il unt iluec trové
Cum lur avint unt cunté,
Pernunt congé e si s'en vunt,
142 v° a E en lur nef puis entré sunt,
Levent sigle hastivement;
Si tost cum i feri le vent,
La nef se torne a tel randon,
Come colum devant faucon,
Deu fist iluec [tres] grant vertu
E miracle tres bien seu,
Kar cil s'en vunt par cele mer,
E poesté unt de sigler
Les nefs ke peca sunt aléez
E loin en mer avant passéez,
Cil ki tant esteient ariere,
Ne sai coment n'en quel manere
Fors cum Deu le vout en maesté,
Lour compaignons unt ja passé;
Errent e vunt siglant afort,
A tant vienent plus tost a port;
E les autres passent de tant
Cum ariere esteient devant.
N'at cil saciez k'il n'eit oy,

986 The scribe writes now *erranment* and now *erraument*. I have chosen the former orthography in each case.

vv. 999–1032 Quod etiam omnium hortatum ad ecclesiam referre festinavit. Navis vero interim quasi hominem [122 v° a] expectans Dei jussu ibidem donec ille rediit immobilis permansit.

1033 Cf. § 66. 1034 Cf. § 64.

vv. 1033–54 Que[m] redeuntem recipiens velut a vinculis soluta prosilivit et post precedentes ocior volucre advolat. Et licet a conspectu illius alie jam longe abierint, hec tamen citius omnibus portum desideratum ingressa est. Ex quibus postmodum quidam in Anglia reversi coram altari sancte Osgithe omnibus qui aderant ista subtiliter sicut gesta fuerant narraverunt et quod ille vir per quem hec acciderant Antwerpensis [gloss in a beautiful xiii century hand: *Andwerpia villa est in Brabantia et portus maris*] natione et Theobaldus nominatus sit fideliter intimaverunt. Pro quibus omnibus Deum laudemus ipsamque virginem humili prece deposcamus ut nobis peccatoribus apud Deum nostrum Jhesum Christum subvenire dignetur qui vivit et regnat cum Deo patre in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus per omnia seculorum secula, Amen. Explicit vita vel passio beate Osgithe virginis.

1049 Cf. § 58 x.

1051 This should perhaps be written *au fort*, common in the meaning *enfin*.

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Coment la nef siglat issy,
Ke mut ne seit esmerveillié,
Kant enquis unt e cerché
E entendunt la verur,
Mercient Deu le creatur,
E seinte Osith la gloriuse,
Martir e virgine preciuse,
Pur ki Deu fist si grant vertu
Ke apertement le unt veu.

Autre miracle apres orrez
De seinte Osith si l'entendez.
Une femme contraite esteit
Vers Hereford de Wales dreit,
142 v° b Ke ne poeit en nule baillie
De li mover sanz aïe,
Des membres ne se poeit ayder,
Ne al lever ne al cucher,
De ses membres tut dis estoit
En grant anguisse e grant desdroit,
Asez ala par Engleterre,
A oreisuns les seinz requere,
Par tut u ele oï aveit
Ke Dampnedeu vertu feseit,
Ne puet uncore estre oie
Kar Dampnedeu ne voleit mie.
Kant alé tant aveit par tut
Ke ses amis esteient mut
De li partir ja travaillié,
E au derein mut ennuié.
Ne saveit mes a requere,
Seint ne seinte en Engleterre,
U ne aient ja fet venir
Fors seint Edmund le bon martir.
La chaitive fu (mut) anguissuse,
E de garrir mut desiruse,
Tant ad prié, tant ad requis,
E ses parenz e ses amis;
A grant peine granté li unt
De li porter a seint Edmund.
Sa suer par non ke mut l'ama
E par terre tant la mena,
Ore a derein tut ensement
Icest labur pur li enprent.
Si l'aturnast a meuz ke poeit
Vers seint Edmund s'en vunt tut dreit.

Tant errunt petites jurnées,
142 r° a Cum furent bien acustumées,
Ke nequedent a chief de tur,
Le seurveillie devant le jur
Seint Michel venues i sunt
E la contraite porté unt
A grant travail dekes al muster
Pur faire la iluec veillier.
Mes kant vint tut dreit al vesper
Li secrestains la fait oster,
E estrussé li ad mut bien,
Suffrir ne vout pur nule rien
K'ele la nuit seit al muster,
Ne pur orer ne pur veillier,
Oster la fist demeintenant
E cele en fet doil mut grant.
Quant de l'eglise esteit ostée
A ceus a dit ki l'unt portée:
'Pur Deu amur merci vus cri,
'Ne me portez [tres] loinz de ci,
'Metez mei ci dehors cest us
'Lessez mei iluec, ne vus quer us.'
E cil refunt tut autre tel
E puis se vunt a lur ostel.
Tute la nuit iluec remaint
La contraite ke mut se plaint,
E crie Dampnedeu merci
E seint Edmund tut autresi,
Ke puisse aver amendement
De mal ke la tient forment.
A meuz ke sout vers Deu orat,
Tute la nuit iluec veilliat,
E pres del us s'est ajustée,
Tut dreit cum vint en l'ajurnée
142 r° b La cheitive ke tant i crie
Un petitet s'est endormie.
De hors cel us u ele jut
Un hom en blanc li aparut:
'Diva,' ceo dit, 'ki es tu ci
'Ke tute nuit me cries si
'Ke demandez, ke vus aveir?'
Cele li dist: 'sire pur veir,
'A Dampnedeu jeo vinc ici
'A seint Edmund tut autresi,
'Ke jeo requer pur son [seint] non,
'Ke il m'envoie guarison.
'Mut ay par Engleterre erré
'E[n] oreisuns pur ma sancté,

1058 Corr. *encherché* as in l. 794.
1059 The tense and form may be original (cf. § 55 i) but it seems a scribe's error for *entendu unt*; cf. l. 1270.
1069 Omit *Ke*.
1070 Both here and at l. 1176 *nule* (*nul*) may have been omitted.
1074 This would appear to be a scribe's error for *destreit*. Cf. Marie de France: *La dame conut bien le pleit. Mult est sis quers en grant destreit* [*Guigemar*, 801–2] but the word may have existed.
1085 *Requere* has no object in the phrase, *qui* may be inserted.
1099 Corr. *si l'aturne*? Cf. l. 1181.
1108 Cf. § 48.
1116 Cf. § on Hiatus.
1130 Corr. *de cel mal.*
1141 *Vus* (<*voles*). Cf. § 25.

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'Mes ne oi pas dekes a cest jur,
'Ci sui venue a chief de tur.'
Il li respunt demeintenant
'Uncor t'estuet aler avant;
'Kar Deu n'ad pas purveu issi
'Ke guarisun eies ici.
'A seinte Osith t'estuet aler,
'Iluec veillier, iluec orer,
'Kar Dampnedeu t'ad destiné
'En icel liu aver sancté.'
'Sire merci,' fet la contraite,
'Icest respons trop mei desheite,
'Kar chier sire, ceo sachiez bien,
'De seinte Osith ne say jeo rien,
'Ne sai u est ne en quel terre,
'[Ne] seinte Osith ne say u quere,
'Unk mes de li n'oy parler
'E si resui lasse d'errer,
'E cil ke tant porté[e] m'unt
143 vo a 'De mei porter ennuié sunt.
'Avant de ci, bien sai en fin,
'Voie ne sevent ne chemin'
Cil li respont: 'si demandez
'A gent ke ci demain verrez,
'Aucun troverez en cest entrée
'Ke vus enseignera la veie;
'Iluec guarrez cum vus ay dit
'Puis en alez sanz respit.'
E cele li dist: 'sire merci
'Ki estes vus que parlez ci?'
E il respunt mut humblement:
'Seint Edmund me nomment la gent.'
La contraite mut en pensa,
Puis l'endemein quant gent trova
K'esteient a cel us entrant,
Si lur demande demeintenant
Ver seinte Osith la dreite veie,
Ke pur Deu seit asenseie,
Tant a enquis e demandé
Le dreit chemin li unt mustré,
Tant ad parlé a ses amis
Ke il ja sunt en chemin mys;
Vers seinte Osith la funt porter
Vint jurs i mistreut al aler,
E travaillient se a merveillie
Ke venu(e) i sunt dreit la veillie
De seinte Osith kant est la feire
Funt la contraite al muster trere,
Dreit a hore porter la funt
Kant li chanoine a vespres sunt,
A ceo k'esteient haut chantant

Cil vierent ci demeintenant,
143 vo b Ke la cheitive unt portée
E einz al muster avalée
Puis [en] vunt al us del chancel,
Acenent les seigniurs mut bel,
K'il unt plus pres del us trové,
Requis li unt pur l'amur Dé
Ke la contraite k'unt portée,
A seinte Osith si longe veie,
K'a sa fertre l'osent porter,
Ke tote nuit en puisse orer;
Ele est a seinte Osith par non
Venue par avision.
Tant unt requis, tant unt parlé
Ke li seigniur li unt granté;
La contraite est remuée
E a la fertre amunt portée.
Sa suer ke l'ad portée tant
En haut se crie maintenant
'Ma dame seinte Osith merci,
'De ma suer ke vus porte ci,
'Pur ki me sui tant travaillie,
'E sufferte ay mainte haschie;
'Portée l'ai e sus e jus
'Tant sui lasse ke ne puis plus
'Or la vus ay ci fet porter,
'Avant de ci ne say aler,
'S'ici ne puet estre amendée
'Ja n'iert pur mei avant portée.'
E sa suer l'ad iluec lessée
Devant la fiertre dreit cuchée,
E cele remaint la nuit issi,
E Dampnedeu crie merci,
E seinte Osith [alsi] par non
144 ro a Ke li trameste garison.
Puis unt a matines soné,
Li chanoine sunt assemblé
Lur matines vunt comencant
E mut a tant les vunt chantant
Cum a tel feste estoit raisun;
Kant vint a la sime lescun
La contraite geta un cri,
E pleint e gient e plure si
Ke nui[ent] estoit escuter;
Um la (co)manda assez cesser
Ke ne desturbast le servise
Mes ele ne pout en nule guise
Al comandement garde prendre,
Kar ailliurs aveit a entendre;
Ne put son cri amesurer
Le sime respons vunt chanter
Regnum mundi li ordiné,

1174 Cf. § 15.
1177 Cf. § 5 B II.
1201, 1215 Cf. § on hiatus.
1231 Cf. § 5 B II.
1176 Cf. l. 1070.
1186 Corr. *K'ele*....
1220 Corr. *serur*...*port*. Cf. §§ 43 iv., 54 i.
1240 Cf. l. 1250.
1243 The usual form is *nient* (cf. § 18 and line 1392), we take *nuient* as an Agn. form for *noiant*, a variant of *nient*.



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Tut dreit cum sunt en vers entré,
La contreite s'escrie tant,
Les nerfs li vunt tut crus[i]sant,
Deu reclaime omnipotent
E seinte Osith tut ensement;
Kant longes estoit travaillie
Sur piez se est a dreit drescie,
E ver le auter veit tut dreit,
E loe Deu a grant espleit,
E seinte Osith sa chiere amie,
Par ki sa preiere est oïe.
A chanoines cuntat e dit,
La grant vertu ke Deu li fit,
Tut par ordre lur ad cunté,
Coment par terre aveit erré,
144 r° b Coment aveit ailliurs failli,
Com[ent] Deu l'ad [a]dresciée ci.
Kant li chanoine e li seigniur
Entendu unt bien la verrur,
Tut loent Deu omnipotent,
E comencent mut hautement
Te Deum laudamus par tut;
Par cel muster demandent mut
Quel noise seit ke la munt funt;
Tut a un frus curru i sunt
Deu comencent mut a loer,
E funt les seins par tut soner,
Kant la contreite bien entent
Ke guarie est finement,
E mes ne sent de ses dolurs,
Venue est devant les seigniurs,
E si lur dit; 'seigniurs merci,
'Dampnedeu m'ad guarrie ci
'E seinte Osith (la) vostre avoée,
'L'amie Deu verraie esprovée,
'Mut aim cest liu e mut l'ai cher
'U Deu m'ad si fet adrecer,
'Si pur Deu me voilliez tenir,
'Ja nul jur ne voudrai partir,
'En icest liu finablement,
'A Deu e seinte Osith me rent.'
E li seigniur pur l'amur Dé
Ke ele remaine unt gr[a]anté.
Cele est remise é mut se peine
Trestuz les jurs de la semeine,
A plus k'ele puet travaillier
Entur l'uveraine del muster;
Penible est en mu[t] de manere,
144 v° a Nomeement de trere piere,
E el k'ele puet a cele eglise,
Longes remaint en cel servise.
Mes deables est mut enginius,
E de tut biens trop envius,
Kant Deu a fet ses granz vertuz,
E ses miracles bien veuz,
Pur seinte eglise enluminer
E ses amis reconforter;
Peise deable estrangement
E se efforce peniblement
D'esteindre ceo pur verité
Ke Deu ad si enluminé.
Dieble n'ad unkes envie,
Ne de peché ne de folie,
De mesfet ne de traisun,
N'ad envie si de bien nun.
La vertu k'est par Deu venue
Mut vot turner en fanfelue,
Pur fere mescrere la gent
E ci si fist tut ensement.
Un lur vassal de la maisun,
Godwine l'esquieler par nun,
Tant ad forment dieble enticé
Empeint a fere malvesté,
Ke a la femme s'est ajusté
Tant a requis, tant a parlé
Ke il sunt tut a un voleir
De fere la folur pur veir;
Kar nature est bien le savez
Ke femme est frele chose assez
Tost ad le quer asis en glu,
Tost ad un mal conseil creu,
144 v° b Tost ad lessié [la] dreite veie,
Tost est en la folur entrée,
Tost ad lessé bien e honur,
Tost se prent a la folur.
Ceste tut ensement le fist,
Lessa le bien e le mal prist,
A lur folie unt liu trové,
La nuit kant furent asemblé
En lit trestut primerement
E li fous out fet suu talent,
Seinte Osith pas ne vot suffrir
Cest overaine endormir
Ne voleit pas pur verite,
Iceo mesfet estre celé;
L'un pié de la cheitive prent
Sur l'autre dreit en croiz l'estent,
Si forment l'ad iloukes mis,

1254 Since *s* = *ss*, cf. § 33, an *i* could easily be omitted, cf. § 59.
1255 Cf. § on hiatus.
1275 The woman had been carried up to the shrine, l. 1216.
1278 *Seins* (< *sanctus*) is frequent in Ofr. in the sense of *bell*, especially to call people together; cf. s.v. *sein* 2: Godefroy, vii, 365 c.
1280 Corr. *finablement* as in ll. 974, 1291.
1318 Cf. § 59.
1322 This form is quoted by Godefroy under *escueillier* the scullery, and also as here a scullerymán. Cf. § 59.
1324 *Empeint* = urges.
1336 The sense demands *E tost*.

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Cuché e joint e ferme asis,
Ne puet de luec plus estre ostez
Ke s'il de clous i fust fermez.
Kant la cheitive iceo entent,
Plure des oilz e gient forment,
E grant dolur comence a faire,
Ne puet l'un pié de l'autre trere.
Li pautener quant l'entendi,
Mut s'esmaie tut autresi,
E par matin est tost levé
E as seigniurs tut dreit alé
As piez lur chiet si lur ad dit:
'Seigniurs entendez un petit,
'Pur nient le vus irrai celant,
'Assez le saverez en avant,
'Meuz le vus voil dire en secrei
145 r° a 'K'autre le vus die de mei;
'Tut ay en tel manere overé,
'Contre raisun e contre Dé,
'E avenu est tut issi
'Pur Deu amur seigniurs merci;
'Trestut issi sui contenu
'Vers Dampnedeu e encorru.'
E li seigniurs demeintenant
La verité vunt enquerant,
L'aventure k'est avenue
Trestut issi est reconue.
A rien ne muntast le celer
Semblant n'i veient demander.
La cheitive ne puet pur veir
Del lit pur nule rien moveir,
Les piez li sunt si traversé
Cum s'il fuissent des clous fermé,
Les seigniurs en sunt anguissus,
Sur tute rien e dolerus,
Al muster vunt [tut] erranment
Requerent Deu communaument,
E seinte Osith lur dame chiere,
K'ele ne souffre en nule manere,
Ke sa ancele seit si baillie,
Ne al siecle si forment hunie.
Requis unt ententivement
Mes tut iceo ne lur est nient.
Kar n'amende en nule manere,
Pur oreison ne pur priere;
Contreite i vint premerement
E contreite rest ensement.
Mut longement remaint issi,
Tote contreite cum vus di,
145 r° b Dekes li pauteners morut
K'en tel manere la decut;
Deu fist iluec mut grant vertu
Miracle apert e bien veu,
Le jur ke il fu deviez
E par la mort del siecle alez,
La nuit apres [tut] erranment
Vint seinte Osith verrayement
E la chaitive deliat,
De tut en tut la deliverat,
Les piez li ad desseelez,
E quitement desencumbrez;
E cele est par matin levée
E al muster tut dreit alée,
E loe Deu omnipotent,
E seinte Osith tut ensement.
Tut dis remaint en la maisun
E sert ou grant devotiun.

Assez avum oy sovent
Par reprover dire la gent
Ke d'estriver contre aguilion
N'avient a nuli si mal non.
Prendre en poum example assez
D'un miracle ke ici orrez
Ke Deu pur seinte Osith mustra
Ki garde en prent, bor le verra.
Kar bel se repent de sa folie
Ke par autre se chastie,
E cil d'assez trop tart se repent
Sur ky le flael Deu decent;
Kar Dampnedeus est mut suffrant,
E lungement vait deportant,
Mes puis quant il fert au derein
145 v° a Sachez k'il ad mut dure mein;
E il refist tut autresi,
Seigniurs cum vus orrez ici;
De le eveske Ricard (essample) dirum
De ceo dunt vus tuché avum,
Le tiers a Londres se aveit,
Puis cil ke l'abbeie de 'Chich fundeit,
E a seinte Osith chanoines mist,
Teres e rentes aset i conquist,
A cist Ricard le ben ne plout
Ke son ancestre a liu fet out.
Un jur avint ke fist mander
Ses menestraus e assembler
Ke soleient ses plais tenir,
E danz Williame avant venir
Son seneschal i fist par non,
De Wokindone aveit surnon,
E en ki se fieit mut enfin
Ou un Nichole e Rad'patin;
A Dakintone (co)manda aler

1385 Here and at l. 1405 corr. [*tut*] as in l. 1610.
1403 Cf. § 17.
1405 Cf. footnote to l. 1385.
1425, 1427 Omit *se*, § 48 A.
1438 For *fundeit* cf. § 55 iv, for a comment on this line cf. § 71.
1450 The apostrophe is in the MS.
1451 The sense seems to be: to forbid the ecclesiastics (cf. ll. 1439–40) to have possessions at Chich and to take all the profits for his own use.



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De luec oveskaus pur veer
Ke a Chic [ne] deusent poseer;
E a son eus tut apruer.
E cil s'en vunt a grant espleit,
A Dakintone vienent tut dreit,
Iluec tienent a fort estur
Les plais l'eveske lur seigniur;
En icel tens ke cil veneient
A Chic chanoines mis esteient,
Ke Deu serveient humblement
E seinte Osith tut ensement;
De terre aveient environ
Dunt pussent vivre a fuison,
145 v° b Estre l'aport de lur autel
K'il aveient qui d'un qui d'el
Deu serveient en leauté
E furent de grant charité.
Le seneschal a Dakintone vint
Les pleiz l'eveske forment tint,
D'iluec purveit queus enverreit
A Chich kar ces fors mettreit
Ki par les chanoines mis est[e]ient;
Oveskeus mestreit ke dureient
A li acuntes; l'esveske out voil
Kanoines oster de cel soil;
Ne voleient en nule manere
Oir requeste ne preiere,
N'entains suffrir hum[e] parler
Ne terme ne respit doner;
Mes si cum lur est comandé
Issi en ad del tut overé.
Quant les chanoines l'unt entendu,
Mut sunt dolent e irascu,
A Deu s'en vunt pleindre erranment,
E a lur dame tut ensement
Seinte Osith ke unt servi tant,
Ke del surfet seit eus vengant.
K'ele deust bien a lur avis
Defendre les de lur enemis,
A sa fiertre vienent errant,
L'ymage ostent tres estant,
Hors l'us l'eglise l'unt posé
Cume pur prendre son cungé.
Le fiertre covrent d'une here,
Ceo signe ke de joie volent trere,
Ne volent (seinte) Osith plus loer

146 r° a Kar par semblant le liu n'ad cher,
Ou lermes e ou plaintes funt
Asez saver ke il au quer unt,
[E] seinte Osith vunt chalengant
K'en cest surfet est si suffrant.
Seinte Osith pas lunges n'endure,
Bien li sovient de (sa) leidengure
Suffrir ne vout pur nule rien,
Ke vengée ne seit mut bien,
E de celui nomeement
K'(a) achesun fu premerement,
Fonteine e surse e chief par non
De faire icele envasion,
Kar ceo fu l'eveske Ricard,
Venu i sunt cil de sa part
Ke lur terres unt envasé
E lur serganz unt hors buté,
Miracle avint ici mut grant
Cum les chanoines vunt plainant,
L'ymage en fiertre unt envili
Cum vus avez devant oï,
Meïsme le hore fu notée
De plus sages de la contrée,
Un mal par tut le cors susprent
Ricard l'eveske horriblement
Sudain e laid de grant baillie
Ke nomé est paralisie,
Ne puet ve[ei]r ne puet sentir,
.....
Ne puet conustre hume pur veir,
Ne il ne se peut del liu mover.
Saillient si hume, si sergant,
Entre lur braz le vunt portant,
Plurent ou mut horible cri,
146 r° b 'Sire:' funt il, 'pur Deu merci,
'Parlez a nus, cheles k'avez,
'Vus fustes sein oreinz asez.'
Asez le vunt aresonant,
Mes ne respont ne tant ne quant,
Ne saveit en quel siecle fu,
Tut l'unt pur mort iluec tenu,
Tut issi jut deske (le) mardi,
De ci ke vint al vendredi,
Ne treit a sei ne main ne pié,
Les seens sunt mut desconseillié,
Par cele sale vunt pleinant,

1453 Cf. § 53, III, ii.

1469–76 'The seneschal came to Dakinton...and here considered whom he should send to Chich for he would drive those out who were put there by the canons; ecclesiastics he would put there who would give him accounts; the bishop had the intention of taking the canons from that seat.'

1474 MS. *ou veskes eus.*

1475 Cf. § 20.

1483 Corr. *li chanoine unt....*

1492 The MS. is not very plain here; I am uncertain whether to read *tres*[*tut*] *estant* or to correct *tut en estant*, since it is not clear whether 'on its feet' or 'immediately' is he real meaning.

1493 Cf. § 17.

1496 Cf. § 53 I, iii A (the *ke* should be omitted).

1542 For *mut* cf. l. 1515.

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En la chambre funt doel [mut] grant,
Kar al quer unt grant desconfort,
Ne sevent s'il est vif ou mort.
A tant es(te) vus repairé sunt
Ke seinte Osith deseisie unt ;
La novele mut esturmie
De lur seigniur unt ja oïe.
Li seneschals vien(en)t au seigniur,
K'il vei(en)t suspris de grant dolur,
Williame ke ja est repairez
De la u il fu enveiez.
'Sire, fet il, pur Deu merci,
'Un poy ver moy entendez ci,
'Si de memoire rien avez,
'U nul home entendre poez,
'E raison de clerc u de lay,
'Dunc entendez ke vus diray.
'Beau sire cher, tres bien savez
'Vers Dampnedeu mespris avez.
'Vers seinte Osith nomeement
'Ke nus avum si folement
146 v°a 'Ja desaisie de sa terre ;
'Empris avum mut fole guerre ;
'Quei k'en apres seit fet de nus
'La peine chiet primes sur vus.
'Kar par autre oy avum,
'E par nus mesmes le savum,
'A seinte Osith ne peut hom rien
'Mesfaire, ja ceo sachez bien,
'K'ele n'enprenge tel vengement
'Ke bien parra finablement,
'E ore l'avez pur verité,
'Par vus me[i]smes esprové,
'Pur Deu tant cum vus poez,
'Sovaus de quer vus repentez,
'Kant est issi ke n'avez mye,
'Force de lange ne de baillie,
'De quer criez a Deu merci
'E a seinte Osith (tut) autresi ;
'E voez li sa terre rendre
'Si ja vousist vers vus entendre ;
'E Dampnedeu merci crier
'Pur vus de cest mal deslier.
'Pur Deu sire, car en pensez
'Bien le veum mester avez,
'Pensez de ceo ke vus ay dit,
'Pur sa ducur Deus i aït.'
A ceo ke il ad parlé si,
Li eveske puis s'esperi,
Ke aveit longement geu,
E sanz vigur e sanz verteu ;
Al seneschal k'ad si parlé
E de son bien amonesté,
De la main destre vereiement,
146 v°b Le dei ou tut l'anel li tent,
Kar solunc ceo k'out en corage
L'anel li tent e lui degage ;
E cil li tret l'anel del dei
E si li dit : 'beau sire or vei
'Ke cest gage enveer volez,
'A Deu vers ki mespris avez
'A seinte Osith nomeement,
'Pur li requcre acordement,
'E as seigniurs de son muster
'Ke desaise avum autre ier.
'Ore n'i ad en quant cest entent,
'Jeo m'en irray tut erranment.'
Li seneschal est ja muntez,
(E) a seinte Osith tut dreit alez,
Veint a muster, fet apeller,
E les seigniurs trestuz mander,
Sur l'autel ad [tut] en apert
En l[e]i de gage l'anel offert,
Crié merci a tut entur
De par l'eveske son seigniur
E lur terre tut quitement
E as chanoines tantost rent
E (si) requert tuz les assemblez
Ke le maufait seit pardonez.
Meisme l'oure k'est venuz
A seinte Osith receuz
Pur le mesfait fere adrecier
Dunt est venu tel encombrer,
Bien unt noté, bien entendu
E de plusurs est retenu,
K'a l'eveske demeintenant
La u esteit [com] mort gisant
147 r°a *Este vos* l'oïe e la vue
E la parole ja rendue,
Meismes en point e l'ure dreit
Ke li gage[s] offert esteit
Gariz esteit si come si,
Mes nequedent pur veir vus di,
Unk(es) puis sur piez n'estoit allant,
Ne pout estre pur rien estant
Mes hum li fist une chaere,
Aturné[e] en tele manere,
Ke ileukes fist quant fut errant,

1547 *Es*, *est*, *este*, *estes* seem all to be used, together with an inserted *le*, according to the exigences of verse. Cf. l. 905.

1551 The copyist appears to have taken *li seneschals* for a plural.

1576 Cf. l. 1623 and § 64.

1624 Something is wanting to complete the sense; *e fu* might be inserted; the scansion of past participles with feminine *e* is not fixed. Cf. § 5. It seems quite likely that the words should be *tuz recreuz*.

1631 I can only read the initial *E* and following *s* and also what appears to be a *v*.

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Tant cum en munde fu conversant.
Le merc tut dis bien li parut
Ke il en tel mal issi recut,
Il puet ve[ei]r, il puet parler,
Mes sur [ses] piez nul pas aler
Dekes a sa fin verraiment,
Ne li estuit nul autrement,
La chaere u fu portez,
E par la terre tant menez,
Esteit si cume fu furmée,
A seint Pol de Londres portée.
Iluec remis est a tut dis
Bien le sevent cil del païs,
E cil ki iluec unt esté
Si enquis unt la verité.
Seigniurs, freres, pur ceo vus di,
Ke cest(e) example avez oï ;
Ne fet a Deu pas tel juer
Cum a veisin ne cum a per.
Quant contre li pechent la gent,
Il est mut suffrant longement,
Mes tut seez de ceo seur,
Ke quant il fiert il fiert dur.
Bien resavum la verité
Seinte Osith ad grant pousté
Ke Dampnedeu li ad doné,
Asez veu et bien mustré
De sey venger e de ses enemis
Ke li mesfunt en son pais,
E pousté read ensement,
De mut valer a tute gent,
Ke Deu voudrunt e li servir,
Mut bien purrat trestut merir
Quanque hum frat pur li de bieu,
Ne puet estre perdeu pur rien.
Ele est la sus en cel pais
U Deu ad mis ses chers amis,
Ne puet buche de hume parler,
Oreile oir ne quer penser,
Ne oil ve[ei]r en nule manere
Cum la joie est iluec pleniere.
A tuz ceus qui Deu amerunt,
E de bon quer le servirunt,
Seinte Osith nus seit en aye
Tant cum sumes en ceste vie,
Ke tant i puissum bien overer
E de peché nos cors garder,
Ke puissum au jur de la fin
Vers Deu tenir le dreit chemin,
E meindre ou ses chers amys
Ke unt la joie de parais ;
[E] vers nus doint sa majesté
Ke maint uns Deus en trinité.
Amen.

1642 Corr. *mund* as in l. 40.
1664 Corr. *mut dur*. Cf. l. 1432.
1669 The sense demands the correction *des enemis*.
1674 Cf. § 59.

A. T. Baker.

Sheffield.

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# JOHANNES DES WISEN 'MARIENLOB.'

Das hier abgedruckte Gedicht ist im Ms. allemand Nr 117 der Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris überliefert. Meinem verehrten Lehrer, Professor R. Priebsch, der mir während der ganzen Zeit meiner Studien in London freundlichst zur Seite stand, verdanke ich auch die Anregung zu dieser kleinen Untersuchung. Er hat eine eingehende Beschreibung der reichhaltigen Hs. an das Archiv der deutschen Kommission der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften eingesandt, aus der ich mich begnüge das wesentlichste hier herauszuheben. Es ist eine Papierhs. des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts, vielleicht noch der ersten Hälfte desselben. Die Blatthöhe beträgt 29·10 cm., die Breite 20·7 cm. Die Blätteranzahl beträgt nach moderner Zählung 280. Abgesehen von dem Register bll 217 a—218 b ist die ganze Hs. geistlich-didaktischer Dichtungen und Prosastücke von einem Heinricus Schan geschrieben. Sie war früher im Besitz des Pastors Jakob Oberlin († 1806).

Der Text des Marienlobs beginnt Mitte 204 b und schliesst Anfang 207 a. Die Schrift ist sehr deutlich, nur a und o, e und i lassen sich nicht immer leicht unterscheiden. Die Abkürzungen bieten nichts aussergewöhnliches.

Folgende Charakteristika weisen in ihrer Gesammtheit auf einen elsässischen Schreiber:

ę (älterer Umlaut des a) > ö: mönscheit, mönschlicher, mónsche. Cf. Weinhold, *Alemannische Grammatik*, § 117; Haendcke, *Die mundartlichen Elemente in den elsässischen Urkunden des Strassburger Urkundenbuchs*, Strassburg, 1894, § 4 c; Euling, *Jakobsbrüder*, S. 14.

i > ú: nút, búz. Cf. Weinhold, a.a.O., § 119. Nach Haendcke, § 6 c, bezeichnet diese Schreibung den i-laut, in dem i und ü zusammengefallen waren. Cf. Euling, a.a.O., S. 14.

â > ô: on, one, do, nohe, kemenotte, hât, enphohen, hon, stot, roten, mon, lo: vom vierzehnten Jh. an häufig, aber in unserem Texte nicht durchweg (z. B. hat, getatent). Cf. Weinhold, a.a.O., § 44, 124; Haendcke, § 2 b; Euling, S. 14.

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Umlaut des â = e: lege, phlege, bete, stete. Cf. Weinhold, § 121; Haendcke, § 3 a.

Umlaut des uo = ú: früge, grússe, sússer, músse. Cf. Haendcke, § 18 b.

iu (aus westgermanischen eu) > u, ú: kúsche, enbúte (= enbiut 3. pers. sg.), sú, rúwe, getrúwe. Cf. Haendcke, § 13 b.

ęwi > ǒi: frǒide. Cf. Weinhold.

Germanisches d = d, t im Anlaut: dete, dodez; treffen, treit: cf. Paul, *Mhd. Gram.*, S. 49; Haendcke, § 43; Weinhold (*Mhd. Gram.*, § 126).

j als g geschrieben: Gesse, früge. Haendcke, § 48.

In der Flexion -t 1. pl. pres.: wellent. Cf. Weinhold, § 342; Haendcke, § 54.

-t 1. pl. pret.: getatent.

-t 3. pl. pret.: soltent.

u-form: kumen (part. pret.). Cf. Haendcke, § 55.

conj. pret.: hette. Cf. Paul, § 173; Haendcke, § 59.

gibit > gît. Cf. Haendcke, § 54.

Die Reinheit der Reime macht es schwer, die Heimat des Dichters zu bestimmen; aus folgenden Erscheinungen können wir immerhin den Wahrscheinlichkeitsschluss ziehen, dass er dem alemannischen (mit Ausschluss des schwäbischen) oder südfränkischen Gebiet angehört.

21 f. kam: nam. Cf. Paul, *Mhd. Gram.*, § 161 Anm. 2: Zwierzina, *Z. f. d. A.*, 44, S. 87.

67 f. undertan: ergan. Cf. Zwierzina, *Festgabe für Heinzel*, S. 467.

5 f. maget: saget. 29 f. maget: gesaget. 83 f. seit: treit. 105 f. versaget: maget. 111 f. geseit: geleit. Vgl. Zwierzina, *Z. f. d. A.*, 44, 345 ff. Bemerkenswert ist 87 f. der Reim spiegelglas: saz.

Als Dichter unseres Marienlobes nennt sich v. 118 'Johannes der wise,' von dem wir leider ausser dem Namen nichts wissen; seine Zugehörigkeit zum geistlichen Stande ist wahrscheinlich. Als sein literarisches Vorbild wird Konrad von Würzburg zu betrachten sein. Die Reinheit der Sprache und der Versbau (cf. unten) zeigen, dass der Verfasser nicht sehr lange nach ihm gelebt haben und auch hierin von ihm als bewundertem Vorbild wird beeinflusst worden sein. (Cf. die Marienbilder in den Anmerkungen und solche Stileigentümlichkeiten wie gepaarte Ausdrücke: vgl. 58. 78 helfe unde rat; 63. 106 muoter unde maget; 83 das traditionelle 'singet unde seit'; 98 tuot unde lât; 113 geahten, bedenken oder betrahten; substant. Umschreibungen: vgl. 54 todes zil., 59 gewaltes ere.)

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Die Verse sind fast durchaus regelmässig gebaut, d. h. vierhebig mit stumpfem, dreihebig mit klingendem Ausgang. Nur in zwei Fällen, 63 f. und 117 f., dürften wir vierhebige Reimpaare mit klingendem Ausgang anzunehmen haben. Der Auftakt fehlt häufiger als bei Konrad; auf 118 Verse kommen 20 Fälle: v. 2, 7, 9, 10, 17, 18, 22, 26, 31, 46, 51, 54, 56, 61, 64, 66, 97, 98, 116 (?), 117.

Zweisilbiger Auftakt scheint vorzuliegen in v. 28, 29, 34, 45, 47, 49, 72, 93, 107, 113, 115, 118.

Beschwerte Hebung[1] findet sich

(*a*) Nach der ersten Hebung. 13 in Aárònes hénde (oder ´ × ` × ´ × ?). 18 ist niemàn (Emphase).

(*b*) Nach der zweiten Hebung. 2 vólbrìngen. 71 in der Pause: Gót sìu do (wenn do nicht zu streichen ist).

(*c*) Nach der dritten Hebung. 47 tréhtìn.

Versetzte Betonung in der ersten Hebung findet sich: v. 19 anè; 42. 67 gernè; 48. 110 marià.

Verschleifung auf der Hebung kommt vor:

(*a*) Auf der ersten: 58 gebe mir; 74 himel und; 109 bete müez.

(*b*) Auf der zweiten: lobes an; 114 oder betrahten.

52 jehent [an...], wenn die Konjektur richtig ist.

Zweisilbige Senkung kommt vor: 93 solten dich (l. suln?) und 118 máhte Johánnes der wise (Eigenname und Schlusszeile).

Hiatus liegt wohl vor in v. 43, 58, 78, 80.

v. 39, 40 findet sich der identische Reim dich: dich; v. 31, 32 der erweiterte ruochete: suochete. Von den Reimen sind 49·5 °/₀ klingend— ein bedeutend höherer Prozentsatz als bei Konrad von Würzburg (44 °/₀), was ebenfalls für das hohe Alter der kleinen Dichtung spricht (vgl. Kochendörffer, *Z.f.d.A.*, 35, 290).

Zum Abdruck wäre noch zu bemerken: ich habe versucht, dem Gedichte das ältere Gewand, das ihm nach den Reimen und dem Versbau zukommt, zu geben. Orthographische Eigentümlichkeiten wie Verdoppelung des Konsonanten auch nach langem Vokal in uff, stette usw., z für s in reinez, gewaltez usw., die gewöhnlichen Abkürzungen und ebenso dialectische Erscheinungen (s. oben), die dem jüngeren elsässischen Schreiber zugewiesen werden dürfen, habe ich ausgemerzt, ohne die hsl. Formen jedesmal unter dem Texte zu vermerken. Eckige Klammern bezeichnen meine eigene Ergänzung.

[1] Vgl. Jänicke, *Z.f.d.A.*, 16, 402 ff., v. Kraus, *Metrische Untersuchungen über Reinbots Georg*, Kauffmann, *Z.f.d.Ph.*, 36, 552 ff., Brendel, *Der borte* (Diss.), Halle, 1906, 33 ff.

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## EIN LOP VON UNSER VROUWEN.

Wol müeze mir gelingen,
Möht ich volbringen
Ein lop, daz tete ich gerne.
Vil liehter morgensterne,
Maria, uzerwelte maget,
Von der man groze wunder saget,
Du bist aller sünder trost,
Din reinez kint hat uns erlost
Von der tiefen hellen,
Ob wir selbe wellen;
Du bist diu reine ruote,
Diu also schone bluote
In Aarones hende
Gar ane missewende;
Du bist diu gerte von Jesse,
Diu gwan geliche nie me.
Über allez himelrich
Ist nieman din gelich
Ane din kint aleine,
—Vil kiusche maget reine!—
Daz von dem hohen himel kam
Und von dir die menscheit nam.
Darumb sol man dich prisen.
Du bist daz oblat isen,
Da Got in getrucket wart
Gar nach meneschlicher art.
Wie nahe er dime herzen lac!
Den der himel niht begrifen mac,
Den begrife du, vil süeze maget!
Des si dir iemer lop gesaget,

Überschrift rot. 10 selbe] selber. 12 schone] schön. 13 Aarones] Aarons. 16] diu gewān glich mere. Konjektur gestützt durch Reinmar von Zweter (Wackernagel, *Kirchenlieder*, II. No. 108, str. 11) du blůmengerte von Jesse, diu nie gewan gelichen me, und Bartsch, *Deutsche Liederdichter*[4], 274, v. 41 f., Meister Sigeher, Du edelin gerte von Jesse der nie niht wart geliches me. 24 oblat isen] oue laut ysen. Über ouelât cf. Grimms *Wb.*, 7, 1109. 29 maget] mag. 30 des] daz. dir iemer] iemer dir.

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Daz er selber ruochete
Daz dich der engel suochete
In dinre kemenate;
Da du vruo und spate
An dime gebete lege
Und Gotes hulde phlege,
Da vant er dich aleine,
Vil kiusche maget reine,
Unde sprach: 'Got grüeze dich,
Maria, niht envürhte dich.
Ich bin ze dir gesendet.
Gerne hæte ich volendet
Darumbe ich ze dir bin komen:
Got hat ze muoter dich genomen,
Du solt hie uf diser erden
Gotes muoter werden;
Daz enbiut dir unser trehtin.
Maria, du solt niht trurec sin.'
Ez antwurt im diu maget do,
Siu sprach mit süezer rede also:
'Wie wolt ich ein kint enphan?
Min sinne jehent [an underlan]
Daz ich deheinen man do wil
Biz an mines todes zil,
Wan einen den han ich genomen,
Der ist mir ze herzen komen:
Deist Got, der mich geschaffen hat!
Der gebe mir helfe unde rat
Durch sins gewaltes ere,
So gere ich nihtes mere.'
Gabriel sprach aber do:
'Maria, du solt wesen vro.
Du solt muoter und maget bliben,
Keiserin ob allen wiben.'
Do sprach daz reine megetin:

41, 43 ze] zuo. 42 hæte] hette. hæte nach dem Gebrauch bei Gotfried, Konrad von Würzburg, cf. Zwierzina, *Z.f.d.A.*, 44, 101 ff. 47 enbiut] enbúte. trehtin] rehtin. 51 enphan] enphohen cf. aber Zwierzina, *Z.f.d.A.*, 45, S. 55 über Konrad, Gotfried und die niederal. Dichter. 53] daz ich do keinen man wil. 54 mines] sinez. 55 wan] wanne. 59 sins] sines. 60 gere] gebe wohl durch Einfluss von gebe in 58.

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'Gotes dirne wil ich sin.
Gerne bin ich sin undertan,
Sin wille muoz an mir ergan.'
Diu botschaft was ergangen;
Do hat siu enphangen
Den gewaren Got siu do truoc
Den diu jüdischeit ze tode sluoc.
Mit vröuden do siu sin genas,
Der himel und erde herre was
Und iemer ist an ende.
Ez stat in siner hende
Allez daz er beschaffen hat,
Dem gibet er helfe unde rat.
Nu müeze er allen raten,
Die sünde ie getaten,
Daz sie diu sünde riuwe.
Daz helfe uns diu getriuwe,
Von der man singet unde seit
Und aller megede krone treit.
Siu ist ein liehter mane
Gar alles valsches ane,
Siu ist ein luter spiegelglas,
Da Got und mensche inne saz.
La mich der liebe geniezen
Daz sich Got liez besliezen
In dime maget tuome.
Du uzerwelte bluome,
Alle zungen solten dich ruomen.
Kund ich den weg gebluomen
Mit lobe, daz tet ich gerne.
Du bist der schœnste sterne,
Den der himel iergent hat,
Got durch dich tuot unde lat.
Verlich mir ein reinez ende,
So sich diu sele wende
Von mime armen libe,
Deich danne bi dir blibe.
Deist mir und allen sündern guot.

66 dirne] tirne. 72] den uns die juden zů dode slůgent. 73 siu] er.
91 dime] dine. 94 den] fehlt. 95 tet] dete.

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Hilf mir durch dines kindes bluot
—Dir wart nie niht versaget—
Vil reine muoter unde maget!
Daz du umb den sünder bete,
Daz liez Got allez stete.
Din bete müez iemer stete sin.
Maria, vil liehter sunnen schin,
Ditz lop han ich von dir geseit,
Got hat me lobes an dich geleit
Danne kein herze kunde geahten
Bedenken oder betrahten.
Disiu rede schiere ende hat,
Din lip niemer me zegat
In dem vronen paradise:
Disen lop mahte Johannes der wise.

108 Got] gotte.

## ANMERKUNGEN.

4 vil liehter morgensterne] Cf. Grimm, *Konrad von Würzburgs Goldene Schmiede*, Einleitung, xliv. Zu den dort angeführten Belegen kämen noch hinzu; *Spec. ecclesiae* (Kelle) 108: si (Maria) heizet ouch stella matutina daz chît morgensterne; *Das pseudo-Konradische Ave Maria*, ed. Sig, Strassburg, 1903, str. 26: reinir morgensterne; Jacobi, *Bruchstück eines Marienliedes*, *Z. f. d. A.*, 3, 133, v. 96.

11 diu reine ruote, usw.] Cf. Grimm, a.a.O., Einleitung und ferner *Arnst. Marienlied*, ed. Waag, 64 ff., de mandelen zwîg | de vore gode bluode: | daz was Aarons ruode. *Melker Marienlied*, ed. Waag, S. 159, v. 1 ff.: Jû in erde | leit Aaron eine gerte, diu gebar mandalon; Sig, a.a.O., 40, str. 25: Aaronis ruote die in templo bluote; *Das Engelberger Marienlied*, ed. Bartsch, *Germania*, 18, 51, v. 27; F. Vetter, *Paraphrase des Ave Maria*, *Germania*, 22, 359, v. 58, u.a. Mone, *Hymni latini mediae aetatis* 32 b. Virga Aaron fructifera | Mariae typum gesserat. Alles nach 4 *Mos.* xviii. 8.

14 gar ane missewende] sehr häufiger Ausdruck in der Marienliteratur cf. Reinmar von Zweter, Wackernagel, *Kirchenlieder*, ii, Nr 153, str. 1: âne alle missewende, und die Wörterbücher von Lexer und Benecke-Müller.

15 diu gerte von Jesse] Cf. Grimm, a.a.O., Einleitung. Ferner Mone, a.a.O., Frankfurt, iv, 3, 14 ff. quae spinetum lilium | ex stirpe Jessê proditum...Virga Jessê de radice. Nach *Jes.*, xi, 10 und *Römer*, xv, 12. Eine ebenfalls häufig verwendete Figur, cf. Wackernagel, a.a.O., 29, str. 6; 178. 1 (Konrad der Marner); 528. 2 (Meffrid); Sig, a.a.O., 34, str. 20; Weigand, *Marien Himmelfahrt*, *Z.f.d.A.*, 5, 518, v. 121, u.a.

24 daz oblat isen] Grimm verweist nur auf *Goldene Schmiede*, 496–7, cf. aber ferner Wackernagel, a.a.O., ii, Nr. 1023, str. 98 (ein kölnisches Ave maria aus dem fünfzehnten Jh.) Maria oblayt ysen | lebendes brodes forme.

28 den der himel niht begrifen mac] Cf. Konrad von Würzburg, *Lieder*, ed. Bartsch, S. 390, 50.

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64 keiserîn ob allen wiben] Cf. Suochensinn, Wackernagel, a.a.O., II, 530, 3, du uzerwelte keiserin; *Das Lilienfelder Marienlied*, *Z.f.d.A.*, 47, 288, v. 2: o suzzeu chaiserinne; Bartsch, *Liederdichter*[4], 5. 273, v. 13: der tugende keiserinne (Meister Sigeher).

66 Gotes dirne] Cf. *Goldene Schmiede*, 1847: Heinrich von Loufenberg, ed. Wackernagel, a.a.O., II, 789, 6: ich bin ein dirn des herren; Weinsberg, ibid., 866, 5: si sprach, ich bin | Gotes dirnlin.

68 sin wille muoz an mir ergan] Cf. Weinsberg, ibid., 881, 5: sein wille geschech an mir.

83 von der man singet unde seit] Cf. *Neujahrsgruss an die Frauen*, von Hans Krug, ed. Frommann, *Germania*, 25, 107, v. 28: von in man liȝt singtt und schreibt; Pfeiffer, *Mariengrüsse*, a.a.O., 290, v. 582: er hiez in singen unde lesen.

85 ein liehter mane] Nach dem *Lied der Lieder*, VI, 10. Vgl. Heinrich von Loufenberg, ed. Wackernagel, a.a.O., II, 732, 12: mones schin in diser nacht; ibid., 730, 3: du dur lühtender mon; *Das pseudo-Gottfriedsche Marienlied*, ed. Haupt, *Z.f.d.A.*, 4, 524, str. 29, v. 1; Jacobi, *Z.f.d.A.*, 3, 133, v. 97.

87 ein luter spiegelglas] Cf. Grimm, a.a.O., Einleitung, XXXI, und *Sylvester*, v. 47; ferner Bartsch, *Liederdichter*[4], S. 273, 10: Got liebiu spiegelschouwe; und Loufenberg, ed. Wackernagel, a.a.O., 730, 4: du spiegel unversart; Sig, a.a.O., 20, str. 5: spiegil aller zuohte; Haupt, *Z.f.d.A.*, 4, 523, str. 25, v. 3: ein spiegel glas | der wunne; Pfeiffer, *Mariengrüsse*, *Z.f.d.A.*, 287, v. 397: aller vreuden spiegel.

96 der schœnste sterne] Cf. Loufenberg, a.a.O., 730, 6: du stern der schin nie het verlorn; ibid., 7: der wege wisende stern. *Z.f.d.Ph.*, 35, 370: O maria eyn liehter sterne clair u.a.

W. E. Collinson.

London.

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# MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

## 'Edward III' and Shakespeare's Sonnets.

The problem of Shakespeare's Sonnets is manifold and may be approached by various avenues; I here propose to consider one aspect of the matter only, the connexion of the Sonnets with the play of *King Edward III.*

It is well known that the last line of the ninety-fourth sonnet is found also near the end of the second scene of the first act of the play. Compare the two passages:

(1) The summer's flower is to the summer sweet,
Though to itself it only live and die,
But if that flower with base infection meet,
The basest weed outbraves his dignity:
For sweetest things turn sourest by their deeds;
Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds.

How beautifully does the last line crown its predecessors! There could be found no fitter setting for it than this. Now look upon the other picture:

(2) A spacious field of reasons could I urge
Between his glory, daughter, and thy shame:
That poison shews worse in a golden cup;
Dark night seems darker by the lightning flash;
Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds,
And every glory that inclines to sin,
The same is treble by the opposite.

Here the lily and the weeds are not led up to as they are in the sonnet. Not only that, but the simile is irrelevant. If the Countess of Salisbury stoops to sin with a king, the high position of the king will but make the sin the fouler. Poison is worse in a gold cup than in earthenware, the lightning but makes the night look blacker. If lilies are to be dragged in after this they should be so to the effect that a lily in the hand of ugliness only shews up the ugliness more plainly. But what is the festering of the lily or the contrast of lily and weed

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doing in this context? Set the two passages before any unprejudiced person and ask him which is the original.

But there is another passage in the play, II i 10, where again a phrase agrees with one from the Sonnets (142):

> Love is my sin and thy dear virtue hate,
> Hate of my sin, grounded on sinful loving:
> O, but with mine compare thou thine own state,
> And thou shalt find it merits not reproving:
> Or, if it do, not from those lips of thine,
> That have profaned their scarlet ornaments,
> And sealed false bonds of love as oft as mine
> Robbed others' beds' revenues of their rents.

'Scarlet ornaments' is not a very pretty phrase in itself as applied to lips, but observe how and why it is used; it is in reference to the scarlet wax with which the bond is sealed. And now consider how it is applied by the author of the play:

> Lo, when she blushed, even then did he look pale,
> As if her cheeks by some enchanted power
> Attracted had the cherry blood from his:
> Anon, with reverent fear when she grew pale,
> His cheeks put on their scarlet ornaments,
> But no more like her oriental red,
> Than brick to coral, or live things to dead.

King Edward's cheeks put on scarlet ornaments! Is comment needed? Truly the one passage is like the other as brick to coral. The words 'scarlet ornaments' have caught the play-wright's ear but he did not see the application, and has made the words ridiculous. Again I ask any unprejudiced person to look at the two and say which is the original.

Well, but the first edition of *King Edward III* was published in 1596. If its author was by that time echoing lines and phrases from the Sonnets, then the Sonnets must have been already written, at least in part, by that date. If so, chronology disposes of the theory that Mr W. H. was William Herbert, and along with him exit Mary Fitton; I do not think many tears will be shed on her departure.

Brandes, believing in William Herbert, assumes coolly enough that Shakespeare wrote the first two acts of the play and recalled one line out of it later wherewith to end his sonnet. It does not seem very likely that he should have first written an irrelevant line and put it in to spoil his own context, and then have specially built up a whole sonnet in order to bring the same line in again as a triumphant and perfect climax. Still less likely is it that he first used 'scarlet ornaments' in so infelicitous a manner and then yet again devised the ingenious

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reference to the red seal of a bond to rehabilitate his old phrase. When two distinct things are appropriate in one setting, and inappropriate in another, nobody can doubt seriously what has happened. Narcissus by a fountain side grows by nature; when we find him stuck into a glass with a handful of buttercups we do not suppose that he grew *there*.

May I add that after repeated readings of the play spread over many years I feel more and more convinced that the whole of it is due to one hand alone? Its author, like many young poets, could write prettily enough of love and made a brave show in the first two acts; when he came to deal with battles of Cressy and the like he failed lamentably. But the voice sounds to me the same throughout, and if it be the same, it cannot be Shakespeare's. The reference also at the end of the second act to Lucrece,

> whose ransacked treasury hath tasked
> The vain endeavour of so many pens

seems to me to point to Shakespeare's poem among others, but this is of course not conclusive in itself.

Finally here are some conjectures on the text. I ii 22 'parle' for 'parly.' II i 186 'escadrons' for 'squadrons.' III v 28 'swarms' for 'snares.' V i 174 'lofty' for 'fifty.'

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## KENTUCKY FOLK-SONGS.

For two hundred years and more, the sequestered valleys of the Cumberland Mountains of Kentucky have by their very isolation preserved the folk-lore of the Old World. Borne westward across the Atlantic on the tide of Colonial emigration to Virginia and the Carolinas, it has radiated thence by oral transmission through the 'gaps' and 'breaks' of the Alleghany ranges into the Kentucky Highlands, its present seat. My pastime for some years has been to gather the 'song-ballads' of this region: over three hundred are now in the collection, most of which have never been printed or even committed to manuscript records until now.

Thirty-one, or fifty-two, if variants of the same ballad be counted, are indigenous to England, Scotland, or Ireland, as is proved by abundant evidence, external and internal. Nineteen are identical with versions printed by Bishop Percy, Scott, Professor Child, and other students of British folk-song. These are: 'Barbara Allen's Cruelty,' 'Lady Isabel



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and the Elf Knight,' 'Earl Brand,' 'The Twa Sisters,' 'The Twa Brothers,' 'Young Hunting,' 'The Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard,' 'The Wife Wrapt in Wether's Skin,' 'The Golden Vanitee,' 'Lord Thomas,' 'The Demon Lover,' 'Lord Lovel,' 'Sweet William and Lady Margaret,' 'Edward,' 'Lord Randal,' 'The Jew's Daughter,' 'The Cruel Mother,' 'Lord Bateman' (Beichan), and 'The Bailiff's Daughter of Islington.' Two others may be added, 'Irish Molly O' and 'William Reilley,' which can be seen in the original version in Brooke and Rolleston's *Treasury of Irish Poetry*.

Seventeen more of these Cumberland Mountain songs, though not to my knowledge preserved in collections like the above, contain British place-names or other unmistakeable evidence of their original composition in the Mother Country. Such signs are the mention of London, London Bridge, St Pancras, Katherine Street, Newgate, Nottingham, Sheffield, Edinboro, Wexford, and Dublin. And then, too, the occurrence therein of obsolete words and phrases, as 'dinna,' 'good speed,' 'riddle my sport,' 'a month and a day,' 'come her wi',' 'laughen' for 'laughed,' 'hangen' for 'hanged,' 'bailiff,' 'post-town,' 'dever,' from devoir (sb.), to woo, the Northumbrian plural verb for singular, shillings, pounds, and guineas, 'cordelee,' for 'corde-du-laine,' 'denter,' meadow, and 'toise,' prop. My purpose, however, is not to discuss these.. They are mentioned simply because the fact of their existence proves that a strong bond of folk-literature unites the Cumberland Mountain folk of to-day with their European progenitors centuries ago, and thus justifies and explains the analogy now to be exhibited. My purpose is to present two Eastern Kentucky 'song-ballads,' here printed for the first time[1], which have an obvious connection with two well-known literary themes: 'The Red Red Rose,' of Burns, and the 'Glove and Lions' story, as told by Leigh Hunt, Schiller, Browning, and others.

In 'Cold Winter's Night' are two stanzas which lie closely parallel to the love-song of the Scottish poet. Below appears the Kentucky ballad in full, with the lines in point italicized:

As I walked out one cold winter night,
And drinking good old wine,
A-thinking of that pretty little girl,
That stole this heart of mine—

*And she looks like some pink rose*
*That blooms in the month of June,*
*And now she's like some instrument*
*Been newly put in tune.*

[1] Since writing this some months ago, I have published the second one, on this side of the water, in *Modern Language Notes*, 26, 113 f.

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I asked your mamma for you, my love;
She said you were too young.
I wish I'd never seen your face,
Or had died when I was young.

Oh, who will shoe your little feet,
And who will glove your hand,
Oh, who will kiss your ruby lips,
While I'm in a foreign land?

Your papa, my dear, will shoe your feet,
And your mamma will glove your hand;
And I will kiss your ruby lips,
When I return again.

*Fare you well, my own true love,*
*Fare you well, for awhile;*
*If I go away, I'll come again,*
*If I go ten thousand mile.*

If ever I prove false to you,
The elements shall mourn;
If ever I false prove to you,
The *sea* would rage and burn.

The second analogue lies between another Kentucky folk-song and the Glove and the Lions story, told by Poullain de St Croix in his *Essais Historiques sur Paris*, and afterward made popular in the poems of Schiller, Leigh Hunt, and Browning. The Cumberland Mountain version locates the event in 'Carolina,' though a variant, perhaps an older one, says 'Carlisle':

Down in Carolina lived a lady,
And she was beautiful and gay;
She was determd (*sic*) to live a lady,
And no young man should her betray,

Unless he was a man of honor,
A man of honor and of high degree;
At length there came two lovely sailors,
They came this lady for to see.

One he was a bold lieutenant,
A man of honor and of high degree;
The other was a brave sea-captain,
Belonging to a ship named Colonel Call[1].

Then up spoke this fair young lady,
Saying, 'I can be but one man's bride';
Saying, 'You come here to-morrow morning,
And this here question we'll decide.'

Then she called for coach and horses
To be ready at her command;
They rode away, they rode so lovely,
They rode till they came to the lion's den.

[1] Compare the following from 'The Faithful Lover,' in *Folk Songs from Somerset*, LVI:

The one had a captain's commission
Under command of Colonel Carr:
The other was a lieutenant
On board the Tiger man of war.



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There they stopped and there they halted,
While these young men stood ghastly round;
She fell senseless, she fell senseless,
She fell senseless to the ground.

To herself she did recover,
She threw her fan in the lion's den,
Saying, 'Which of you to gain a lady
Will fetch to me my fan again?'

Then up spake this bold lieutenant,
Saying, 'Madam, of this I do not approve;
Madam, I'm a man of honor;
I will not lose my life for love.'

Then up spake this brave sea-captain
Who was there a-standing nigh.
Saying, 'Madam, I'm a man of honor,
I will receive your fan, or die.'

Then down in the cave he boldly entered,
While these lions looked fierce and wild;
He ripped, he raved around amongst them
And returned safe with her fan.

When she saw her love a-coming,
Unto him no harm was done,
She threw herself all in his arms, saying,
'Here is the prize that you have won.'

Then up spake this bold lieutenant,
Just like a man that was troubled in mind,
Saying, 'In these woods I'll always wander,
And not a girl I'll ever find.'

Are these two Kentucky ballads an echo of the literary form, which has filtered into the popular consciousness through school-readers, 'speakers,' and other such media? Or, are they but variants of the very folk-originals seized upon by Burns, Leigh Hunt, and the rest, as the basis of their work? Those deeply versed in ballad-lore—*quorum non ego*—with access to manuscript collections and broadsides across the water, could perhaps definitely answer the question. The third, fourth and fifth stanzas of 'Cold Winter's Night' are obviously akin to 'The Lass of Lochroyan' (No. 76 in Child); while numerous versions of 'The Lion's Den,' recently current in England, have lately been cited by Professor H. M. Belden, of the University of Missouri, in *The Sewanee Review*, April, 1911, p. 218, and by Professor G. L. Kittredge, of Harvard University, in *Modern Language Notes*, 26, 167. As regards the general relation of the popular or vulgar ballad to the literary type, Professor A. H. Tolman, of the University of Chicago, in a casual letter has recently called my attention to the fact that Scott modelled 'Lochinvar' on 'Katharine Jaffray' (No. 221 in Child), that he built his 'Jock of Hazeldean' upon one stanza of 'John of Hazelgreen' (No. 293 in Child), and that elsewhere his borrowings from folk-songs are more or less

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easily discernible; also that Burns, as is well known, was, like Scott, very familiar with the ballads, the best version of 'Tam Lin' (No. 39 in Child) being communicated by him.

My personal inclination is therefore toward the second alternative. Should this be some day fully proved, these crude American ballads will deserve recognition among the literary sources of the authors concerned. But whether echo or source, they offer more than a stimulus to the curious student of folk-lore.

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## 'UNDERNEATH THIS SABLE HERSE,' ETC.

In his note to this epitaph which he prints from Lansdowne MS. 777 Mr Goodwin (*William Browne: The Muses Library*, 1894) says that the lines are also contained 'in the middle-seventeenth century MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and are there signed "William Browne." They appear to have been first printed in Osborne's traditional *Memoirs in the Reign of King James* 1658, and were also included in the *Poems* of Pembroke and Ruddier, 1661.' In all these, I gather from the note—I have not seen Osborne's volume—the epitaph has two sextains, 'Underneath this sable herse,' etc. being followed immediately by 'Marble tombs let no man raise,' etc. In Aubrey's *Natural History of Wiltshire* on the other hand, and Whalley's *Jonson* 1756, only the first is given. 'The epitaph' Mr Goodwin says very justly 'is certainly more effective as a single sextain'; and Mr Hazlitt suggests that 'whoever composed the original sextain, the addition is the work of another pen, namely Lord Pembroke's.' Still it must be remembered that Browne has occasionally marred his work by not knowing when to stay his hand, and the epitaph as it appears in the Lansdowne and Dublin MSS. reflects him at his best and at his worst.

I venture to suggest that what has happened is that two distinct epitaphs—both by Browne—have been accidentally run together, as often happened when poems were circulated in MS. It is generally considered that what appears as the fourth stanza of Catullus' 'Ille mi par esse deo videtur,' that beginning 'Otium, Catulle, tibi molestum est,' cannot belong to the translation of Sappho's poem but has been wrongly attached to it. Professor Mackail mentions an instance in the Anthology where two epigrams in Callimachus have been given as one

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in the Palatine MS. 'but are properly separated in the Planudean and in modern editions.' I hope to be able to show that some poems attributed to Donne are not his but have been assigned to him because in the same theme and therefore given with his in MS. collections.

This explanation of Browne's sextains has been suggested to me by the manner in which they are given in a Bodleian MS., Rawlinson, Poet. 160, f. 25 *b*. There, after two other epitaphs, one conjecturally (I think rightly) assigned by Mr Chambers to Donne; the other Ben Jonson's

Wilt thou hear what man can say, etc.

comes the following:

*Epitaphium*
*Comitissae Pembroke.*

Reader this same stone doth tell
The pearles gone here lies the shell
But if thou knewest either Earle
Tho'uld'st sweare here lyes the mother of pearle.

*Aliud.*

Underneath this sable hearse, etc.

*Aliud.*

Marble piles let no man raise, etc.

BROWNE.

Here three distinct epitaphs are attributed to Browne. The first I have met before but cannot just now remember where. It is not generally assigned to Browne. It is just possible that the third only is Browne's and that he has been given the second and best by a chance adhesion. But the balance of evidence is in favour of his authorship. Lansdowne MS. 777 is a good authority for Browne's poems. The ascriptions in the second part of the Trinity College, Dublin MS. (there are two quite distinct collections in this MS.) are of no value.

H. J. C. GRIERSON.

ABERDEEN.

## GIBBON AND DANTE.

Since my note on the above subject in the last issue of the *Modern Language Review* was written, yet another reference to Dante by Gibbon has been brought to my notice. In his *Outlines of the History of the World*, composed, according to Lord Sheffield, between 1758 and 1763, Gibbon observes: 'The advantages of trade were common to several

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nations; but the pleasures and glories of literature were confined to the Italians, or rather to a few men of genius, who emerged from an ignorant and superstitious multitude. The writings of Dante, Boccace, and Petrarch, for ever fixed the Italian language. The first displayed the powers of a wild and original genius....' (*Miscellaneous Works*, Dublin, 1796, Vol. III, p. 190.)

This passage is interesting as containing the germ of the phrase ('the original wildness of Dante') introduced by Gibbon some thirty years later in the sixth volume (1788) of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.*

I am indebted for this reference to Dr J. W. Ballantyne of Edinburgh, the author of some interesting articles in the *British Medical Journal*, on Dante's knowledge of medicine.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

FIVEWAYS, BURNHAM, BUCKS.

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# REVIEWS.

*A History of English Poetry.* By W. J. COURTHOPE. Vols. V and VI. London: Macmillan. 1905–10. 8vo. xxviii + 464, xxiv + 471 pp.

Mr Courthope has been labouring for many years at the construction of a history of English Poetry on an original plan, and those who have watched the progress of the work have rightly expected to see in the volume on the eighteenth century the corner-stone of the building.

The plan adopted by Mr Courthope has been, to use his own words, 'to regard poetry as the reflection of our social life,' to treat it 'as an expression of the imagination not simply of the individual poet but of the English people: to use the facts of political and social history as keys to the poet's meaning.' The earlier volumes of the history have illustrated the excellences and the limitations of the method. The investigation of those forces in national life which shape literature has throughout been interesting and illuminating, but the interpretation of individual poets has often suffered through the critic's pre-occupation with political or social tendencies. The method succeeds best where a poet is closely in touch with the political life of his time or where the development of a literary form is intimately bound up with a movement in social life. Witness the excellent treatment of Dryden in connection with his age in the third volume, and the admirable record of the development of the Drama from Ben Jonson to the Restoration in the fourth.

The eighteenth century was an age marked by the close interdependence of literature and politics, and distinguished in poetry not through the brilliance of individual genius but through the conformity of a large school of authors to a social standard of taste, and to certain vigorous habits of thought, shaped by definite historic influences. Small wonder then that the eighteenth century has always been the period in English literature nearest to the heart of Mr Courthope. To twentieth century readers the bulk of early eighteenth century literature is unpalatable if not wholly indigestible. The principle of compromise which shaped the literary ideals of Pope and his school, as it shaped the political ideals of Walpole and the Whigs, answers in no way to the aspirations of an age of unrest. We resent in particular what looks like the apotheosis of common sense and reason as the essence of poetic thought, and the complacent exclusion of living passion and imagination from the sphere of poetry.

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A critic like Mr Courthope, who can reveal the interest and value of this eighteenth century literature as much by his enthusiasm as by his critical method, is doing an inestimable service to present-day students. The virtues of his method are well proved in such a chapter as that on 'Whig Panegyrical Poetry,' where he succeeds in making interesting even such 'Minors' as Montague and Tickell by approaching them from the starting-point of a philosophical analysis of the Whig principle. Again, with the enlightened enthusiasm of a true lover he goes far to rehabilitate many poets who have lost their reputation, by his happily-chosen quotations backed by suggestive comments. The chapter on Pope is disappointing, but only perhaps because we know already how much that is interesting Mr Courthope has to say about Pope, and the critic himself shrinks from repetition.

The tenth chapter, on the Philosophical Poetry, gives an illuminating account of the various philosophical developments which found their way into the poetry of the age, and it is excellent in its lively appreciation of individual writers.

The Romantic movement receives attention in one chapter, which deals admirably, though in narrow compass, with the chief writers of the literary Romantic revival. In contrast with his strikingly full and sympathetic treatment of the writers of the classical school, the critic's treatment of the Romantics shows indeed a tendency to be niggardly and destructive. Thus he disposes of Percy's *Reliques* in two sentences, —surely inadequate treatment of a work which for intrinsic value and for far-reaching influence on poetic form and substance is of first importance among the publications of the latter half of the century. And his criticism of Chatterton is destructive rather than appreciative, dealing cleverly with the 'faked' character of the Rowley poems, and the combined precocity and ineffectiveness of the poet's achievement as a whole, but failing to suggest, except in the most general way, that unique poetic quality which is present in such a production as the *Excellent Ballad of Charitie*.

The main thesis on which the judgments of this volume are based is a specifically Courthopian conception of Classicism. In the eyes of this critic the first part of the eighteenth century is the age in which the Classical Renaissance came to its own in England. For him 'the essence of the classic spirit is civic liberty': he sees in the constitutional compromise of Whiggism the triumph of this principle, and declares that 'out of the English political spirit was developed in English poetry the classical form.' The thesis is admirably expounded and illustrated throughout the volume, but we find it hard to be satisfied with a conception of the classic spirit which regards poetic form as the product of political thought, which considers Addison's apostrophe to Marshal Tallard 'a good specimen of really "classical" English verse,' and sees in the poetry of Akenside the last development of the genius of the Classical Renaissance in England. Our distrust deepens when we proceed to the sixth volume and find such a poet as Landor entirely omitted from consideration in a survey of the Revolution period.

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Landor's poetry is perhaps in the stricter sense more 'classical' in form than that of any other English writer, and in thought, rebel though he is, he reaches far nearer to the liberal and essentially Greek conception of an ideal free state than any of the eighteenth century poets of compromise. As this slight to Landor suggests, Mr Courthope's conception of the classical spirit is narrowed on the one hand by a certain insensibility to the intrinsic value of form in poetry, and on the other by his inability to believe that a worthy conception of liberty can be framed in the spirit of revolution as well as in the spirit of compromise.

Thoroughly at home in the eighteenth century, at peace with its ideals though conscious of its limitations, Mr Courthope crosses the threshold of the nineteenth century with a sinking heart. The sixth volume opens on a troubled note of misgiving and the final chapter is indeed the swan-song of his History of English Poetry. He bewails the overthrow of the Holy Roman Empire at the hands of Napoleon in 1806 in a manner which we should be inclined to call sentimental if it were not so genuinely impassioned. The event symbolizes for Mr Courthope the break-up of traditional political conceptions by the assertion of the principle of individual liberty. He declares that 'the disappearance of political ideals, which for so many centuries presented an object of reverence to the imagination of mankind, left a void in society which has not been filled.' And he concludes, 'It would be useless for me to attempt to carry the History of English Poetry into our own times on the principle I have deliberately adopted of regarding Poetry as the reflection of our social life, since...the spiritual ideals at present predominant in the mind of the nation are themselves obscure and ambiguous.' We wish that Mr Courthope had bated no jot of heart or hope but steered right onward, and we believe that he must have come to see that the poetry of the nineteenth century, however varied in form and purpose, has yet been essentially in touch with national life, and that the spiritual ideals of the age, however multiform and apparently confused, have been none the less living and progressive. But the fact cannot be blinked that in this last volume the critic approaches his period with a bias. He is painfully conscious of the disintegrating forces at work beneath the surface, and prepared to find a lack of continuity in political and social life, along with a breach between this life and the new growth of poetry. He sees as the root of this new poetic growth 'a self-consciousness out of harmony with the traditional development of civil society' and his uneasy appreciation of the great Romantic poets is explained by the difficulty he experiences in netting them into his critical system.

His estimate of Wordsworth is peculiarly disappointing, in its tiresome insistence upon the poet's introspective individualism, and its failure to allow for his vital participation in all the great public movements of his day. Like too many critics he sees Wordsworth primarily as the prophet of Nature and fails to hail him as the poet of humanity. To sum up Wordsworth's faith as 'monastic nature-worship,' and to complain that his characters are not ideal realities like

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Shakespeare's, but the product of 'his own abstract way of thinking about Nature,' is to ignore something which is of the essence of Wordsworth's poetry,—his realization of the vital unity between Nature and man, and his rare sympathy with the primary passions of human nature. And there is another point which escapes the critic. This insight into human nature and knowledge of its powers and needs makes Wordsworth's poetry remarkable not only for its astonishing revelations of individual human character, but also for its embodiment of humanitarian principles which have been the source of progress in every important sphere of life—educational, social and political—from his day to ours.

With Shelley Mr Courthope is much more sympathetic: he appreciates his classical conception of poetry as the organ of public thought and feeling, yet discerns and reveals the essentially romantic temper of his genius. His criticism of Keats on the contrary is marred by a prejudice which is easier to explain than it is to forgive. He is biassed against the poet partly by his flouting of the eighteenth century school in *Sleep and Poetry*, partly by the decisiveness with which his poetry beats a retreat from the battle-ground of social and political forces. He sees in Keats' development not progress but retrogression, declaring that the poet 'steadily contracted the "vast idea" with which he started, and, yielding to a semi-conscious artistic instinct, gave up all thought of imitating social action in an ideal form'; and he quotes the last stanza of the *Ode to Psyche* as the 'abstract and brief chronicle' of his progress in poetry. It is to be regretted that, though he makes good use, in analysing Keats' style, of Professor de Sélincourt's admirable edition of the poet, he fails to realize what no student after the publication of this edition has an excuse for ignoring, the vigorous intellectual development which Keats underwent, the extraordinary swiftness with which he strengthened his grasp upon reality, and the stubborn energy with which he grappled in poem after poem with that hardest problem of the artist, the reconciling of his knowledge of the 'miseries of the world' with his belief in the principle of beauty.

The chapter on Crabbe contains an excellent appraisal of a poet who is often under-rated, that on Byron deals suggestively with the relation of Byron's genius to the Romantic movement and the classical tradition.

Some of the most valuable chapters in the volume are those on 'The New Whigs and their influence on Literature,' on 'Anti-Jacobinism,' and on 'The Exhaustion of Classical influence in English poetry,' where Mr Courthope uses his unique power of revealing the significance of minor literature in relation with social and political movements.

Viewing the volumes as a whole, we are struck by the success with which Mr Courthope has applied his theory to the eighteenth century, and the failure which has attended the attempt of even this discerning and experienced critic to view nineteenth century poetry under its terms. Great poets like Wordsworth and Keats break through the meshes of the system. This fact must give us pause. We cannot agree with Mr Courthope that poetry, even under his definition as

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'a mirror for the imagination of men living in a society at once historic and free,' is really dead in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; and we cannot feel altogether satisfied with a conception of poetry which regards Keats as a defaulter and which fails to embrace Tennyson, Browning and Swinburne.

Yet the History has been an original and most valuable contribution to the study of English Poetry. It represents the first attempt in English criticism to deal consistently with English Poetry in relation with national life, and every serious student of the subject must ungrudgingly admire the enthusiasm and erudition with which this critic has carried through his great and original work.

HELEN DARBISHIRE.

OXFORD.

*Early Plays from the Italian.* Edited with Essay, Introductions and Notes by R. WARWICK BOND. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1911. 8vo. cxviii + 332 pp.

In this valuable book Mr Bond includes a most thorough and scholarly edition of three plays, Gascoigne's *Supposes*, *The Buggbears*, and *Misogonus*. If this were all, we should still be greatly indebted to him: for the two latter plays have hitherto only appeared in German editions, and *Supposes*, though its text has lately been made accessible by Professor Cunliffe, has not hitherto received the annotation with which it is now enriched. But the three plays, carefully edited as they are, appear here as subordinate to the main purpose of the book—which is an examination of the manner in which English comedy of the sixteenth century reproduces the subjects, spirit, and technique of Greek and Roman Comedy as these were modified in the Renaissance Comedy of Italy. Not wishing to state his conclusions merely in abstract terms, Mr Bond decided to append to them 'actual plays to which the reader might instantly turn for verification of indicated parallelism or imitation.' The three selected plays are therefore subsidiary to an 'Essay on the relation of these plays to Latin and Italian Comedy, and to the Dutch Education Drama.'

The last words may seem to extend the scope of the book even beyond the limits already defined. They are necessitated by the inclusion of the play *Misogonus*—which has no direct Latin or Italian prototype, and comes nearest in character to the *Asotus* of Macropedius. Mr Bond justifies its inclusion however by the filial relation in which the German and Dutch educational drama stands to Italian and Plautine comedy.

In his Essay Mr Bond shows a wide and exact knowledge of Latin and Italian Renaissance comedy, and his survey of the latter will be very useful to many of us who find difficulty in coming to close quarters with it by ourselves.

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A dated list of representative Italian comedies of the sixteenth century is followed by an examination of the manner in which they reproduce—with certain modifications, such as those occasioned by the substitution of Catholic Christianity for Paganism—the typical subjects, characters and situations of Plautus and Terence. It is pointed out that this was facilitated by the analogy between the political conditions of Italy and those of the Greek states at the time when the New Comedy took shape in the hands of Menander. This discussion is followed by another which treats of the likenesses and unlikenesses of the three English comedies to their Italian and Latin sources or analogues. A valuable contribution is incidentally made to the history of the metres employed in the English plays. Mr Bond's Essay must however be read for itself: and it is needless to attempt any résumé of it.

Each of the plays is preceded by a scholarly essay on questions of text, date, authorship, etc. Mr Bond is inclined to assign *The Buggbears* to one John Jeffere, who at the end of the MS. (Lansdowne MS. 807) has copied a line already written in another hand 'Soli deo honor et gloria' and added 'Johannus Jeffere scribebat hoc.' I must confess that this does not seem to me likely to have been done by the author of the play. The whole thing is much more suggestive of a schoolboy. The very words 'scribebat hoc' seem to me naturally to mean 'wrote what I am writing,' not 'wrote the play'—and can it be supposed that an author sufficiently well read to compose a comedy on the basis of one Italian play and to incorporate in it scenes suggested by another should be so ignorant of Latin as to translate his own name by 'Johannus'?

The main source of *The Buggbears* is Grazzini's *La Spiritata*, published in 1561, but much of this is discarded, and some additional scenes are based on *Gli Ingannati* (first acted at Siena in 1531). Mr Bond repeatedly speaks of *Gli Ingannati* as the work of Adriano Politi, wrongly, I think, though till lately the error found a place in the British Museum Catalogue. Politi was a scholar who flourished early in the seventeenth century, and was, according to Allacci's *Drammaturgia*, also the author of a comedy called *Gli Ingannati*. But even Allacci makes it clear that this was not the Sienese play of a century earlier.

With regard to these borrowings from *Gli Ingannati*, I may point out that it is possible they were indirect borrowings through the French translation by Charles Estienne called *Les Abusez*. This is the case with the Latin play *Laelia*, which was thought till lately to have been based directly on the Italian comedy. In the case of *The Buggbears* it is probably impossible to say whether the Latin or the French was the immediate source. I notice however that Mr Bond, who has detected the dependence of Act IV. sc. 5 on *Gli Ingannati*, II. 8, says 'The actual dialogue, however, is entirely the Englishman's.' This is shown not to be the case if we compare *The Buggbears* IV. 5. 33,

*Can.* how heardst it?
*Sq.* w^th^ mine eares, it was not w^th^ mine elbowes

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with *Gli Ingannati* II. 8. 19:

*Fla.* Come gli uedesti tu?
*Cri.* Con gli occhi. credete forse ch' io gli habbi ueduti con le gombita?

On the lines *Buggbears* III. 1. 17 'may pearce my master to the hart, and gyve his head eveny' (riming with 'many'), Mr Bond suggests that 'eveny' is perhaps a late instance of 'evene' (meaning 'matter'), found in *Cursor Mundi* 335 ('euen') and *Kingis Quhair* clxxxii ('evyn'). But surely the accent of the word alone would make this impossible. Is not 'eveny' a mistake for 'a veny' (='veney,' 'venue,' a thrust at fencing)?

III. 4. 10. 'who feares my hart, who loathes my loss.' Query, 'who feares my hurt.'

The play *Misogonus* was transcribed for Collier and more lately for Professor Brandl. Mr Bond has however transcribed it again himself, and has printed it without even altering the punctuation. It is thus an exact reproduction of the MS. and in this form, with its many difficulties of language, is by no means easy reading. In fact a young student's knowledge of sixteenth century English could hardly be better tested than by setting him to make out a page of it. With the assistance given him by the previous work of Brandl, Carpenter, and Manly, Mr Bond has succeeded in explaining most of the difficulties. Occasionally, however, one would be glad of a note where no note is given: and here and there one questions if Mr Bond's explanations are the right ones.

I. 3. 48. Is not the meaning this: 'I should make a good priest but for having something which makes me indisposed to celibacy'?

I. 4. 23. 'doth me chalings and deare.' In spite of IV. 2. 7, I cannot think that 'chalings' is here a substantive in the plural. It is surely a mis-writing of 'chalinge' (verb).

II. 4. 96. 'heile come as round as a purr.' Whatever a 'purr' is[1], whether a pig, a pear, a codlin, or a round bit of wood or iron, I don't think it affects the general sense. There is, I think, a kind of humorous play on the meaning of 'round' in its natural sense as applied to a round object, and in its sense 'sharply' 'promptly' when associated with a verb of motion. Cp. *Club Law* 623: 'Ile carie him to the feast, as rounde as a Julers box'; Stubbes, *Anatomie*: 'to Bocardo goeth he as rounde as a ball.' The simile does not imply 'exactness' or 'certainty,' but speed.

II. 4. 113. 'heis a beakinge prist.' Not much light is thrown on this expression by the fact that the Dialect Dictionary 'has a N. country verb *beek* "to warm," e.g. "she sat beeakin hersel afoor t' fire." This 'N. country verb' carries us no further than the standard-English 'bake,'—and the expression 'a baking priest' still needs explanation.

II. 4. 116. 'Ile kepe yow company.' Query, 'to kepe yow company (I will not spare for a pound or two).'

[1] The N.E.D. takes no notice of this passage.

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II. 4. 192. 'ery little wagpasty' (every little boy). Mr Bond remarks on 'wagpasty': ''-*pasty* perhaps inceptive, "in the moulding": or implies "fond of tarts."' This would imply that 'wag' could stand alone as a substantive at this time. I doubt it.

II. 4. 284. 'henbourde.' This is surely nothing but 'hen-bird,' suggested by 'treads' in the previous line. Cp. l. 288 'he is a right cocke' and the spelling 'burdinge' l. 297. Mr Bond's note shows again an unnecessary recourse to the Dialect Dictionary: '? "bridal merriment" or "merry bride": *Hen-* is a Yorkshire word compounded with others to denote "wedding" (*Dial. Dict.*).'

II. 5. 46. 'ile kepe both hir and the rest in mauger your bearde.'

Mr Bond would read 'in manger, mauger.' Rather, perhaps, 'I, mauger.'

III. 3. 147. 'Yeaue in wenye likt me whole we your tauke.'

Mr Bond explains 'You've in verity liked me well (or 'wholly') with your talk,'—I suppose, taking 'liked' = 'pleased.'

Can it not mean 'licked me well (or into good health)' as a dog licks a sore?

IV. 1. 127. 'Gods blwe hood.' Is not this merely a humorous perversion of 'God's blood'? and not synonymous, as Bond thinks, with 'Gods cope'? Even if Bond is right so far, I think 'God's cope' does not mean 'the sky,' but is perhaps suggested by the costume assigned to the Father in the Miracle Plays.

IV. 1. 137. 'Ey maye wante.' Bond, 'ay, marry, warrant.' Rather, I think; 'ay, marry war't,' that is, 'ay, marry was't.'

IV. 2. 12. 'I will surky the thome.' Mr Bond rejects Brandl's reading 'I will surly the thome' and interpretation (apparently 'I will beat thy thumb') and as 'ky' in the MS. stands near to 'the,' suggests doubtfully 'I will sure kith thee home' taking 'kith' as metonomy for 'drive,' satirizing his claim of relationship. As 'thome' rimes with 'become,' the vowel is probably that of 'thumb,' not that of 'home.' But a satisfactory explanation seems still to be required.

IV. 3. 4. 'vociferarū.' I suggest 'vociferare,' to agree with the forms 'emūge' and 'clama.' Perhaps a full stop after 'vociferare.'

It seems to me that a good deal remains to be done for the text of *Misogonus*; but Mr Bond has given us an excellent and most useful edition of the three plays, and in his Introductory Essay has shown very clearly the nature of the relationship which existed between English Comedies of the sixteenth century and their Italian and classical models.

G. C. Moore Smith.

Sheffield.

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*Laelia*, a Comedy acted at Queens' College, Cambridge. Edited by G. C. Moore Smith. Cambridge: University Press. 1910. xxviii + 115 pp.

The same volume in the Lambeth library contains both *Fucus Histriomastix*, already edited by Professor Moore Smith, and *Laelia*. It is certainly strange, in view of its supposed relation to *Twelfth Night*, that the latter piece should not have been printed before; but if it has had to wait for an editor, it has been fortunate in the one it has eventually found.

*Laelia* is commonly said to have been acted at Queens' College in 1590 and 1598, but Professor Moore Smith argues with great ingenuity for the date 1 March 1594/5, and I think establishes his contention so far as it is possible to do so by indirect evidence. [See, however, his further note in *M.L.R.* VI, 382.] He is undoubtedly right, by the way, in regarding Rowland Whyte's 'Pedantiq' as a mere misreading of 'Pedanti*us*.'

*Laelia* is an adaptation of the Sienese 'Intronati' comedy *Gli Ingannati* by way of Charles Estienne's French translation entitled *Les Abusés*. This is quite obvious from the names of the characters. *Gli Ingannati* seems also to have been the source of a certain novel of Bandello's translated by Belleforest in the *Histoires Tragiques*, whence Rich drew his tale of *Apolonius and Silla*, the commonly acknowledged source of *Twelfth Night*. As to the relation of Shakespeare's play to *Laelia* controversy is likely to be keen. The editor clearly considers that Shakespeare's main inspiration came from Rich, but he mentions a number of details which he thinks point to a knowledge of *Laelia*. I cannot say that I find these at all convincing. Moreover, if the points mentioned are really significant they imply a knowledge of both the Italian and the Latin. Still less cogent are the grounds for arguing a connection between *Twelfth Night* and Bandello's or Belleforest's versions, though that Shakespeare was acquainted with the latter is of course intrinsically likely.

To suppose that Shakespeare knew of more than one version of the tale is reasonable enough, and there is certainly no ground to deny Professor Moore Smith's hypothesis that the author being already familiar with Rich's version was fired to the production of his play by the report of the Cambridge performance. But to suppose that he thereupon wasted his time in seeking out copies of *Laelia*, *Gli Ingannati* and the *Histoires Tragiques*, to say nothing of *Gli Inganni* and Bandello, seems to me gratuitous.

The text has evidently been prepared with great thought and care. In such a case as the present it is always a difficult question how far the vagaries of the original scribe should be retained, and how far they should be normalized. If it be thought that in some respects Professor Moore Smith has been a little arbitrary in his decisions, it must be borne in mind that the difficulties with which an editor has had to contend, and the conflicting demands which he has sought to reconcile,

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do not always fully appear in the completed work. As a guarantee the serious critic is here provided with full textual notes, in which all departures from the manuscript are recorded, and often justified by reference to the French. The other notes are chiefly occupied by references to classical authors in illustration of phrases in the text. These Latin academic dramas are, of course, often almost composed of tags from the authors read in the schools, and it is right that this should be pointed out in some detail. This Professor Moore Smith has amply done. To demand that every classical reminiscence should be recorded—even were the task possible—would be hypercritical, and it is matter for satisfaction that the editor has not wasted his time in such an attempt.

There is one point in this admirable edition that I regret. A critic having spoken of *Laelia* as 'the undoubted immediate source of *Twelfth Night*,' the editor remarks, apparently without intentional irony: 'We may feel some surprise at the rapidity with which Professor —— arrived at "certainty" in regard to a play which he had not read: but at least we are bound to treat his view with respect.' Professor Moore Smith is a serious student, and there is no need for him to indulge in polite rhetoric. To pretend respect for the opinions of a writer who was obviously in no position to form any, is unworthy of the severe reticence of his own scholarship.

W. W. Greg.

Cambridge.

*Les Masques Anglais. Étude sur les ballets et la vie de cour en Angleterre* (1512—1640). Par Paul Reyher. Paris: Hachette. 1909. x + 563 pp.

M. Reyher had already been some time at work on the history of the English masque when Dr Brotanek published the standard work on the subject in Oct. 1901 (the book is dated 1902). Undeterred by finding himself thus anticipated, the French scholar turned his attention more exclusively to that side of the question which most interested him, and elaborated the relation of the court entertainments to the general social conditions of the time. This was perhaps the task for which he was most exceptionally fitted, for while his patient researches among documents and texts would have given permanent value to any work that he might have seen fit to publish, it was this particular investigation that gave the best scope for his admirably vivid and well trained historical imagination, and enabled him to turn to the very best account his almost unparalleled knowledge alike of the permanent literature and of the more ephemeral writings of the time. And it is also in such exposition as this that the reader gets the best effect from the clearness and elegance of M. Reyher's style, a style, be it said, which at the same time has qualities of grip and grit to an unusual degree.



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Not that the substantial volume he has written consists chiefly of general dissertations. The whole subject is covered in a thoroughly satisfactory and competent manner, if not with the severe matter-of-factness of Brotanek's work. We have the masque traced to its obscure origins in the mummings of earlier times; the conditions of performance described, as well as the libretti, scenery, dresses, music and dancing; the consummation of the art is depicted in the hands of Jonson, and its decadence in those of his successors. Great interest attaches to the technical analysis of Inigo Jones' staging, and to the elaborate plans of scenery reproduced from the Lansdowne manuscripts. Nor will the author's judgements on literary matters fail to receive the attention they deserve. Of particular interest possibly, if one is called upon to choose, is his defence of the right of Milton's Ludlow entertainment to rank as a masque. This Brotanek denied, but he seems now inclined to alter his views in deference to those of his French confrère. The dispute is not merely verbal. *Comus* undoubtedly partakes of the nature both of the masque and of the regular play, and for my own part I continue to think that the incongruity of the two, unreconciled even by Milton's poetry and constructive ingenuity, is fatal to its success as a dramatic representation, an opinion which the opportunity recently afforded at Cambridge of witnessing the piece on the stage has only served to confirm.

It is not my intention to enter into a detailed criticism of M. Reyher's work, but I may be allowed to refer to the minute review of it by Dr Brotanek in the current *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*. The history of the English masque is now in its main lines established, and the subject lies before students in two solid volumes of remarkable excellence.

W. W. Greg.

Cambridge.

*An Anthology of the Poetry of the Age of Shakespeare.* Chosen and arranged by W. T. Young. Cambridge: University Press. 1910. 8vo. ix + 307 pp.

The object of this series is, so Mr Young tells us, 'an adjustment of the claims of literature and literary history.' The claims of literary history he apparently considers too slight to deserve serious notice, and while every teacher of literature will cordially endorse what he says as to the necessity of encouraging students to avoid second-hand knowledge and go straight to the sources, it is impossible to pass without protest the inference that the critical history of literature is invariably, or even usually, a mere 'encumbrance of formulas, epigrams and generalisations.' There must always be a place for such historians as Ten Brink and Taine, for M. Jusserand or M. Legouis; the student who is capable of using their pages merely for purposes of 'cram' is not likely to gain much even from the best edited of anthologies. From the point of view of the serious student anthologies themselves are nothing more than

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handy books of reference. To understand a poet thoroughly, or to appreciate his relation to his age, it is necessary to study his works, not in selections chosen by even the best of teachers, but as they stand, to take the bad as well as the good, to plod along the flats as well as to scale the elevations. But if volumes of selections are but one degree in advance of those literary histories which Mr Young condemns, they are not without a very real value. In the first place they provide the general reader with a great deal of pleasure which he would otherwise miss, they render accessible poems which lie buried in dull and dreary plays, they pick out the jewels which gleam in many an ancient dust-heap; in the second, by emphasising the beauties and peculiarities of some author or of some age they help to set the feet of the student upon the right path, they hold out a hope of reward for his labours, and teach him for what he should look.

This is the particular function which Mr Young's anthology is intended to fulfil, and the book is admirably adapted to its purpose. The selections are well made; they illustrate all the more important phases of Elizabethan and Jacobean poetry, from Tottel's Miscellany (1557) to Donne's satires (1633). The greater part of the volume is devoted to lyric poetry, and it is only natural that this should be the more satisfactory portion—lyrics are, as a rule, intended to stand by themselves and consequently they are admirably adapted for use in anthologies. Fragments from narrative poems necessarily appear somewhat scrappy; as Mr Young points out, their object is less to delight in themselves than to induce the student 'to turn to the complete poem, and make his approach to the author through his work.' It is curious that while Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond* attracts all lovers of Elizabethan poetry, the compilers of anthologies seem unanimous in omitting that most characteristic and dramatic passage in which Rosamond describes how the angry Queen gives her the fatal dagger and bowl,

> And leaves me alone, of all the world forsaken
> Except of Death, which she hath left with me:
> Death and myself alone together be.

On the whole, however, there is little in this volume with which anyone will feel disposed to quarrel. There are no very striking or original discoveries, and certain of the poems, such as Fletcher's 'Oh, how my lungs do tickle, ha, ha, ha!' are worth including only on the ground that they prove that poor verse as well as good was produced by the Elizabethans. If an example of a rollicking drinking song were needed, surely 'St Hugh be our good speed' from Dekker's *Shoemaker's Holiday* would have been better than the not very convincing mirth of the parishioners of the Spanish Curate. But it is inevitable that no two people should ever quite agree as to the poems they consider best or most representative; the omissions in this volume are few and the inclusions are many, and are none of them without value of some kind. It is a book which will be found helpful by those who are



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beginning the study of Elizabethan literature, and will afford pleasure to all lovers of poetry. An index of authors, with their dates and a list of the works included, is provided, as well as an index of first lines.

GRACE E. HADOW.

CIRENCESTER.

*Chaucer.* Par É. LEGOUIS (Les grands écrivains étrangers). Paris: Bloud. 1910. 8vo. viii + 261 pp.

M. Legouis has written what is probably the best popular account of Chaucer. He has not attempted to contribute anything original to the solution of the various unsolved problems, chronological or literary, which engage the attention of Chaucer students, but he shews familiarity with the admitted facts, and presents us with an appreciative study of the poet and his work, written in a very attractive manner and displaying the literary skill which was to be expected of its author. Especially good is his account of the *Canterbury Tales*, in the form of a full analysis followed by a literary study, and he does full justice to Chaucer as the first dramatic realist in the literature of modern Europe, rightly regarding his portraiture of the pilgrims in the Prologue and in the conversations upon the road, and his comic presentation of contemporary life, such as is found in the Miller's, Reeve's, Friar's, Summoner's and Merchant's tales, and in the Wife of Bath's prologue, as the most original production of his genius. In his appreciation of this M. Legouis has been led somewhat to undervalue Chaucer's more serious poetical work. He justly remarks that Chaucer transformed the *fabliau* into something essentially different and far more valuable, by his development of character; but he refuses to allow that anything of the same kind was done with reference to the material supplied to him by Boccaccio for the tales of Troilus and of Palamon and Arcite. Every reader of *Troilus and Criseide* by the side of the *Filostrato*, or of the *Knight's Tale* by the side of the *Teseide*, must be struck by the manner in which Boccaccio's slight and superficial presentation of character has been enlarged and deepened by Chaucer, and his fluent and conventional descriptions turned into something of a far higher poetical value. The debt which Chaucer owed to Italian literature was a sufficiently important one. He not only drew from it materials for his work, but also—a matter of far more significance—he found in it models of artistic construction such as no other literature in Europe could at that time have supplied. But he borrowed in no servile spirit, and for the most part he bettered what he took. It is but a shallow criticism that objects to Chaucer's idea of the character of Criseide on the ground that the story of her faithlessness becomes less intelligible in his rendering of it. No doubt Boccaccio's representation of his Briseida makes her story only too intelligible; but Chaucer's more subtle and complex conception supplies an interest which is wanting in the work of his predecessor, and at the same time is at least as true to nature.

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M. Legouis hardly even gives Chaucer credit for the transformation of the commonplace youth Pandaro into the incomparable uncle who plays so large a part in his story, though we have here one of the most masterly of his comic creations. Few will be found to agree with M. Legouis that Chaucer's Pandarus is a mere mass of inconsistencies, and his conversation intolerably wearisome. On the whole it may be said that the appreciation which we have here of the *Canterbury Tales* is far more satisfactory than that of Chaucer's other works.

However, the book on the whole is very good reading, and contains much that is sound and useful. Moreover, the specimens of translation which M. Legouis has given us are for the most part excellent, and shew how effectively Chaucer may be rendered into French verse. As a specimen we may cite the opening lines of the *Wife of Bath's Tale*:

Au temps jadis où régnait cet Artus
De qui Bretons vont prônant les vertus,
Tout ce pays était plein de féerie.
Souvent dansaient sur la verte prairie
Les gais lutins en ronde avec les fées.
Il s'est passé des centaines d'années,
Ce m'a-t-on dit, depuis ces temps lointains
Et nul ne voit à présent de lutins,
Car le saint zèle et les grandes prières
Des Limiteurs et autres pieux Frères
Qui vont plus dru par les champs d'alentour
Que grains de poudre en les rayons du jour,
Bénissant tout: la chambre et la cuisine,
Et le grenier et la salle où l'on dîne,
Ferme et manoir, étable et laiterie,—
De cela vient qu'il n'est plus de féerie.
Car où soulait rôder quelque lutin
Un Limiteur récite son latin
Tandis qu'il va durant la matinée
Faire de porte en porte sa tournée.
Femme peut bien, sans péril et sans peur,
De çà de là, sous les buissons en fleur
Et dans les bois s'éjouïr aujourd'hui,
Il n'y demeure autre incube que lui,
Et ne voudrait lui faire déshonneur.

G. C. MACAULAY.

CAMBRIDGE.

*Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association.* Collected by A. C. BRADLEY. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1910. 8vo. 196 pp.

This is an interesting and valuable collection of papers, and should serve to remind the public of the existence and useful activity of the society by which it is published. The book contains seven essays, each presented by its author to the English Association, and the editor expresses a hope that similar collections may follow annually. It will be a considerable achievement if the literary standard of the present volume can be kept up in the future publications.

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The book opens with a paper on English Place-names by Dr Henry Bradley, which is an admirable example of popular and at the same time scientific treatment of a subject which has suffered more than most others from popular unscientific methods. Till recently competent scholars have usually left it alone, and it has fallen into the hands of persons who have no proper knowledge of linguistic principles. The etymologies produced under these conditions are often much more interesting than the true ones, for fiction is usually more entertaining than fact:

> An etymologist who can operate at will with the words of a dozen languages, and has no inconvenient grammatical knowledge to hamper him in putting them together, is able to make a name mean almost anything he likes; and if he is a person of taste, he will of course choose to find in it some bit of picturesque description, a reference to ancient beliefs or superstitions, or a memorial of some historical event.

Recently, no doubt, better methods have been to some extent introduced; but Dr Bradley's statement of the principles which should be followed and his illustrations of the right or the wrong way to do things are none the less useful and seasonable.

The second essay, by Mr Robert Bridges, 'On the present state of English pronunciation,' contains much more questionable matter. The author sounds a note of alarm, partly occasioned by the phonetic tendencies of the language, and partly by the supposed enormities of those who attempt to record them. To these last it must be said that he does some injustice, while at the same time he misses some points which might fairly be made against them. It is not of course in the least true that the pronunciation indicated by Mr Daniel Jones for such words as 'of,' 'and,' 'as,' 'at,' 'to,' when used without stress in a sentence, can be represented in 'Victorian' or any other spelling as 'erv,' 'ernd,' 'ers,' 'ert,' 'ter,' etc., for these forms of spelling imply syllabic lengthening. The point which Mr Bridges ought to have made is that the pronunciation of such words, and of unaccented words generally, is far less mechanically uniform than most phoneticians are apt to assume. For example, the pronunciation of 'to' differs essentially in accordance with its position before a vowel or before a consonant: compare 'I mean to go,' with 'I intend to answer him.' And so also the article 'the': compare 'the object,' with 'the chief object.' Dissimilation, too, often takes place when two such words come together, and in the case of many unstressed syllables there is an amount of casual variation in the pronunciation of cultured speakers which is by no means usually reckoned for. The first syllable of 'authority,' for example, varies in its pronunciation from the sound that we have in 'author' to that which occurs in the first syllable of 'nothing,' according to the taste of the speaker or the degree of deliberation with which he speaks; but neither can be said to be absolutely right, to the exclusion of the other. Phoneticians have certainly not sufficiently recognised the variations which are dependent upon the balance of the sentence and the influence of neighbouring sounds, and it is here that they are mainly open to

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criticism and not because they endeavour to record the current pronunciation of the day.

The remarkable conversion of Mr Bridges to phonetic spelling is due to alarm at the supposed rapidity with which change is proceeding, and an idea that something may be done to arrest it, or even to undo the work that has already been done, by the acceptance of a standard system of phonetic spelling. It is true probably that the establishment of such a standard in schools might tend to make change less rapid; but the first essential condition of its acceptance must be that it shall represent the actual pronunciation of educated men at the present time, and not some fancy system compounded of individual taste and the fashion of the last generation, such as Mr Bridges recommends. It must be subject also to correction at stated intervals, say every ten years or so; for change belongs to the life of language, and in a living language, though it may be retarded, it cannot be altogether arrested. The process to which Mr Bridges chiefly objects is one that has been going on for as long as there are records of the English language: he would have found even greater cause for complaint in the early Middle English period, when the rich variety of the Old English inflexional terminations in *a*, *e*, *o*, *u*, was being levelled to one monotonous *e*, soon to be lost altogether. Indeed the process was a far more rapid one than anything of the kind which can take place now-a-days. Any attempt, then, to arrest change absolutely is foredoomed to failure, and still more any attempt to put the clock back and regain the pronunciation of a former age, even if we could agree what that pronunciation was.

But undoubtedly, if we are to have phonetic spelling, we may learn much from Mr Bridges on the artistic side. The ordinary phonetic script is horribly ugly, and that of Mr Bridges, made up, as he tells us, mainly from an old Anglo-Saxon fount at the Clarendon Press, is undeniably beautiful, while at the same time it is very easy to read. The objection to it is that it has no less than fifty-eight symbols, and that with a view to reproducing, as far as possible, the effect of the old spelling in combination with his phonetic notation, several symbols are in some cases used for the same sound, as in the case of *c* and *k*, and we find 'knight' spelt with the *k* and *h* to which we are accustomed, 'back' with the final *ck*, and 'nation' with a *t*.

Professor Ker's essay on Browning is a little disappointing. It was delivered as a lecture, and as a lecture no doubt it was very pleasant and suggestive; but the reader feels that the subject might well have been more fully developed. Professor Ker has well-founded doubts about the functions of commentary and paraphrase in reference to poems, and yet he is obliged to admit that Browning's work needs them, surely a most serious indictment against a poet; but he rightly vindicates for Browning the power of combining strength with beauty, and what is more difficult, genuine comedy with lyric elevation, in spite of the grotesque outrageousness of style which too often offends us. But just as we were hoping for fuller illustration of these qualities, the essay comes to an end. 'It is time to stop. The poet may be left to

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do his work; to prove, even against his own argument in *Pacchiarotto*, that what he has to give us is not knowledge only, nor strength only, but beauty.'

Mr George Neilson's essay on 'Blind Harry's *Wallace*' is on a different scale, and discusses a smaller subject at more than twice the length. The thesis is that the episodes of Blind Harry's poem are to a great extent borrowed from Barbour's *Bruce*, a conclusion which seems to be sufficiently made out, to the detriment of any historical authority which *Wallace* may have been supposed to possess.

Professor Saintsbury treats of 'Shakespeare and the Grand Style,' defining the grand style, however, in a manner which deprives the term of its special significance. He defines it (p. 114) as 'the perfection of expression in every direction and kind, the commonly called great, and the commonly called small, the tragic and the comic, the serious, the ironic, and even to some extent the trivial (not in the worst sense, of course).' It is doubtful if anything is gained by applying the term thus, but there is of course no difficulty in illustrating by examples from Shakespeare.

Miss Sichel in 'Some suggestions upon bad Poetry' is rather hard on her own sex, which is made to furnish a large number of the worst examples. The criticism is sound enough, but we refuse to believe that Georgiana Farrer was ever a popular poet, and the triumph is poor over such a nonentity. The bad poetry of good poets, of which a few examples are cited, is far more instructive than that which is produced by those who are no poets at all.

The last essay in the book, that by Professor Vaughan on 'Carlyle and his German Masters,' is the most interesting and valuable of the whole collection. It is mainly directed to shewing the effect on Carlyle of two leading spiritual forces, that of Goethe and that of Fichte, leaving aside the more superficial and obvious indebtedness of his style to Richter. I refrain from analysing this excellent paper, and content myself with saying that it should be read by all who wish to realise the extent to which Carlyle was in the deeper sense influenced by the literature and philosophy of Germany.

G. C. Macaulay.

Cambridge.

*Haverford Essays.* Studies in Modern Literature prepared by some former pupils of Professor Francis B. Gummere. Haverford, Pa. 1909. 8vo. 303 pp.

This volume consists of ten essays written in commemoration of the completion of Professor Gummere's twentieth year as Professor of English at Haverford College; and every student of literature who is acquainted with the wide scope and originality of Professor Gummere's scholarship and has recognised the greatness of his achievements in the study of the origins of our national life and national literature will

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accord a hearty welcome to this volume, which the loyalty of his former students has brought into being. The variety of the topics here dealt with is an index to the breadth of Professor Gummere's literary interests. Mr C. G. Hoag discusses 'The Logic of Argument'; Mr S. G. Spaeth deals at some length with 'Milton's Knowledge of Music'; Mr W. S. Hinchman and Mr C. H. Burr furnish interesting, but somewhat slight, impressionist studies of 'George Herbert' and 'The Younger Wordsworth' respectively; while Mr A. G. H. Spiers presents us with a suggestive interpretation of the 'Vita Nuova,' chapters 24 to 28. The remaining essays are by Dr J. A. Lester on 'Some Franco-Scottish Influences on the Early English Drama'; Dr C. W. Stork on 'Heine and Tennyson'; Dr W. H. Hart on 'The Franklin's Tale'; Dr C. H. Carter on 'Ipomedon: An Illustration of Romance Origin'; and Dr W. W. Comfort on 'The Moors in Spanish Popular Poetry before 1600.' In the space at our disposal, it is impossible to refer to each of these essays in detail, but the attention of readers should, in the first instance, be drawn to Dr Lester's valuable study of Franco-Scottish Influences on English Drama, in which he opens up new ground and furnishes interesting material to show that in certain directions of dramatic development Scotland acted as an intermediary between France and England. In particular, he draws our attention to Lindsay's *Satire of the Three Estates* and indicates its dependence upon the *moralités* and *sotties* of the Frenchman Gringore—the Pierre Gringoire of Hugo's *Notre Dame*; he maintains, moreover, that Lindsay was the first to follow Gringore in applying medieval drama to political ends, and that his influence can be traced in Bishop Bale's *King John*, and the later political dramas which grew up on English soil. Dr Lester also furnishes us with evidence that the masque, imported into Scotland from France during the reign of Mary, Queen of Scots, obtained considerable vogue at the Scottish court in the closing years of the sixteenth century, and passed from Scotland to England with the accession of the first of the Stuart monarchs. Dr Lester would probably allow that, in the development of the political play and the court masque in England, other influences were at work besides that with which he here deals; but, in insisting on the claims of Scottish drama, he has drawn our attention to a stream of influence which is undeniably of some importance and which has been too much overlooked.

Dr Hart's essay on 'The Franklin's Tale' discusses at some length and with fine literary appreciation the literary and dramatic qualities of the story of Arveragus and Dorigen, its relation to the Breton lays of Marie de France, and its place in the framework of the *Canterbury Tales*. He concludes with the statement that the tale owes nothing to Boccaccio's rendering of the story in the *Decamerone* (x. 5), or to the same author's *Filocolo*: 'Whatever the provenience of the story, the technique of the *Franklin's Tale* has every appearance of being simply the result of a translation of *a* Breton lay, or an imitation of *the* Breton lay, by a great poet who happened to be writing at the time mainly in the manner of the *fabliaux*.'

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Dr Stork's paper on 'Heine and Tennyson' makes no attempt to trace the influence of the one poet upon the other—a well-nigh impossible undertaking—and, as the reader might expect, the comparison which he draws between their literary genius and poetic methods is rather of the nature of a contrast. He finds that 'the essence of Heine's style is subjectivity and directness,' whereas Tennyson is before all things 'objective, descriptive, decorative.' 'Ideal poetry,' Dr Stork concludes, 'must preserve a balance between power and restraint, both of which are essential; of these qualities, Heine excels in the former, Tennyson in the latter.'

F. W. Moorman.
Leeds.

*A Book of Cambridge Verse.* Edited by E. E. Kellett. Cambridge: University Press. 1911. 8vo. xvi + 440 pp.

In this goodly volume Mr Kellett gives us a 'representative selection from the mass of verse in the English language [from Chaucer onwards] that relates, more or less closely, to the University of Cambridge.' The book is therefore not a collection of pieces chosen for their merit as poetry or wit; its object is to show us how Cambridge men or other men have spoken of Cambridge—and to Cambridge men at least every page has its interest. Mr Kellett opens with a Preface and appends to his collection a number of useful notes.

Probably every Cambridge man will think that some favourite poet of his University or college is insufficiently represented. As in private duty bound, I think E. W. Bowling and R. H. Forster might have been more largely drawn upon. I should also have liked to see here 'The Lay of the Early Bird,' by W. S. Sherrington (*Eagle*, xii, 294). Mr Kellett has made use of the earliest volumes of the *Eagle*,—whether he studied the rest is not clear. The *Eagle* has been said to be less remarkable for the height to which it soars than for the length of time it remains on the wing. Perhaps Mr Kellett conceived some distaste of it on this account.

Mr Kellett has however anticipated this kind of criticism, which after all rests chiefly on personal predilection. He tells us that he has 'spent almost more time in keeping the volume within moderate limits than in collecting the material,' and if he has omitted poems which his readers think should have been included, he appeals to their generous indulgence. That indulgence will certainly be accorded with a full meed of gratitude for what he has given.

A few remarks may be added on points of detail.

One might perhaps wish that some indication could have been given where the titles prefixed to poems or extracts are Mr Kellett's and not those of the original writers. The title 'The Backs' takes us by surprise in connexion with Montagu's lines of 1683 (p. 87), and Wordsworth's (p. 166). Bentley's lines 'Who strives to mount Parnassus' hill' (p. 93) are rather oddly headed *Bentley*, and Anstey's lines on the

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Cam (p. 139) *The New Bath Guide*—which is rather their source than their subject. In his note Mr Kellett might have mentioned the fact that Anstey's home was Trumpington Hall. On pp. 154, 155 Henry Kirke White's second name appears as 'Kirk.'

In connexion with *Encomium Lauri* (p. 12) Gabriel Harvey is described as 'Pembroke Hall 1545—1630' (he died in 163$\frac{0}{1}$ and was probably born nearer 1550). But at the time when these lines were first published, Harvey was a Fellow of Trinity Hall, and as Mr Kellett himself shows in his note, Nashe associates these verses with Trinity Hall rather than Pembroke.

To some of his pieces Mr Kellett prefixes passages by other authors as mottoes. I cannot see any advantage in thus associating Wordsworth's recollections of his college life with those of the older Johnian Nashe (p. 156)—or the lines of 'G' in the *Cambridge Review* of 1882 with Tennyson's *Princess*. Longfellow's sonnet headed 'St John's, Cambridge' (p. 295) is connected with our ancient University by the motto prefixed by Mr Kellett. The sonnet however has nothing whatever to do with our Cambridge, but relates to St John's Memorial Chapel at Cambridge in America (see *Longfellow's Writings*, Riverside ed., vol. v, p. 216).

Some early lines by E. W. Bowling are quoted on p. 258 from the *Eagle*, vol. I. Bowling's dates are 1837—1907. Has Mr Kellett seen his collection *Sagittulae*?

I suggest the following new readings: on p. 261, 'Let me [too] stand at Dryden's, Byron's side?'—on p. 360, 'And [got] a slating: "Watch it two!'"—on p. 383, 'For each one sees [it] *plus* Himself.'

I will end by commending Mr Kellett's interesting collection to all Cambridge men who care for their University in the past as well as in the present.

G. C. Moore Smith.

Sheffield.

*Poems of Clough.* Edited by H. S. Milford. London: Frowde. 1910. 8vo. xiv + 247 pp.

This is not a complete edition of Clough's Poems, and no reason is assigned for its incompleteness. *Dipsychus* is a conspicuous absentee; *Mari magno* appears in a form discarded later. The notable features of the edition are as follows: the insertion of Clough's portion of *Ambarvalia* complete, with notes showing the alterations made in those pieces which were subsequently reprinted; notes to the *Bothie* showing the variations made from the first edition (in which the name was 'Toper-na-fuosich'), with some further alterations suggested by the poet himself; and a preface discussing the rhythm of Clough's hexameters. To this last attention may be drawn. Students will be glad to have the text of *Ambarvalia*, though the later selection seems to have been made with wise judgement, and they will welcome the opportunity of noting the changes made in the *Bothie*; but they will probably turn first and foremost to see what the editor says about metre.

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He defines our ordinary hexameter as 'a stress-rhythm moving in triple time'; differing, therefore, from the classical hexameter, the equivalent of which he oddly states to be *duple* time—surely this should be *quadruple* time, since the measure of a true dactyl or spondee was admittedly | 1 2 3 4 |. If 'stress-rhythm' means merely that the characteristic feature of our ordinary hexameter is accent and not quantity, the definition is of course just; if it means that syllable-stresses can do more than punctuate an already existing rhythm, it cannot be accepted. The movement of our ordinary 'hexameter' line is unquestionably in triple time, and syllable-stress is the means used (as in all native English verse) to signalize and make obvious this movement. Clough professedly experimented with the metre, and some of his experiments have become bones of contention to critics. One is the famous line, twice quoted in this preface:

With a mathematical score, hangs out at Inverary.

Of this it may be said that the whole difficulty lies in the first two words. Were they replaced by one stressed syllable, such as 'huge,' no one would hesitate to scan:

| Húge mathe- | mátical | scóre, hangs | oút at | Ínver- | áry.

Is it not probable that Clough was simply crowding four syllables into his first foot, as he does once or twice elsewhere at the beginning of a line, and fairly often in other feet[1]? The alternative is to find anacrusis in these first two words, reading:

With a | máthe- | mátical | scóre etc.

The objection to this is not so much the weak first foot—for such weak feet are common enough with him—as that anacrusis seems studiously eschewed by Clough, amid all his other licence; he very rarely, that is, prefixes light syllables to a line otherwise possessing its full complement of syllables and stresses, though this liberty is habitually taken by native writers of 'dactylic' metre. There are many such lines in the *Bothie* as

And the great peaks look abroad over Skye to the westernmost islands;

there is not one, I think, framed on such a basis as

And the wonderful peaks look abroad....

This raises the question, discussed by Mr Milford, how far the seeming inversions of stress which occur in such a line as that just quoted—'And the greát'—are to be taken as real. He lays much stress on these. But it is clear that with Clough the sing-song rhythm counted for a good deal. In many of his lines stress-guidance fails entirely, in still more it is wavering and uncertain. Especially at the beginning of

[1] Compare, for example (IX, 21):
*Do it like a* man, Sir George, for pay in a livery stable.

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lines is this obvious. Artificial stress is often laid on the first syllable by Clough, as by other writers of this metre; the very first line of the *Bothie* illustrates this, and there can be no inversion there. At the most, therefore, it seems wise to say merely that Clough leaves us the choice between sing-song and inversion; he never shuts us up definitely to the latter. He never, that I remember, writes such a line as he propounded to Conington:

| White | naked | feet on the | gleaming | floor of her | chamber,

a line which is metrical only if the first foot be made equal in duration to the others. He may have written such a line, with anacrusis added; the conditions prevent our saying so with certainty. Many of his lines can be read two ways, and most of them are to some extent conditioned by the sing-song rhythm.

Mr Milford admits that many lines are 'rough,' but he is confident that Clough relied mainly on speech-stress, and he believes that when our hexameter comes to be scientifically written, quantity 'will be, so to speak, counterpointed to' accent. It may be so; prediction is not for critics. But hitherto, in native English verse, quantity has never been more than the helpmeet of accent, has never been habitually opposed to it without disastrous or comic result. Those who essay such a task run the risk of sinning against the genius of our language; whether they can avoid it, time will show. Clough may have attempted this in the *Bothie*, since in his quantitative pieces he went still further; but the evidence is inconclusive. What is certain is that rhythm-accent and quantity are frequently divergent.

The book is well printed and bound, at moderate cost. Its text is not immaculate. In the *Alcaics* (p. 36) 'Trip' should be 'Trips,' and in 'Hope evermore and believe' (p. 62) the first line remains uncorrected, as in other editions. Evidently it should run 'e'en as thy thought is,' but the last word somehow got left out. The preface has some excellent remarks on the weakness of lines by Arnold, Longfellow, and even Kingsley—perhaps rather hyper-critical with regard to the line quoted from the last-named—but it would not be difficult to cite from Clough lines equally defective. Yet there is more to be learnt from him than from the others, just because he wrote by ear rather than by rule. I cordially agree that the true English hexameter has yet to be written, and that valuable hints for it may be got from the *Bothie* and the *Amours de Voyage*. We are promised a new handling of the metre this year, from the pen of Mr H. B. Cotterill; it will be interesting to see whether he emulates Clough's freedom and scorn of pedantry. These, combined with a more scientific prosody, may yet give us, not a copy of, but a worthy equivalent for, the Homeric hexameter.

T. S. Omond.

Tunbridge Wells.

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*Beowulf and the Finnsburg Fragment.* A translation into Modern English Prose. By JOHN CLARK HALL. Second Edition. London: Sonnenschein. 1911. 8vo. lxvi + 287 pp.

A second and revised edition of Dr Clark Hall's translation of Beowulf is welcome, for it is probably the best working translation that we have, while it is enriched by a valuable introduction and excellent appendices. The translation has been carefully revised, and the alterations are almost uniformly in the direction of greater accuracy and precision. It is perhaps to be regretted that the translator is less conservative as to the text than he was in the first edition. He adheres less closely to his foundation-text, that of Wyatt, and is inclined to accept a good many of the conjectures which have been so freely offered by later editors and commentators. The chief example of this is in the Finn episode where the interpretation is changed almost entirely.

The translation is at times marred by the use of modern technical terms which give misleading renderings of the Old English word, e.g. 'borough' for 'burh' (523), 'subaltern' for 'cniht' (535) and for 'scealc' (940). 'Bower' is not happy as a rendering of 'bur' (1311) and 'salamander' is scarcely applicable to the fiery dragon (2689). In Old English similes 'gelicost' should be translated by the positive: the superlative is the stereotyped form in Old English (985, 1609). 'Survivances of filing' (1032), 'sapient' (1400, 1475) are not happy; 'swine-figures' (1453) should be 'boar-figures' and so careful an archaeologist as Dr Hall should keep the plural 'hilts' (1614). 'Aeschere's dead' (1323) is too colloquial, 'winters' (1724) should be 'years,' while 'crowed' (2583) seems awkward as a translation of 'gealp.' There should be some uniformity in the anglicising of the plural of proper names—e.g., Ingwines (1319), Hetwaras (2363), Weders (2462), while 'Scyldings' for 'Scylfings' (2205) remains uncorrected.

In a few passages the translator seems to have misunderstood the original. In l. 988 'heardra' is surely gen. pl. dependent on 'nan,' in l. 2226 'fealh' is certainly 'penetrated,' not 'fell.' 'Đe' in l. 2638 is not the relative particle.

The appendix on 'things' mentioned in Beowulf has been happily enlarged, and both here and in his notes Dr Hall has made good use of modern archaeological work, more especially of the articles of the lamented Knut Stjerna. It is pleasant to know that we are soon to have an English translation of these articles as a whole. The Bibliography has been enlarged and brought up to date and misses very little. Chadwick's *Origin of the English Nation* should have been mentioned, as it throws much light on various episodes in Beowulf. The Notes are useful, and together with those of Dr Sedgefield furnish a commentary which has been long wanting to those English students who are unacquainted with German.

ALLEN MAWER.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

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*The Place-names of Lancashire, their origin and history.* By H. C. WYLD, in collaboration with T. OAKES HIRST. London: Constable. 1911. 8vo. xxiv + 400 pp.

The joint authors of this work are to be congratulated upon the high measure of success to which they have attained, under difficult circumstances. In the case of more southern counties, much assistance can often be had from Anglo-Saxon charters and early documents; but in the case of Lancashire, the preliminary task of ascertaining the oldest spellings of the place-names, without which no success is possible except in obvious examples, is a difficult and perplexing one. This part of the work devolved chiefly upon Dr Hirst, who had to make the best of the existing documents, and to supply by patience and industry the requisite but even now too scanty materials. The mere labour of compiling a copious index of the modern names found in the ordnance map must have been considerable in the case of so large a county; but this was only a small part of the task. Much more time was necessarily taken up by searching the texts of the various chartularies, surveys, rolls, and other records. What is still lacking is due to the sheer absence of materials for the earliest period. It is always desirable to find an example of the use of a place-name before 1300, and if possible, before 1200; and this is the very thing that in this case cannot always be had. But it is obvious that no pains have been spared.

Dr Wyld is responsible for the book as it now stands, which has benefited largely from the fact that he well understands the phonetic laws that govern the spelling of names in Anglo-Saxon and Early English times. He has made the best of the materials at hand, and has interpreted them, where interpretation is possible, with carefulness and skill; though of course he has frequently been obliged, by lack of evidence, to make the best he could of the rather numerous cases where nothing very tangible can be ascertained. Speaking generally, the book could not have been in better hands, and a large number of the results may safely be accepted. And this, indeed, is the most that can be said of books upon place-names generally.

There is a valuable enumeration, in Part II, of the personal and descriptive elements that usually compose the place-name. One very interesting descriptive element is given under 'hærg,' frequently written 'hearg,' which was the old word for 'a heathen temple' before the Northern 'kirk' and the Southern 'church' became general. Names containing this element are, we are told at p. 337, the following:— Anglezark, Goosnargh, Grimsargh, Harrowslack, Kellamergh, Medlar, Sholver, and Torver. Harrowslack we fail to find, and Sholver is doubtful. The rest probably mean, respectively, Anlaf's temple (this seems certain), Gosa's temple, Grim's temple, Kelfgrim's temple, Middle temple, and Thorulf's temple. Medlar goes back to about 1200, in the form Midelare, but must have been far older, very much older, than the 'Middle Temple' in London. In the twenty-one examples of Goosnargh,

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the h of 'hargh' is dropped in all but one; but Gosenhar occurs also, in 1258, in the Inquisitiones post Mortem, I, 17, no. 13.

Among the names of undoubted origin may be mentioned, as examples, the following. Abram is 'Eadburg's home,' just as Babraham, Cambs., is 'Badburg's home.' Adgarley was once, not 'Eadgar's lea,' but 'Eadgar's hlith or slope.' Ainsdale is 'Einulf's dale,' the name Einulf or Eginulf being Norse. Amonderness is 'Agmund's ness'; the 'er-' representing the Norse genitive suffix '-ar.' Arnside was once 'Arnulf's head.' Audley has no old form; but it was doubtless of the same origin as the Audley in Staffordshire, and therefore means 'Aldgyth's lea,' the name Aldgyth being feminine. The Audley End in Essex has quite a modern name, as it was merely the residence of Thomas, Lord Audley, in the time of Henry VIII. Bold and Bootle are the same word, representing the A.S. 'bold' and 'botl' respectively, the former being a more familiar form of the latter, just as 'neeld' was used for 'needle.' Both words mean 'building'; indeed, the verb 'to build' is derived from this very form 'bold.' Breightmet means 'bright mead'; the change from the final d to t is puzzling, but I think it was due to lack of stress; compare 'abbot' for A.S. 'abbod,' 'tilt' (of a cart) for 'tild,' 'want' (a mole) for 'wand,' and 'truant' for the Old French 'truand.' The voiceless final letter requires less time for utterance.

In a few cases, it might be advisable to treat the forms of the genitive cases with greater strictness. For example, Alston can hardly be 'the town of Alla,' because the genitive of Alla is Allan. It is better to write Ælle, which makes the genitive Ælles.

Bedford involves Bedan, the genitive of Beda; this is preferable to referring it to Bædd, with the genitive Bæddes. In Bastwell, the case is exactly contrary; the old prefix was Baddes, representing the genitive of Bædd, which is distinct from Baddan, the genitive of Badda. In the same way, we should expect Pilsworth to be from a nominative Pill, in spite of the fact that Pill has not been recorded. Tilberthwaite was written as Tildesburgethwaite in 1196; which seems to represent 'Tild's borough-thwait' rather than, as at p. 250, 'the thwait of Tildburg'; and in fact Tildburg would have to be feminine, with a genitive in -e. Toppinrays is explained as 'the cairn of Toppa, or of Toppi'; it should rather be the former (gen. Toppan) than the latter (gen. Toppes). Waltone was formerly Waletone, rightly explained as 'the town of the foreigners'; it may be well to add that Wale really represents 'weala,' the genitive plural of 'wealh,' since many readers may not know what the genitive plural form was. Witton, formerly Whiteton, is explained as 'White, or White's Town'; it is rather 'Hwita's town.' Wolfal was once Wulfhal, which is simply a compound word, viz. 'wolf-nook.' Wolvemore is exactly 'wulfa mōr,' wolves' moor. Woolton, formerly Ulventone (D. B.) is precisely 'Wulfa's town,' as Wulfan is the genitive of Wulfa; not 'the town of Wulf,' for that would give Woolston.

Worsley was once Wykerdley, which is hard to explain, and it is no earlier than 1219; if it is possible for the k to have arisen from the ch

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in Wic-heard (a recorded name), the sense might be 'Wic-heard's lea.' Knowsley is interpreted as Cenulfes læh. Here Cenulf is not the same as Cynewulf, but is rather Cenwulf or Coenwulf, quite a distinct name. One Cenwulf was the father of the St Kenelm (i.e., Cenhelm) mentioned by Chaucer; where father and son (as often) had the same prefix in their names.

But all these are comparatively small matters, and can easily be amended, if indeed it be necessary. It is best to say, in a word, that no student of place-names can possibly dispense with this most valuable work.

WALTER W. SKEAT.

CAMBRIDGE.

*La Vita Nuova di Dante.* Per cura di MICHELE SCHERILLO. Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 1911. 8vo. lxi + 383 pp. *La Stessa*, con 18 riproduzioni di quadri o disegni o sculture di D. G. Rossetti, W. Kaulbach, G. Induno, H. Holiday, D. Sodini, M. Rieder, R. Sorbi, R. Mantovani-Gritti. Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 1911. 4to. lxi + 388 pp.

Signor Ulrico Hoepli, whose well-known publishing house in Milan has recently celebrated its fortieth anniversary, has issued a handsome quarto reprint, as an *édition de luxe*, with eighteen illustrations, of Professor Michele Scherillo's edition of the *Vita Nuova* of Dante, which was published earlier in the year as a volume in the *Biblioteca Classica Hoepliana*.

Of Professor Scherillo's work it is sufficient to say that, embodying as it does the results of the most recent researches—his own among the number—and of the critical labours of his predecessors, it is likely to rank for some time to come as the standard 'édition classique' of Dante's earliest prose work. The text is in the main that of Barbi, which was published four years ago by the Società Dantesca Italiana, and is accepted by Dantists as practically definitive. Such few departures from Barbi's text as he has felt called upon to make, Professor Scherillo has explained and discussed in a preliminary note.

Besides an interesting introduction, there are included in the volume several lengthy dissertations in the form of appendices under the title of 'illustrazioni e discussioni.' The most important of these is that on 'Il nome della Beatrice,' in which, arguing from Provençal analogies—it is generally admitted that the *Vita Nuova* owes much to Provençal influence—Professor Scherillo concludes that the name Beatrice was selected by Dante as the 'senhal' under which to conceal the identity of the real object of his devotion, namely the daughter of Folco Portinari, whose actual name was Bice.

In another of these essays Professor Scherillo deals with the theory propounded fifty years ago by the late Professor Charles Eliot Norton as to the symmetrical structure of the *Vita Nuova*—a theory which was elaborated in a very interesting manner, but with somewhat



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fantastic results, by the late Professor Earle, not altogether to Norton's satisfaction, in an article in the *Quarterly Review* for July 1896. Professor Scherillo sets out to discredit the whole theory. He certainly has no difficulty in showing that some of the crucial data upon which it was based were faulty; and in the light of his searching criticism it must be confessed that the theory, the germ of which apparently originated with Gabriele Rossetti, as hitherto presented can hardly any longer be regarded as unassailable[1].

It is a pity that in this reissue of Professor Scherillo's work the opportunity was not taken to correct one or two glaring misprints in the original edition, such for instance as 'Witte' (for 'White') on p. xlviii, and '*Quaterly*' on p. 363. Also a few defects in the brief bibliography might have been rectified. For example, in the list of editions, the latest issue of the Oxford Dante (that of 1904), in which several important emendations have been introduced in the text of the *Vita Nuova*, should have been substituted for that of 1897; and in the list of translations, that of Rossetti should certainly have found a place.

Of the eighteen illustrations with which the quarto edition is adorned, eleven are from paintings or drawings by Rossetti. Most of these have been reproduced in Italy within the last few years in other illustrated editions of the *Vita Nuova*. One of them, however, is comparatively little known, and is a welcome addition to the series, though strictly speaking it has no direct connection with the *Vita Nuova*. This is the picture known as 'The Boat of Love,' from the Sonnet ('Guido, vorrei che tu, e Lapo, ed io') addressed by Dante to Guido Cavalcanti—one of the poems which had to be rejected by Dante as not falling into the scheme of his 'libello.' Of this subject (for a picture from which a commission was given to the artist by Ruskin) three drawings at long intervals were made by Rossetti—one in water-colour (c. 1855), another in pencil (c. 1864), and a third in grisaille (c. 1874). From the last of these, which is a large unfinished canvas, and, like the pencil drawing, is now in the Birmingham Art Gallery, the present illustration seems to have been taken.

Of the other seven plates, one is from the well-known picture by Holiday in the Walker Art Gallery at Liverpool, which we would willingly have exchanged for Rossetti's 'Denial of the Salutation of Beatrice'; and the rest are from drawings (or, in one case, sculpture) by Italian and German artists. These are all more or less pleasing in themselves, but they are not exactly in harmony with the Rossetti designs, the widely different types of Beatrice being especially incongruous. We may observe that one of the drawings—a pretty piece of composition—that by Marcello Rieder, is at variance with the text which it professes to illustrate, namely 'Dante deriso' (§ xiv). The incident as related by Dante takes place indoors ('nella magione'),

[1] A vigorous defence of Norton's position against Scherillo's criticisms, which originally appeared in a slightly different form ten years ago in the *Giornale Dantesco*, was published by Kenneth McKenzie in Vol. XVIII, No. 3 of *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*.

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whereas the artist depicts Dante seated in a grove of pines with the mocking ladies grouped among the trees.

However, these few slight blemishes apart, we can heartily commend these volumes alike to the student of Dante and to the lover of pretty books.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

FIVEWAYS, BURNHAM, BUCKS.

*The Forerunners of Dante. A Selection from Italian Poetry before 1300.* Edited by A. J. BUTLER. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910. 8vo. xxxv + 262 pp.

Professor Butler, in his very suggestive and interesting preface, claims for the Italian poets of the thirteenth century that 'they, with Dante, seem to represent for Italy all that it has ever to show of truly *poetical* poetry—the poetry which thrills and not merely delights.' We are disposed to rank Italian poetry as a whole considerably higher than he did, and think to find this authentic thrill at times in almost every century of Italian literature, from Petrarch himself to Carducci. But, in any case, the late Professor's fine appreciation of Dante's predecessors and earlier contemporaries—the poets of the Sicilian school, Fra Guittone and his followers, and the singers of the *dolce stil nuovo*—gives a special interest to his selection, while it imparts a fresh and individual note to his commentary. It is manifest that these early poets were living artistic personalities to Professor Butler, and he communicates this feeling to his readers. Such a book as this has long been needed by English students of early Italian.

The volume contains seventy-one pieces, including all the extant Italian poems (other than those of Dante himself) that are cited in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, and constitutes an admirably representative collection of canzoni and canzonette from Piero delle Vigne to the earlier work of Cino da Pistoia. We miss the well-known canzone of King Enzo, *Amor mi fa sovente lo meo core pensare.* Professor Butler's scheme presumably excludes laude, as well as ballate and sonnets (he admits three ballate, however); otherwise the *cantico del Sole* of St Francis and something of Frate Jacopone da Todi would no doubt have been given. The latter's *Che farai Pier da Morrone*, at least, falls within the chronological limits, besides affording a most illuminating commentary upon the 'gran rifiuto' of *Inf.* iii, 60. Lapo Gianni is unrepresented, in spite of his place in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*; but his life, like that of Cino, extended considerably beyond the end of the thirteenth century, and his most characteristic pieces, such as the ballata and sonetto rinterzato translated by Rossetti, though probably written before 1300, are not in the canzone mould. Of the poets represented, Guido Cavalcanti is the only one who is not seen at his best in canzoni; the peculiar charm and power of the first of Dante's friends can only be fully realised in his ballate. The high



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estimation of his rather dreary *Donna mi prega perch' eo voglio dire* expressed by Dante in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* made it imperative that this too-famous canzone should be given here, instead of the far more poetical *Io non pensava che lo cor giammai.* Guido's other piece cited by Dante, *Poichè di doglia cor convien ch' io porti*, is regarded by Professor Butler as an irregular poem of two stanzas; but there is much to be said for the view of Cavalcanti's editor, Pietro Ercole, that it is in reality a fairly regular single stanza of a canzone, with two *pedes* and a *cauda*, following the scheme of rhymes: ABBC, ABBC, DEeFfGG. The isolated stanza is, of course, frequently used as an independent composition by the poets of the Duecento, and we have two examples by Dante himself: *Sì lungamente m'ha tenuto amore* (*V. N.* 28), and *Madonna quel signor che voi portate* (erroneously printed in Fraticelli and the Oxford Dante as a ballata).

Professor Butler has naturally preferred to construct his own text throughout, especially from the edition of the Vatican MS. 3793 (*il libro de varie romanze volgare*) published diplomatically by the Società Filologica Romana, the Chigian MS. edited by Monaci and Molteni in the *Propugnatore*, Monaci's invaluable *Crestomazia*, and the earlier collections. It seems, however, rather an extreme measure so completely to ignore the excellent editions of certain individual poets, or groups of poets, that have appeared in Italy: works such as those of Tommaso Casini on the early Bolognese poets, Pietro Ercole on Guido Cavalcanti, Flaminio Pellegrini on Fra Guittone d' Arezzo (still in course of publication), and Amos Parducci on Bonagiunta Orbicciani and other 'rimatori lucchesi' of the thirteenth century. We miss, too, any reference to studies like those of Francesco Torraca on the lyrists of the Sicilian school, and Francesco D' Ovidio on the *contrasto* of Cielo Dalcamo. A good edition of Cino da Pistoia is still lacking; but it is not quite the case that his canzone, *Degno son io ch' io mora*, is not found in any of the printed collections save that of Villarosa (p. 259); it occurs in all the editions of Cino from Pilli to Bindi and Fanfani. Nevertheless, the text that Professor Butler gives us of these poets is, in the main, a sound and good one. The notes are brief and to the point, stimulating even where they invite dissent, and invariably excellent reading. They do not profess to solve every difficulty nor to explain every word, the student being very properly left to find out a good deal for himself. Professor Butler's critical appreciation of the individual poems in his selection is always interesting and generally convincing. He rightly lays stress upon the simplicity and pathos of the *Giammai non mi conforto* of Rinaldo d' Aquino, surely one of the most perfect lyrics in all literature, and on the beauty and poignant sincerity of the *Morte perchè m' ài fatta sì gran guerra* of Giacomino Pugliese, in which 'the poetry of the early period seems to reach its culminating point' (p. 170). Fra Guittone he regards as a poet unduly depreciated, one 'whose mind seems to have been to a great extent cast in the same mould as Dante's own' (p. 218). Excellent, too, is his criticism of the five canzoni that he gives of Guido Guinizelli, though

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we are a little doubtful whether he has always adopted the best readings of the Bolognese poet's masterpiece, *Al cor gentil ripara sempre amore.* In the fifth line of the fifth stanza, for instance (p. 129), where the poet speaks of the obedience to God of the celestial intelligences, instead of *com' segue*, it is surely better to read *consegue*:

> E consegue al primero
> del giusto Dio beato compimento;

the allusion being to the familiar theological doctrine of the Schoolmen (to which Dante himself refers in *Par.* xxix, 58—66) that the faithful Angels, by a single act of obedience, merited eternal bliss and at once attained perfection, immediately after their creation. We are glad to find Professor Butler dismissing as 'intolerably grotesque' the notion, favoured by several other scholars, that the *donna* at the opening of the last stanza is addressed by God to the soul, instead of by the poet to his lady.

A brief note at the end of the preface tells us that the book 'lacks the author's finishing touches,' and 'the proofs have had to be corrected by other hands.' Here and there we notice slips that would no doubt have caught the author's eye, had he been spared to revise his work. We may recognise as such the statements that Dante frequently uses the word *gente*, instead of *gentile*, in his lyrics (p. 157), or that Benvenuto da Imola knew Bonagiunta Orbicciani personally (p. 239), and the retention of the erroneous reading *monna Bice*, instead of *monna Lagia*, in the sonnet *Guido i' vorrei* (p. 254). The assertion that Lorenzo de' Medici's selection of early Italian poems, the 'Raccolta Aragonese,' has disappeared (p. xviii), only applies to the original manuscript of the Magnifico; at least one copy has been preserved. An unfortunate misprint, *fero* for *altero*, has crept into the third line of Cavalcanti's *Donna mi prega* (p. 133). The unnamed editor, whose pious hands have brought the volume through the press, has performed an exceedingly difficult task in a highly creditable fashion.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

LONDON.

*Le Troubadour Folquet de Marseille.* Edition critique, notes et glossaire. Par S. STRONSKI. Cracovie: Académie des Sciences, 1911. 8vo. xiii + 145 + 285 pp.

*Trobador Poets. Selections from the Poems of Eight Trobadors.* Translated from the Provençal, with Introduction and Notes, by BARBARA SMYTHE. London: Chatto and Windus, 1911. 8vo. xxiii + 198 pp.

*Poésies du Troubadour Marcabru.* Par J. M. L. DEJEANNE. (*Bibliothèque méridionale.*) Toulouse: Ed. Privat, 1909. 8vo. xii + 295 pp.

Sentiment inclines us to wish that the University of Toulouse had produced this first critical edition of the poems of one from whom the town suffered much, but to whom it owes something. Folquet the

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troubadour, the bishop of Toulouse, the fierce opponent of the Albigenses and the first Inquisitor, was also a founder of the University of Toulouse: but the name of M. Jeanroy is so far associated with this book as to assure us that this University has not been unmindful of her notorious bishop. M. Stronski has chosen to concentrate his labours upon a most interesting personality and the result is a very satisfactory volume; we must first call attention to the introduction in which he propounds certain views concerning the nature of troubadour life and love for which he makes out a strong case where Folquet is concerned, but which will probably be regarded as revolutionary by those who have devoted any study to Provençal literature and history.

The fiction of the 'Courts of Love' now survives only in the books of travels and 'wanderings' in Southern France which uninformed tourists occasionally produce. These works usually refer also to the picturesque figure of the troubadour wandering from court to court, enjoying the patronage and lavish bounty of the nobles and the illicit affection of their wives. M. Stronski insists that the results of historical research and the dictates of common sense oblige us to reduce this romantic figure to colouring much more prosaic. Folquet combined the functions of merchant and troubadour and the incompatibility of these pursuits exists only in the imagination of certain critics who are reluctant to allow a troubadour so vulgar an occupation as trade. But the facts seem clear that Folquet never made any lengthy stay at courts outside Marseilles, that he kept at least two jongleurs in his service who published his songs elsewhere and that his rapid rise in the Church after his entrance upon monastic life must have been greatly accelerated by the large fortune which his conversion brought to the Church. This fortune if not acquired, was increased by his conduct of his father's business with Genoa and other Mediterranean ports. We have, then, an unusual figure in troubadour portraiture; a shrewd man of business, occupied for the most part with affairs, but ready to relieve the tedium of them by 'dropping into verse,' as his inclinations or the social and political events of the time might prompt him. To quote M. Stronski: 'La poésie n'était qu'un à-côté, un divertissement, auquel il paraît s'être livré passionnement et assidûment, mais qui ne fut point son passe-temps unique, ni son gagne-pain.'

Of greater importance is M. Stronski's treatment of the second point, Folquet's love adventures and intrigues with Azalais, the wife of his lord Barral of Marseilles, and with the empress Eudoxie, the wife of Guillaume of Montpellier. These stories rest upon the authority of the biography and the *razos* to individual poems and the historical value of this testimony is absolutely rejected by M. Stronski's analysis: 'il ne nous reste pour reconstituer l'histoire amoureuse de Folquet absolument rien: aucun nom, aucun fait, ceux de l'ancienne biographie étant de pures inventions.' Hence a different view must be taken of the intention of the troubadour's poems; far from being intimate and personal confessions, they are laborious attempts at psychological analysis without foundation in reality. 'Ce n'est pas à des expressions

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d'amour que nous avons affaire, c'est à des observations sur l'amour.' The same statement will hold good with regard to similar stories in other cases, if the evidence is thoroughly sifted, and the whole system and theory of 'amour courtois' must be revised. Generally speaking, there is no connection demonstrable between poets and ladies, for the simple reason that the ladies of the poems are, as a rule, purely imaginary figures. The case of a troubadour inspired to sing the praises of a particular lady-love is possible, but quite exceptional, nor, unfortunately, can such cases be recognised on the evidence of the poems in question, and the less so, because 'realism' and 'sincerity' have always been strong elements in artistic success and may therefore be found in every poem in greater or less perfection. The success of a poem was not necessarily assured by addressing it to a lady in the audience: its expression and ideas needed only to conform to the tastes of the audience. Hence these poems went the round of many courts and their circulation was not restricted to one. If Folquet sang at the court of Barral of Marseilles or at that of Guillaume of Montpellier, this does not prove that he loved their wives; it proves, on the contrary, that there was nothing between him and them. Otherwise these songs would never have been tolerated, unless we are prepared to assert that the age of the troubadours is not to be judged by the principles of common sense. Common sense requires us to suppose that Folquet's poems were recited and circulated without injury to the feelings of Sir Barral or to the peace of mind of the troubadour's worthy wife. Had it been otherwise, hundreds of troubadours and thousands of poems would never have existed as they did. M. Stronski thus arrives, though by a very different route, at conclusions upon the erotic element similar to those propounded by Wechssler, *Das Kulturproblem des Minnesangs* (chaps. viii—x). The problem is too large for discussion here; we may note however, that the next generation or so seems to have interpreted Folquet's poems very literally. The 'Anonimo Veneto' refers to 'De Marselha Folquetz qui se rancura E per l' afans d' amor se plora' (Monaci, *Chrest.*, col. 117); so Terramagnino da Pisa, 'Folquetz...qui dis sobre tots chantars amoros' (*ibid.*, col. 10). Raimon Vidal in his *novela*, *En aquel temps c'om era iais* quotes from Folquet's 'Amors, merce' and refers to him as 'En Folquet l'amoros,' an almost Homeric use of the epithet. M. Stronski might have given us his opinion on these passages.

M. Stronski devotes a chapter to Folquet's ecclesiastical career. His arguments to show that Folquet's conversion was not an unlikely event are convincing; but something might also have been said upon the likelihood that Folquet was ambitious. If he wished to enter upon a political career, the Church was the only avenue open to a man of his birth. The statement (p. 89) that Folquet 'entraîna avec lui sa femme et ses deux fils' seems to imply a reluctance on the part of his family for which there is no evidence; it was an ancient rule of the Church that a husband could not take monastic vows without the consent of his wife who must likewise enter a nunnery; only adultery on the part of the wife could release the husband from this obligation (Gratian,

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*Caus.* XXVII, Q. ii, c. 21). M. Stronski gives a summary of Folquet's movements previous to and during the Albigeois crusade; this part of his book might well have been more detailed. It is of interest, for example, to note that in November, 1208, Folquet was sent by the pope with two other commissioners to settle certain disturbances in the monastery of St Victor at Marseilles, where the monks had revolted against their prior; probably it was as a native of the town that Folquet was chosen for his duty. The *confrérie blanche* was founded to repress usury as well as heresy. In 1217 Folquet preached the crusade in France with the help of Jacques de Vitry, bishop of Liège. According to Catel (*Mémoires*, p. 897) he met in Liège 'cette saincte dame, Marie de Oegniez' of whom Jacques de Vitry wrote a life which he dedicated to Folquet. From his preface 'rapportée par Surius en la vie des saincts dont on célèbre la feste au mois de May,...nous pouvons recueillir le contentement et l'admiration que nostre Foulques eust de parler avec cette saincte Dame.' The opinion of Folquet given in the preface was worth at least a word of mention by M. Stronski.

M. Stronski has no difficulty in showing the identity of the troubadour and the bishop, to which question he devotes a chapter. The attribution and genuineness of the poems under Folquet's name is also discussed very thoroughly. An excellent chapter is that upon Folquet's poetical art: his many reminiscences of classical authors are shown to be derived from collections of aphorisms and 'florilegia' rather than from any wide range of reading. The imitation of Terence in XIV, 39: 'a man should mirror himself in the failings of others and so guard himself from falling' is also found in Bertran de Born's *planh* on the young king Henry and in Giraut de Bornelh's *Los apleitz*. M. Stronski probably could not find room to mention every coincidence or imitation of this kind; but this particular metaphor is so widely used as to be worth notice: it may be found in Dante, *Par.*, XXX, 113; Chrétien de Troyes, *Erec*, 438 and not only often in mediæval poetry, but much later; Chaucer, *Man of Laws Tale*, 166; Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act V, Sc. i; *Julius Cæsar*, Act I, Sc. ii; Calderon, *La Cisma de Inglaterra*, I, iv; Schiller, *Wallenstein*, l. 468; Xavier de Maistre, *Voyage autour de ma chambre*, chap. 27, and probably in many other places.

The problem of Folquet's position in Dante's *Paradiso* is dismissed by M. Stronski as follows: 'Dante, qui admirait beaucoup les chansons amoureuses de Folquet, lui assigne une place dans le ciel de Venus parmi les "spiriti amanti"; se souvenant de ses appels à la croisade, c'est par son discours que Dante stigmatise l'oubli dans lequel était tombée la cause du Saint Sépulchre: enfin, ayant certainement connu, par les plus anciens textes dominicains, le rôle de Folquet dans la fondation de l'ordre de Saint Dominique, basé sur l'idée de pauvreté et d'abnégation, il met dans sa bouche une invective vigoureuse contre les préoccupations mondaines du clergé.' The first reason is probable enough, though the supposed reminiscence of Folquet's phraseology in 'Più non arse la figlia di Belo' is especially likely to descend from Virgil's 'Caeco carpitur igni,' 'uritur infelix' and the like. As to

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the second reason, there were other troubadours equally well qualified. The third reason raises the crux of the whole matter: did Dante know or remember Folquet's share in the Albigeois crusade, and why does he conjoin Folquet with Rahab? Zingarelli's idea, that, as Rahab helped the Israelites to take Jericho, so Folquet helped the crusaders to take Lavaur is highly ingenious; but Dante nowhere, so far as we are aware, makes any mention of the Albigeois heresy or crusade. Raimon of Toulouse is mentioned in the *Convito*, IV, 11, but only as an example of liberality. The heresy was largely a poor man's heresy and Dante no doubt was an aristocrat. M. Stronski says in a note to p. 112, 'si Dante connaît la double carrière de Folquet, il ne s'appuie que sur la vida'; i.e., the Provençal biography. We are inclined, in view of Dante's silence concerning the most active part of Folquet's life, to regard this statement as correct; in which case Zingarelli's explanation is wrong and the difficulty of Rahab's appearance at this point remains unsolved. It is, however, a difficulty which arises from the apparent incongruity of her association with Folquet and it might be reasonably asserted that she would appear incongruous in almost any other connection.

M. Stronski has obviously expended much labour upon the constitution of the texts of the poems and with excellent results. Folquet is not so difficult as Giraut de Bornelh, but none the less, his poems contain some troublesome passages. In M. Stronski's, no. III, l. 41—48 are far from clear: the sense which his translation gives to mescladamens does not seem apposite. Comparing the passage with IX, 3, where a similar conceit appears, one is strongly tempted to read, e viu e muer mescladamens, though the MSS. do not support the omission of aissi. M. Stronski was unable to compare N for this poem, but that MS. throws no light on this passage. In view of his note on V, 13, he may be interested to hear that N reads quen rete. The few misprints have been noted in the corrigenda at the end of the book: but surely in no. XV, the colon should follow line 39 instead of line 38?

The few points we have touched upon are but trifling. M. Stronski has produced an excellent and most interesting edition of a most interesting troubadour.

In her well printed and agreeably bound little volume Miss Smythe gives translations from the poems of the Count of Poitou, Jaufre Rudel, Bernart of Ventadorn, Bertran de Born, Arnaut Daniel, Giraut de Bornelh, Peire Vidal and Guilhem de Cabestanh, each selection being preceded by a notice of the life of the 'trobador' concerned. There is also a general introduction, which deals very sensibly with the conditions under which troubadour poetry was produced. Some of the translations are in verse, others in prose. It is not clear what purpose Miss Symthe expects the latter to serve; they may be useful as a crib for the beginner, but when the metrical form of a poem is gone, little remains except dry bones, and in the case of the troubadours, to whom form was everything, the osseous residuum is occasionally very dry. In her metrical translations, Miss Smythe has essayed the very

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difficult task of preserving the metre and often the rime-scheme of the originals. English is an unsatisfactory language into which to translate Provençal, from the lack of a technical *courtois* vocabulary, with which German, thanks to the Minnesingers, is better provided, and the poverty of English rimes is a yet more serious obstacle. Miss Smythe emerges from the struggle as successfully as anyone can hope to do who loads himself with so heavy a handicap. A couple of stanzas from the Count of Poitou's *Farai chansoneta nueva* will serve as a specimen:

1. Now a ballad new I'll make me
Ere the winter overtake me;
My beloved seeks to break me
Of my love—she doubts it's true.
But no word from her can shake me,
Never my bondage shall I rue.

2. To her power myself I've given,
May my chains be never riven,
'Tis no sin to be forgiven
That I love my lady true.
I should die if from her driven,
Hungering for her as I do.

With this it may be interesting to compare Miss Costello's translation (Oxenford's *Book of French Songs*), early Victorian in style and less near to the original:

1. Anew I tune my lute to love,
Ere storms disturb the tranquil hour,
For her who strives my truth to prove,
My only pride and beauty's flower,
Who will ne'er my pain remove,
Who knows and triumphs in her power.

2. I am, alas, her willing thrall,
She may record me as her own;
Nor my devotion weakness call,
That her I prize and her alone.
Without her can I live at all.
A captive so accustomed grown?

Miss Smythe's translations are accurate and are based upon the critical editions of the troubadours, where such editions exist. Apparently she has not seen Jeanroy's edition of the Count of Poitou's poems (*Annales du Midi*, 1905), where a less agreeable but more probable explanation of the last stanza of the 'Enigma' is to be found, and a note on 'fadatz' (stanza II of the same poem) which is worth attention. 'Peleus' weapon' p. 51 requires a larger note. Parts III and IV of Kolsen's Giraut de Bornelh which appeared too late for Miss Smythe to use them, contain better texts and more plausible renderings than those which she has had at her disposal. Her book, however, is a careful and interesting piece of work and those ignorant of Provençal but interested in troubadours may gain from it some idea of the nature of troubadour poetry.

Dr Dejeanne whose death on February 15, 1909, was a cause of regret to all *provençalistes*, had devoted particular attention to the

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troubadours of Gascony, his own district, and had published editions of Cercamon and Alegret marked by wide dialectical knowledge and much ingenuity in dealing with obscure passages. These qualities are equally apparent in his edition of Marcabru, to which M. Jeanroy has added a preface explaining the fact that Dr Dejeanne was very far from regarding this edition as final. Marcabru is a troubadour whose poems bristle with difficult words and obscure passages and the labours of his editor are not lightened by the fact that his poems are preserved in comparatively few manuscripts. Consequently the notes of interrogation scattered about the editor's translation are frequent. Space would fail us to discuss a tithe of these passages, but one or two conjectures may be hazarded. The translation of no. XII *bis*, 39 does not show the metaphorical sense of 'pelar' and 'tondre' (Zenker, *Folquet de Romans*, note to XII, 1). The well-known 'starling' song which Peire d'Alvernhe imitated, contains several difficulties. In the first of the two halves, no. XXV, l. 66; bad e mus | qui.ll vol plus | c'a raüs | part de la fraia, the last word is unintelligible. Dr Dejeanne translates 'qu'il reste bouche bée et muse, celui qui veut davantage; avec fracas elle le chasse et ne lui permet plus de frayer avec elle.' Possibly traia (trahie) should be read; 'with uproar he leaves the lady he has betrayed,' into thinking him to be an honest friend. In XXVI, the reply brought by the starling, l. 37 could be improved by reading l'autr'am ieu | lo vueill mieu | que badieu, when the syntax becomes clearer to the end of the stanza than it now is. A considerable puzzle is the passage from l. 49, so.l diguatz | qu'en un glatz | lev'e jatz, | desiratz | er l'abatz | ans asatz | que n'ajam lezensa. 'Dis-lui ceci; il se lève et se couche dans un glaçon (il est froid comme glace); l'abbé sera désiré (retenu) [?] pourvu que nous ayons tout loisir.' Thus Dr Dejeanne, whose note says that the passage is unintelligible to him; he proposes desidatz, 'l'abbé sera réveillé, mais nous aurons le loisir nécessaire,' which does not explain the subjunctive. Obviously, the lady, who is very impartial in the distribution of her favours, is ready to meet her lover and gives him an assignation in the following stanza; but the abbot is in the way. If we read asasatz (rassasié) instead of ans asatz and place a semicolon after desiratz, we may translate 'tell him that he is cold (because separated from me), desired (by me) though he be; the abbot shall be satisfied, provided that we have time for it,' i.e., 'he can wait my convenience.' In XLII, l. 24 flaira fum qui non s'apreicha; 'il flaire la fumée celui qui ne s'approche pas (qui n'est pas près de la cuisine?)'; s'abricha, qui ne s'abrite pas, is but a small change and gives an easier meaning. There are numerous opportunities for conjecture throughout this edition, but Dr Dejeanne's interpretations are always ingenious and often plausible and he has done admirable service in paving the way for other commentators.

A troubadour no less difficult in many respects is Giraut de Bornelh; Kolsen's edition of his poems with the translation is now complete, but we reserve comment until the promised second volume of notes and appendices has appeared. Dr J. Beck whose *Troubadour-Melodien* was

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reviewed in this Journal (vol. IV, p. 540) has brought out an interesting volume in French, *La musique des Troubadours* (in the *Musiciens Célèbres* series, Paris, Henri Laurens), which gives the results of his previous researches in more popular form. A word of praise should be given to the excellent facsimile illustrations.

H. J. CHAYTOR.

PLYMOUTH.

*Molière, his Life and his Works.* By BRANDER MATTHEWS. New York: Ch. Scribner's Sons, 1910. 8vo. x + 385 pp.

L'auteur s'est proposé trois buts: exposer les faits biographiques débarrassés de toutes les légendes qui les ont déformés, retracer l'évolution et le développement du génie dramatique de Molière, déterminer enfin les rapports qui lient l'auteur à son temps. Il a longtemps (près de quarante ans, dit-il dans son avant-propos) mûri son ouvrage, et ne semble pas le regretter: le sujet le méritait. Le lecteur ne le regrettera point davantage; il est, dès la première lecture, frappé, et content, de voir cette sobriété substantielle et toujours lucide, cette prudence équitable dans les jugements, ce discernement et ce soin à distinguer l'essentiel de l'accessoire et à proportionner le développement au sujet à traiter, enfin cette rédaction aisée, presque aussi variée dans les tours de phrase que dans le vocabulaire. C'est là un livre riche, sérieux, et de bonne compagnie, qui l'emporte sur un bon nombre de monographies estimables consacrées à notre grand auteur comique par les critiques français.

L'ouvrage est divisé en vingt et un chapitres, dont dix huit étudient chronologiquement les circonstances de la vie de Molière et les œuvres replacées au milieu d'elles; les trois derniers, intitulés L'homme, Le dramatiste, Molière and Shakespeare, forment un essai de critique littéraire proprement dite, une synthèse des conclusions particulières, fragmentaires, disséminées dans chacun des chapitres précédents.

C'est un livre de bibliothèque plutôt qu'un instrument de travail pour les chercheurs et les étudiants en histoire littéraire; pas de références, pas de notes, pas de bibliographie,—les seuls critiques que je me souviens avoir vu mentionner sont Nisard, Sainte-Beuve, Taine et Brunetière; il n'est fait aucune allusion aux travaux de Larroumet, MM. Lanson, Gendarme de Bévotte, Eug. Rigal, Huszar, etc.; cependant plusieurs d'entre eux ont été de quelque secours à M. B. Matthews. Toutes citations du texte de Molière, vers ou prose, ont été aussi systématiquement écartées, ce qui est, à coup sûr, le droit de l'auteur, mais ce qui sera regretté par plus d'un lecteur, même dans le public de langue non-française, auquel s'adresse M. B. Matthews.

C'est parce que le public visé est un public large, d'étrangers amateurs de littérature, de curieux de la France et du passé de la France, non un public de spécialistes, que nous sont données tant de pages, vraiment instructives, sur l'état politique et social du royaume,

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de Paris, de la cour et de la ville, sur les différents mouvements littéraires du XVII^e^ siècle de 1630 à 1670; ces aperçus d'histoire qui donneraient au public français de culture équivalente l'impression du déjà vu sont ici fort utiles. Plus précises, plus particulières sont les indications données sur les rapports de chacune des pièces de Molière avec le genre de la comédie italienne. Rapprochements des évènements littéraires et des évènements politiques, des 'dates' de Molière et de celles des principaux écrivains d'autres pays, de ses procédés et de ceux des anciens, grecs ou latins, du moyen âge français ou des modernes italiens, espagnols ou anglais, de Molière et des autres auteurs de la littérature française nés à Paris, de la troupe de Molière et des autres compagnies de théâtre, tout prouve, avec une longue expérience de l'enseignement, une lecture ample et diverse, et en même temps tout instruit, ou ranime des souvenirs de lecture endormis. Molière en est plus vivant, il 'baigne,' selon l'expression d'Emile Faguet, 'dans son temps,' et il prend son juste relief dans la série des auteurs du genre comique.

Depuis que ce livre a paru, un auteur-critique français (M. Maurice Donnay) a marqué avec plus de précision à quel point, à partir du mariage de Molière, l'enchaînement des circonstances détermine le choix des sujets et le ton de chacune des œuvres destinées à la scène; on ne peut faire de cela un grief à M. Brander Matthews.

Les jugements de M. Brander Matthews sont toujours fortement assis; on s'étonnera cependant de voir expliquer (p. 72—3) le mariage tardif de Julie d'Angennes avec Montausier, par des répugnances du genre de celles que professe pour les réalités du conjungo l'Armande des *Femmes Savantes*, sans qu'il soit ici rien dit de la différence de religion, laquelle apparaît manifestement avoir été la cause principale de ce 'long retardement.' L'auteur juge avec une vraie sévérité Mme de Longueville, Mme de Sablé (dans les pages suivantes), et le portrait qu'il fait de Louis XIV (p. 140 et suivantes) est presque un réquisitoire.

M. Brander Matthews déclare (p. 108) ne rien savoir de l'adolescence d'Armande Béjart. On trouvera plus d'indications à ce sujet dans les cours d'Abel Lefranc ou dans les conférences de Maurice Donnay. P. 116, nous lisons: 'for mere invention Molière cared as little as Shakespeare,' mais p. 98–9, M. Brander Matthews avait admiré chez Molière la fécondité d'invention des intrigues, etc., mérite que d'ailleurs lui refusent beaucoup de ceux qui mettent Molière au-dessus de tous les autres auteurs dramatiques anciens ou modernes.

Dans le chapitre consacré à 'L'homme,' où Molière est comparé à Pascal, on s'étonnera peut-être de lire que la religion de Pascal est au même degré dénuée de poésie, et que Pascal, en religion, n'est que logique, lucide et éloquent. Ce sont les 'frémissements' de Pascal qui ont fait dire à un critique contemporain (Remy de Gourmont) que l'intelligence n'est qu'une sorte de précipité des émotions, qu'une sensibilité refroidie. M. Brander Matthews est évidemment aux antipodes de cette conception-là.

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Je laisse de côté, avec regret, beaucoup de points qui prêtent à la discussion, où l'on pourrait saisir plus en détail comment l'auteur sent, procède et juge. Que les lecteurs de cette revue veuillent bien ne pas chercher dans un compte-rendu forcément incomplet ce qu'ils trouveront dans un livre bon et en général bien fait, avec autant de plaisir reconnaissant que j'en ai pris moi-même.

HENRI CHATELAIN.

BIRMINGHAM.

## MINOR NOTICES.

The new edition of Professor Skeat's *Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1911) is a page for page reprint of the edition of 1901, with a certain number of corrections introduced, subject of course to the limitations of space. In a few instances corrections have been transferred from the Supplement to the text, as will be found under *dandriff*, *groin*, *gun*, *metheglin*, but alterations of this kind might easily have been carried a little further. For example, under *baste* (2) the account given in the Supplement might easily have been introduced into the text in a shortened form; again, the true etymology of *roan* might have been substituted for that given on p. 452; and under *tier* there might at least be a reference to the Supplement, in which the whole article on p. 557 is withdrawn. These, however, are minor points, which do not impair the general usefulness of this most convenient book of reference; and it may be added that a good many new words, and additional notes on words already dealt with, are added in the Supplement.

G. C. M.

In an age of anthologies a hearty welcome may be offered to the collection of 'superlative poems' selected and edited by Professors Dixon and Grierson (*The English Parnassus*, An Anthology of Longer Poems, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1909). The range extends from Chaucer to Edward Fitzgerald, and most of the greater English poets find a place. It was certainly an act of valour on the part of the Professors of English at two Scottish universities to omit Henryson's *Testament of Cressid* and Sir Walter Scott's verse-tales from their list of selections; but it is questionable whether these omissions are justifiable. For the most part, however, the editors show excellent judgment in their choice; and students of literature as well as the general reader will be grateful to have placed before them in so accessible a form a *corpus* of poetry which is not only of salient excellence in itself, but also illustrates

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the main lines of poetic development in the poetry of our land during the last five centuries. Admirers of Donne will be particularly gratified to find here 'The Second Anniversary.' Donne's shorter lyrics have found, in the last forty years, an ever widening circle of readers, but his longer poems are still far less known than they deserve to be.

The notes which are appended to this collection of poems are admirable. They are not so much notes as critical introductions to the poems which have gone before, and they invariably display ripe judgment and fine scholarship. Written in a lucid and graceful style, they again and again present to us some new and interesting aspect from which the poems under discussion may be regarded.

F. W. M.

Mr J. Le Gay Brereton's volume entitled *Elizabethan Drama: Notes and Studies* (Sydney, Brooks, 1909), coming to us from the ends of the earth, consists of reprints of papers, notes and reviews most of which will be familiar to those who have followed the critical literature of the Elizabethan drama during the last decade. We are informed, however, that the whole has been subjected to a thorough revision, and there are also a few additions at the end. That all the matter here gathered together was worth putting into permanent form may not perhaps strike the reader as self-evident, but when it is considered that the great bulk of the contributions consist of textual emendations, it will be realised that Mr Brereton has at least done a service to future critics and editors by making his labours in this field readily accessible. The word 'emendations' having been used, it should be explained that the suggestions advanced are as often defences of the text against the alterations of editors as the reverse. That any reader will agree in all points with Mr Brereton cannot be expected, perhaps few will agree even in a majority of cases, but nevertheless every conjecture here made will repay careful consideration by those concerned in the matters with which the writer deals.

W. W. G.

Miss Virginia C. Gildersleeve in *Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1908) has given us a very valuable book which gathers together into relatively narrow compass a great quantity of material and discusses it with critical insight and imagination. If the interpretation of the often doubtful evidence that has come down to us occasionally fails to convince an independent reader, the book is nevertheless the chief contribution to the subject and will remain the starting point of future inquiry. There is one disadvantage under which the work suffers which may be mentioned here without disparagement. That is its necessary dependence on incorrect editions and untrustworthy reports. No one who has not worked over the whole of the original material can be altogether guarded against this source of error, and to take the

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necessary precautions against it would be, if not the work of a lifetime, at least that of a man's or even a woman's best years. Nevertheless the drawback remains. I will only mention one trivial instance. The *Second Maiden's Tragedy* offers a most interesting study of the official censor's manner of dealing with a play. It is preserved in the manuscript copy licensed by Sir George Buc and contains numerous corrections and deletions. These have not unnaturally been credited to the censor, and the attribution is accepted by Miss Gildersleeve. Nevertheless close investigation shows that the great majority are due to the author. They may have been made under the censor's direction but they are not in his hand. Only three alterations and one deletion can be ascribed to Buc, and not all of these quite confidently. The critic gives some space to the consideration of this play, and I think quite rightly so, for it is a most interesting study: nevertheless it is necessary to point out that the evidence is not quite so certain as has been commonly supposed. This however is a small matter, and I repeat that in so far as her material is trustworthy Miss Gildersleeve's work is of real and permanent value.

W. W. G.

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# NEW PUBLICATIONS.

## June—August, 1911.

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INDEX

CONTENTS


| ARTICLES. | PAGE |
|---|---|
| BRADLEY, HENRY, Two Riddles of the Exeter Book | 433 |
| BROOKE, C. F. TUCKER, 'Gentleness and Nobility'; the Authorship and Source | 458 |
| CHAMBERS, R. W., The Original Form of the A-Text of 'Piers Plowman' | 302 |
| FANNIÈRE, ÉDOUARD, Charles Rivière Dufresny | 335 |
| GRIERSON, H. J. C., Bacon's Poem 'The World': its Date and Relation to certain other Poems | 145 |
| KASTNER, L. E., Drummond's Indebtedness to Sidney | 157 |
| KASTNER, L. E., On the Italian and French Sources of Drummond of Hawthornden | 462 |
| KASTNER, L. E., Some Unpublished Poems of Drummond from the Hawthornden MSS. | 324 |
| NAPIER, ARTHUR S., The Old English 'Exodus,' ll. 63—134 | 165 |
| PAUES, ANNA C., The Name of the Letter ȝ | 441 |
| ROBIN, P. ANSELL, Spenser's 'House of Alma' | 169 |
| SCHAAFFS, G., Schröders Ausschreiben und die drei Brudermorddramen | 9 |
| SKEAT, WALTER W., A New 'Havelok' MS. | 455 |
| SKEMP, A. R., The Old English Charms | 289 |
| STUDER, P., Étude sur quelques Vocables anglo-normands | 174 |
| VERRALL, MARGARET DE G., Allusions in 'Adonais' to the Poems of Keats | 354 |
| WEEKLEY, ERNEST, Etymologies | 471 |
| WESTCOTT, ALLAN F., Alexander Montgomerie | 1 |
| WILMOWSKY, F. F. VON, 'Commencement' and 'Commissary' | 360 |

TEXTS.

| | |
|---|---|
| BAKER, A. T., An Anglo-French Life of St Osith | 476 |
| CHAMBERS, E. K., and F. SIDGWICK, Fifteenth Century Carols by John Audelay, II | 68 |
| COLLINSON, W. E., Johannes des Wisen 'Mariénlob' | 503 |
| FOLIGNO, C., An Italian Version of the Legend of St Margaret | 23 |
| FREUND, J., Eine ältere Fassung der Petrarcaode von Carl Friedrich Cramer | 192 |
| FREUND, J., Carl Friedrich Cramers zweite Petrarcaode | 374 |
| PRIEBSCH, R., Ein historisches Lied vom Schmalkaldischen Krieg | 183 |
| PRIEBSCH, R., Ein neues Bruchstück aus der 'Rose' Heinrics van Aken | 371 |


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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

PAGE

Boas, F. S., John Lyly and the Oxford Stage . . . . . 92
Brandin, Louis, 'Aucassin et Nicolete,' xxi, 5—8 . . . . . 100
Brandin, Louis, 'Vie de St Alexis,' Strophe cxi, 2 . . . . . 98
Brereton, J. Le Gay, Marlowe; Some Textual Notes . . . . 94
Cunliffe, John W., 'The Spoyle of Antwerpe' (1576) . . . . 88
Grierson, H. J. C., The Authorship of 'Absence, hear thou my protestation' . . . . . 383
Grierson, H. J. C., 'Underneath this sable hearse' etc. . . . 517
Jackson, Henry, 'Bozzimacu' . . . . . 96
Jusserand, J. J., Ambassador La Boderie and the 'Compositeur' of the Byron Plays . . . . . 203
Ker, W. P., The Craven Angels . . . . . 85
Littledale, H., A Note on Spenser's 'Amoretti' . . . . . 203
Lowes, J. L., 'L'Allegro' and 'The Passionate Shepheard' . . 206
Moore, Samuel, The Old English 'Genesis,' ll. 1145 and 1446—8 . 199
Mutschmann, H., 'Bozzimacu' . . . . . 96
Northup, Clark S., A Critique by Horace Walpole . . . . 387
Partridge, A. Joanna, Shakespeare, 'All's Well,' iv, v, 14—22 . 383
Platt, Arthur, 'Edward III' and Shakespeare's Sonnets . . 511
Robertson, J. G., Lessing and Marmontel . . . . . 216
Shearin, Hubert G., Kentucky Folk-Songs . . . . . 513
Skeat, W. W., Shakespeare, 'King Lear,' iv, vi, 70—72 . . . 209
Skeat, W. W., The Etymology of 'Dismal' . . . . . 210
Skeat, W. W., 'To prune' . . . . . 97
Smith, G. C. Moore, Latin Plays acted at Cambridge . . . 87
Smith, G. C. Moore, The Cambridge Play 'Laelia' . . . . 382
Swaen, A. E. H., Notes on 'The Two Noble Kinsmen' . . . 205
Tilley, A., The Composition of the Pléiade . . . . . 212
Tilley, M. P., The Etymology of 'Pun' . . . . . 211
Toynbee, Paget, Gibbon and Dante . . . . . 215, 518
Williams, W. H., 'Hostages to fortune' . . . . . 386
Williams, W. H., 'Love's extreamest line' . . . . . 386
Williams, W. H., Shakespeare, 'King Lear,' iv, vi, 70—72 . . 88

DISCUSSIONS.

Berthon, H. E., and L. E. Kastner, Suckling and Desportes . 221
Chambers, E. K., John Donne, Diplomatist and Soldier . . . 397
Feuillerat, A., John Lyly's Relations by Marriage . . . . 219
Long, Percy W., Spenser's Sonnets 'as published' . . . . 390

REVIEWS.

Beowulf, ed. by W. J. Sedgefield (P. G. Thomas) . . . . 266
Beowulf and the Finnsburg Fragment, transl. by J. C. Hall (Allen Mawer) . . . . . 542
Bond, R. Warwick, Early Plays from the Italian (G. C. Moore Smith) 524
Bradley, A. C., Oxford Lectures on Poetry (C. E. Vaughan) . . 225

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REVIEWS *cont.* PAGE

Butler, A. J., The Forerunners of Dante (Edmund G. Gardner) . 547
Campion's Works, ed. by P. Vivian (F. W. Moorman) . . . 121
Chapman, G., Plays and Poems, ed. by T. M. Parrott (G. C. Macaulay) 253
Clough, A., Poems, ed. by H. S. Milford (T. S. Omond) . . . 539
Courthope, W. J., History of English Poetry, V and VI (Helen Darbishire) . . . . . 520
Dante, La Vita Nuova, per cura di M. Scherillo (Paget Toynbee) . 545
Davis, E. Z., Translations of German Poetry in American Magazines, 1741–1810 (Margaret W. Cooke) . . . . . 422
Dejeanne, J. M. L., Poésies du Troubadour Marcabru (H. J. Chaytor) 549
Dekker, Th., Satiro-Mastix, herausg. von H. Scherer (T. M. Parrott) 398
Essays and Studies collected by A. C. Bradley (G. C. Macaulay) . 533
Feuillerat, A., John Lyly (John Dover Wilson) . . . . . 103
Gascoigne, G., Complete Works, II (G. C. Moore Smith) . . . 414
Goodnight, S. H., German Literature in American Magazines prior to 1846 (Margaret W. Cooke) . . . . . 422
Grendon, F., The Anglo-Saxon Charms (A. R. Skemp) . . . 262
Gunnell, D., Stendhal et l'Angleterre (J. J. Champenois) . . . 419
Haertel, M. H., German Literature in American Magazines, 1846–80 (Margaret W. Cooke) . . . . . 422
Haverford Essays (F. W. Moorman) . . . . . 536
Kellett, E. E., A Book of Cambridge Verse (G. C. Moore Smith) . 538
Kingis Quair, The, and The Quare of Jelusy, ed. by A. Lawson (W. W. Skeat) . . . . . 412
Kluge, F., Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache (H. Mutschmann) . . . . . 273
Laelia, ed. by G. C. Moore Smith (W. W. Greg) . . . . 528
Laumonier, P., La vie de P. de Ronsard de Claude Binet (A. Tilley) 268
Laumonier, P., Ronsard poète lyrique (A. Tilley) . . . . 268
Laumonier, P., Tableau chronologique des œuvres de Ronsard (A. Tilley) . . . . . 268
Lee, S., The French Renaissance in England (L. E. Kastner) . . 246
Legouis, E., Chaucer (G. C. Macaulay) . . . . . 532
Lucas, St John, The Oxford Book of Italian Verse (C. Foligno) . 415
Matthews, B., Molière, his Life and his Works (H. Chatelain) . . 556
Milton's Paradise Lost, ed. by A. W. Verity (G. E. Hadow) . . 259
Nashe, Thomas, Works, ed. by R. B. McKerrow (H. V. Routh) . 241
Panzer, F., Studien zur germanischen Sagengeschichte, I (W. J. Sedgefield) . . . . . 128
Quiller-Couch, A., The Oxford Book of Ballads (F. Sidgwick) . . 260
Reyher, P., Les Masques Anglais (W. W. Greg). . . . . 529
Rossetti, W. M., Dante and his Convito (Lonsdale Ragg) . . . 134
Sanders, D. and J. E. Wülfing, Handwörterbuch der deutschen Sprache (H. Mutschmann) . . . . . 274
Sheavyn, P., The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age (O. L. Hatcher) . . . . . 118
Skeat, W. W., Etymological Dictionary of the English Language (Allen Mawer) . . . . . 131

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REVIEWS *cont.* PAGE

Smythe, B., Trobador Poets, transl. by (H. J. Chaytor) . . 549
Stronski, S., Le Troubadour Folquet de Marseille (H. J. Chaytor) . 549
Suckling, Sir John, Works, ed. by A. H. Thompson (F. W. Moorman) 123
Verrier, P., Principes de la Métrique Anglaise (T. B. Rudmose-Brown) 230
Walker, H., The Literature of the Victorian Era (H. Darbishire) . 124
Ward, A. W. and A. R. Waller, Cambridge History of English Literature, IV (G. C. Macaulay) . . . . . 114
Ward, A. W. and A. R. Waller, Cambridge History of English Literature, V (F. E. Schelling) . . . . . 406
Wright, E. H., The Authorship of 'Timon of Athens' (R. C. Brooke) 257
Wright, J., Grammar of the Gothic Language (J. Steppat) . . 272
Wyld, H. C. and T. Oakes Hirst, Place Names of Lancashire (W. W. Skeat) . . . . . 543
Young, W. T., Anthology of the Poetry of the Age of Shakespeare (G. E. Hadow) . . . . . 530

MINOR NOTICES.

Armas, J. de, Ensayos críticos de literatura inglesa y española . 135
Bødtker, A. T., Contributions to Early English Syntax, II . . 277
Brereton, J. Le Gay, Elizabethan Drama: Notes and Studies . . 559
Browning, R., Men and Women . . . . . 276
Clásicos Castellanos I, II . . . . . 278
Cosenza, M. E., Petrarch's Letters to Classical Authors . . . 280
Dixon, W. Macneile and H. J. C. Grierson, The English Parnassus 558
Frisian, North, Language Fund . . . . . 280
Gabrielson, A., Rime as a Criterion of Pronunciation . . . 276
Gabrielson, A., Sermon de Guischart de Beaulieu . . . . 135
Gildersleeve, V. C., Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama . . . . . 559
Goddard, H. C., Chaucer's Legend of Good Women . . . . 136
Marlowe, Ch., Works, ed. by C. F. Tucker Brooke . . . . 137
Price, H. T., History of Ablaut in the Strong Verbs . . . 277
Rabelais, F., Lettres écrites d'Italie, éd. Bourrilly . . . . 134
Scrittori d' Italia . . . . . 135
Skeat, W. W., Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language . . . . . 558
Smith, R., Don Quixote, transl. by . . . . . 279
Zoega, G. T., Concise Dictionary of Icelandic . . . . . 278

NEW PUBLICATIONS . . . . . 138, 281, 425, 561

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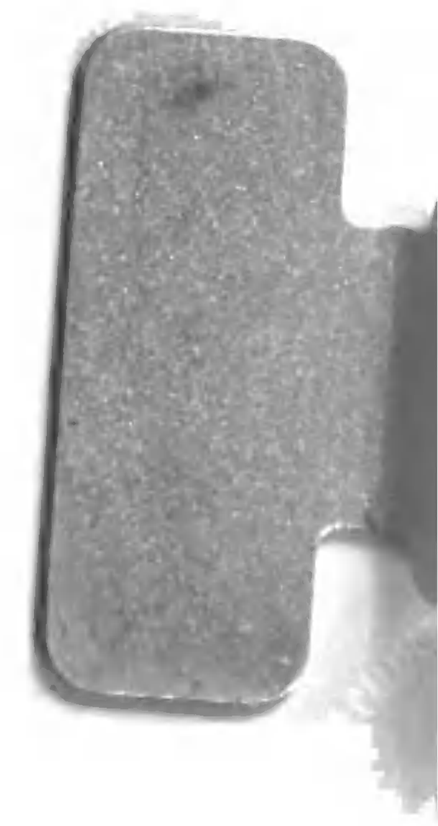
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